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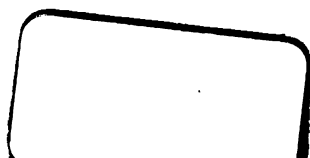
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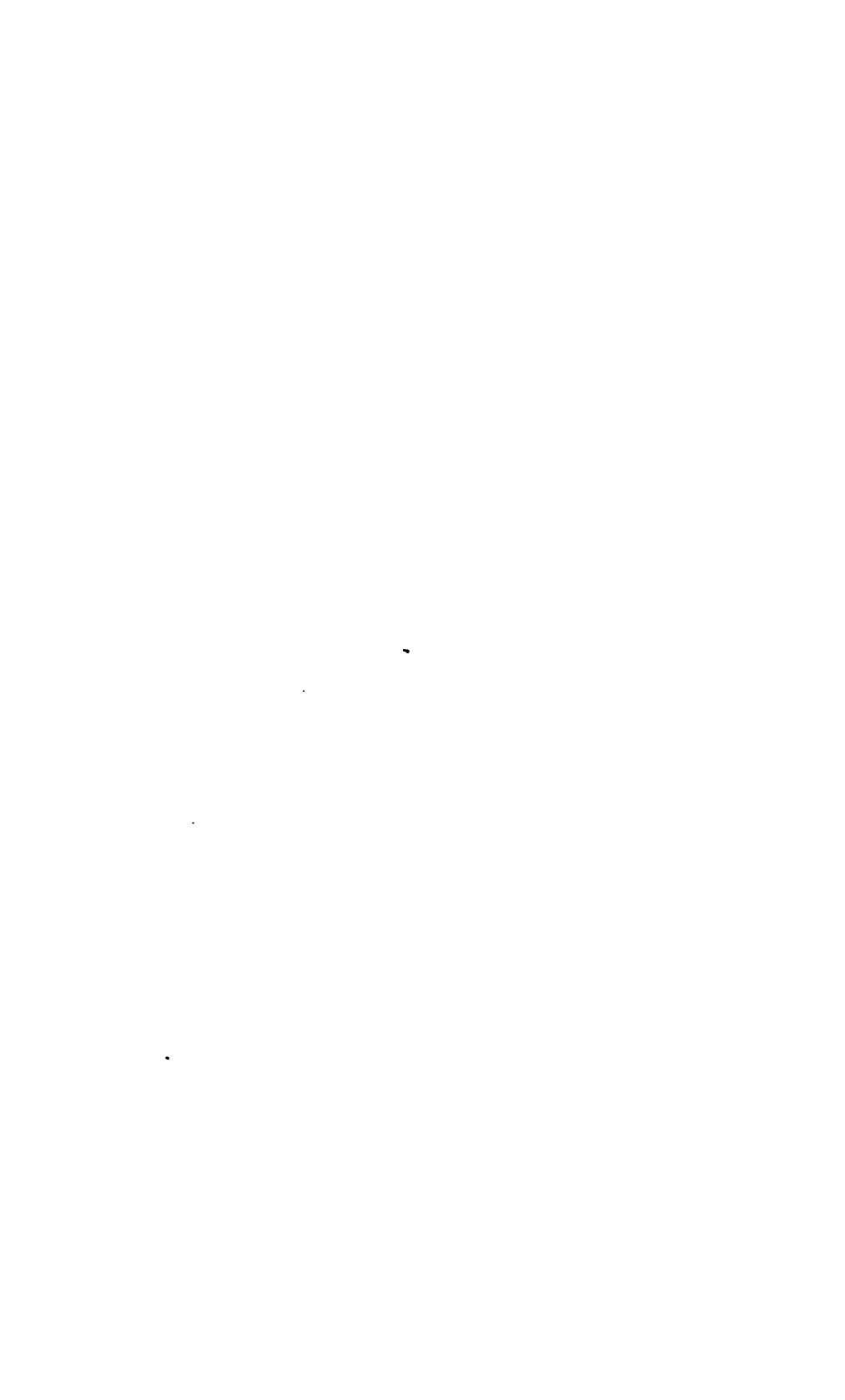
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these various charitable institutions, (many different ones being carried on in the same convent,) superintended, but, if I may use the expression, *worked* by the Nuns.

The first school I visited in Ireland was in the convent of St. Mary of the Isles, at Cork, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, where, besides a school for poor children, there is an asylum for destitute female orphans, in which the pupils are received, clothed, and educated. They are instructed in the duties of domestic servants, and at a proper age are placed out in situations.

In Dublin we visited several convents; one in Baggot-street, the parent house of the Sisters of Mercy, and the one in which Mrs. M'Auley commenced her charitable labours by establishing an asylum for the protection of females of good character. It now contains several institutions under its roof. Firstly, a *National School*, that is, a school in connexion with the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. Every school in that country which is either directly under the management of the Board, or which being managed by local Trustees or Patrons is inspected and assisted by the Commissioners, *must* be thrown open to children of every Christian denomination. Religious instruction *must* be amply provided for; but no child is obliged to be present during these lessons unless it is so desired by its parents or guardians; and in schools only assisted by the Commissioners, if the managers do not choose to admit the religious teachers of the different denominations into the school-house, which all those "vested for the purposes of National Education" are compelled to do (of course under regulations of time and convenience), they must allow their pupils to absent themselves at reasonable times for the purpose of receiving religious instruction elsewhere. These admirable regulations, which are faithfully carried into practice, have rendered it possible for persons of any denomination to become either patrons, managers, or teachers of National Schools. The Commissioners have thus demonstrated that with judicious rules, honestly enforced, the two religions whose antagonism has so long been, aye, which still is the bane of Ireland, may exist together in harmony. Let us, therefore, hope that if the admirable example of the National Board of Education be followed generally in the country, religious

differences will in time cease to be one of the chief impediments to every social improvement. One of the Professors at the Central Model Schools, in Marlborough-street, Dublin, assured me that, during the twenty-five years he had passed in the establishment, no trouble had ever arisen from difference in religious creed.

The Marlborough-street Institution contains, besides a school for children of all ages, training colleges for the National School teachers. In the schools children receive an education for a penny a-week, which many parents who pay a hundred times as much for the instruction of their offspring might really envy. We were present at an examination of a class in mental algebra, which astonished visitors (among whom was the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Carlisle,) well qualified to form an opinion on the subject.

The professor to whom I have before alluded, Dr. Sullivan, was so kind as to examine a class in geography, in our presence, in the girls' school, and the answers given by the pupils evinced not only an accurate knowledge of the different continents and islands, oceans and rivers, but of their relative position on the globe. One little girl required scarcely a moment's examination to point out a spot on the map fixed upon while her eyes were blindfolded, and of which she was only told the latitude and longitude.

Dr. Sullivan also shewed us the manner in which the pupils were accustomed to exercise themselves in orthography. He desired a class of the girls each to choose in turn words to be spelt by a class-fellow, every one trying, of course, to puzzle her opponent. She who failed in spelling the word given to her lost her place in the class, and was sent to the bottom. This lesson, or game, for it might be called either, was kept up in a spirited manner, and appeared to create much amusement.

We visited the house in which the young women in training for teachers live during their residence in Marlborough-street. Besides elementary instruction they receive a training in domestic economy; they assist in the housework and cooking. There is also a "cottage kitchen," suggested I believe by Archbishop Whately, in which the fire-places and cooking appliances are on a par with those in the cottages of the Irish peasantry. In this kitchen the two students, whose turn of duty it is to cook for the day,

prepare, out of the remains of yesterday's dinner, a repast for themselves and a companion whom they are permitted to invite.

The National Schools are spread all over Ireland, and it was very pleasant, as we drove through villages consisting of little more than a few clusters of cabins and remote from any town, to see a neat stone building with "National School" painted in large letters over the door.

The School in the Baggot-street convent where we were very politely received by the nuns, who took much trouble in shewing us over the whole of their establishment, is in connexion with the National Board. The ladies led us first through the school-rooms, which were large and well supplied with all requisites ; the low small desks, with their respective benches, excited our especial admiration. The school-rooms, however, (scrupulously clean) were all we could see, for our visit was paid on a Saturday, which is a holiday in Baggot Street.

We were next shewn the schools for a higher class of girls in training for teachers, and who, I understand, act as monitors to the pupils in the former department. These girls are boarders and live entirely in the convent. We saw a class to whom one of the sisters was giving a lesson on the globes. We were much struck by the beautiful and intelligent expression in the countenances of many of these girls. The sister kindly desired her pupils to sing for us, and their performance was very pleasing.

These indefatigable Sisters of Mercy next led us through their asylum for destitute females of good character, whom they train to become servants. They have a large washing establishment, the labour of which is performed by these women ; the receipts, of course, helping to pay for their support. If the washing and ironing here is equal to that at a convent we were permitted to inspect at Cork, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, the public must consider it a privilege to be able to send their clothes to such a place. I may mention that that part of the Cork Institution in which the washing is conducted is self-supporting, the first charity I have met with which has achieved that object.

Not content with these various institutions, the sisters have what we should call a Register Office, to which female servants seeking for places may come and stay during cer-

tain hours of the day, and where they can see employers in want of servants. The women are not left to themselves while they are waiting; a sister remains in the room, maintaining by her presence order and propriety.

Yet another Institution remains. When we visited the convent in August last a contiguous house was pointed out to us, which the sisters of this community had, I believe, bought, and which they intended to turn into a training school for young women when they leave the poorhouses. Training, such as the young girls require, one would naturally imagine might be most advantageously carried on in the workhouse itself; but, alas! workhouses both in England and Ireland are, with few exceptions, a disgrace to our country. Many young women leave the Irish Unions ignorant of the means of earning a subsistence. It must, therefore, be matter for congratulation that some of these poor creatures will now have a training school, in which, under the admirable superintendence of the Sisters of Mercy, they may learn a way of earning a respectable livelihood. It is, I now hear, in operation.

The Institutions I have endeavoured to describe are, with the exception of the last, in action within the walls of the convent. There is another, of which some of the sisters have undertaken the management, at a short distance from Dublin, that I purpose describing in a future letter.

We also paid a visit to a convent in Gardiner-street, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, who have a large school for girls of all ages. 700 children are educated at this convent; 300 are in the Infant Department, through which we were first conducted by the sisters. Here we found the pupils in a spacious schoolroom busily engaged in their classes, and I believe boys as well as girls are received, though the former are not retained after they pass the age fitted for the infant school. Each class of these little ones had its diminutive monitor, and when the children were desired by one of the sisters to sing for us those lines so well known in most infant schools, beginning "Horizontal, Perpendicular," the small monitors took their places in face of their classes, and brandishing two light and gaily-painted sticks given to them by the teacher, placed them in the positions indicated by the words which the chil-

dren, (who at the same time imitated with their hands the movements of the monitors' sticks), were singing—an admirable mode of practically illustrating the meaning of the words the little pupils were repeating by rote. We had often seen the teacher followed by the children make these movements with the hands, but this more complete method, by means of the sticks and the monitors, was new to us. On expressing my admiration of it to one of the sisters, and saying that I should much like to introduce it into a school with which I was acquainted in England, she kindly gave me a pair of the sticks.

In a second large room elder girls were studying; a third contained knitters; this art the pupils I believe learn previously to that of sewing, I suppose because it is considered the easier of the two. In a fourth the pupils were learning needlework, which must be very well taught, if we may judge by the specimens executed by some of the girls, and which the sisters informed us the pupils were expected to accomplish before they are considered competent needlewomen. This school, which appeared to us admirable in all its parts, is under the entire management of the nuns, who, I believe, are the sole teachers. When I enquired of one of the sisters if it were connected with the National Board she replied, "No, they had not placed the Institution under its inspection, for it had been in full operation before the establishment of that body." This school we heard is entirely free, the nuns receiving no remuneration from the pupils, though these do not belong to the destitute class, but apparently are children of decent working people.

The Christian Brothers, a religious society of men founded by a Mr. Edmund Rice of Waterford, and devoted to good works, especially I believe to the education of poor boys, have large schools on the same principle; those in Dublin we had the pleasure of visiting; they contain I think as many as 700 pupils, who appeared to be receiving a thoroughly good education. The superior, who very politely shewed us over the Institution, was so kind as to have a class examined in our presence, in ancient Roman history. *and the answers* of the pupils evinced a clear knowledge of the subject. The boys also sang very well. The pupils in this school were much of the same class as the girls in Gardiner-street, and I think the question may very fairly

be asked, whether it is altogether wise to *give* entirely what parents ought at least in part to pay for. Still, if anything be given, education is certainly the best boon to confer, and the pupils in both these schools had no appearance of considering this gift of little value because they obtained it so easily, but seemed to appreciate properly the pains and trouble bestowed upon them by these devoted men and women.

We also visited St. Joseph's Industrial Institute, founded and chiefly superintended by two ladies in Dublin, for the purpose of enabling the very poorest girls, those so destitute as to be on the brink of ruin, to acquire a means of supporting themselves. The Institution was at first divided into two departments; a laundry, where girls were taught to wash and iron, and a school for younger children. The former was opened in September, 1855, and the latter in April, 1856. The girls in the laundry were lodged as soon as a house large enough could be secured. The younger children were day scholars. An interesting account of this Institution is given in THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for March, 1857, from which I have taken the following extracts:—

“There are eight girls in the laundry, varying in age from 16 to 22 years. On entering they are at once put under wages. Some earn 4s., others 6s. a week. A matron (whose two children attend the school) is paid 5s. per week and supports the three upon this sum, the trifling earnings of the children and a trade in blacking, which she manufactures in ‘after hours.’ All these, in addition, are lodged in the house, and have use of coals and candles. In the school are twenty-six children, including the matron's two; the greater number from 8 to 15 years of age. They have all been earning, even without the aid of a work-mistress, from 6d. to 3s. 6d. per week. On my inquiring how long it was usual for girls to remain in the establishment, I was informed, the principle of the school and the laundry being voluntary attendance, the length of time for their remaining could not be prescribed, but depended in a great measure, indeed wholly, upon the girls themselves. However, it was gratifying to learn that since the commencement, five girls have been provided for, and, as yet, but one who left the laundry has returned in search of employment, and she, as there was no vacancy in that department, took work in the school.”

“The children receive no food, as there is no fund for the purpose of supplying it; neither are they clothed, except in occasional instances when old clothes are contributed by friends.

The *interns* have their wages paid in full, and provide their own meals. This system they like best themselves, and it has been found

they can supply themselves with greater economy (often depriving themselves of milk and other additions to their meals, for the purpose of saving 1s. or 1s. 6d. a-week), than it was possible for the management to do. Meat is never supplied except when provided by benefactors."

At the end of the Report the histories of a few of the pupils are given, of which I subjoin the following :—

"*Eliza Boylan* was sent out, when the school first opened, by a lady acquainted with her wretched condition; she arrived shoeless and literally in rags, a dejected, haggard-looking girl of sixteen. She sat down patiently to work, conducted herself well, and, after a few weeks, began to lay by a few pence at a time for clothes. Her appearance brightened, and as she showed signs of intelligence she was entrusted with the execution of some work not strictly of the school routine.

Being found one day in great affliction, she was induced to tell the cause, and it was found that her father, who a drunkard by profession, had lately restrained himself, had 'broken out' again. The furniture of the little room had gone to the pawn office; the clothes of the family were going the same road, and as has been well said—'no hope remained for the drunkard's family.' It was at once resolved to save the girl; she was taken into the laundry, lodged and paid like the rest, and at the present day it is with difficulty the lean, stupid, ragged girl, can be recognised in the stout, intelligent, neatly dressed, member of the Institute. This girl has been recently provided with a place, as servant, in a family, and promises soon to become, by her docility and perseverance, as successful in her new as she was in her former position."

When we visited the school in September last, we found that the laundry, though self-supporting, had been recently closed. The lady-superintendents had been compelled to take this course, because their house was too small to enable them to carry on both school and laundry, and to lodge the girls employed in the latter, with a due regard to their health, and unhappily the funds necessary to command a more convenient dwelling were not forthcoming.

The school, just before the period of our visit, had been placed under the inspection of the National Board, and we saw, in the room appropriated to elementary instruction, one of their trained teachers, giving a lesson to the younger children, several of whom were, at the same time, busily engaged in working crotchet collars, an art which seems to be peculiarly adapted to Irish fingers. "A crotchet collar," says the Report before quoted, "is made up of various little 'stars' and 'bits' done by several children; these are joined

together by quite different hands, and the collar is then washed, bleached, and made up in saleable style." Crochet work of good quality has met with a ready sale, especially for the American market, but the recent failures in that country have, I regret to say, much checked the sale for the present. But the benevolent managers of this school have sought other occupations for their pupils, and a friend tells me that the most profitable employment just now, at St. Joseph's Institute, is the fastening of black bugles to lace, &c. We may heartily congratulate the benevolent foundresses on the success they have already attained, with the limited means at their disposal, and we trust that more ample funds may soon enable them to render their institution as useful and beneficial as they desire it to be.*

At the Cabra convent near Dublin, belonging to the sisters of St. Dominick, which we also visited, the nuns devote themselves to the education of deaf and dumb girls. In the large school-room at this institution we saw the sisters busily engaged in giving instruction to their pupils which they effected by means of writing on black boards. We were asked to write any questions we chose for the pupils to answer, and on acceding to the request we found they could reply to our various queries with promptitude and accuracy. These sisters informed us that the girls, who notwithstanding their great deprivation, looked happy and cheerful, were generally intended for domestic servants. They are accordingly trained in every branch of household

* Since writing the above I have received a copy of an advertisement, which recently appeared in the "Freeman's Journal," from which I extract the following paragraph:

"In consequence of the failures in America, the Manufacturers are not able at present to take the work from the School, and some time must elapse ere they will be in a position to give fresh orders. It has, therefore, become necessary for the Managers to call on the Public to aid, by subscription, the maintenance of this most useful school. No doubt of its ultimate success is entertained. Already large private orders have been given. But these orders will require some time to execute, and the children must be paid for the work from week to week long previous to their completion. Hence the necessity for Subscriptions to be promptly given.

"The following particulars will serve to show what has been done in the twenty months the Institution has been in existence:—Subscriptions to the amount of £95 have been received; Rent, £50 has been paid, and £425 has been expended almost entirely in wages!"

economy. The nuns pointed out to us a new building, nearly finished, which was about to be opened as a deaf and dumb asylum for boys. It has since been inaugurated with much ceremony, and placed under the management of the Christian Brothers. I have lately heard from Ireland that some members of this society have consented to undertake the superintendence of the new Reformatory School for boys, shortly to be opened at Cork.

The only school I visited in Ireland which gave me no pleasure was one in Dublin for very destitute boys, belonging, I believe, to the Irish Church Missions, a society whose object is "to promote the glory of God in the salvation of souls of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, through the instrumentality of the established church of England and Ireland."* The school I have mentioned is one among many established by the society for the purpose of proselytism. The order and attention in the school appeared very good, and the pupils well instructed. They are partly fed; indeed it is this food which is a great inducement to them to attend. There is a Roman Catholic school near, established as I heard for the purpose of re-converting those whose faith the Protestants had succeeded in shaking. This latter institute also bestows food, and we were told that the boys often alternate between the two, attending I suppose most regularly where they obtain the largest rations.

The Irish Church Missions spend £30,000 a-year in the work of conversion. The greater part of this money is collected in England, and doubtless the contributors in many cases deprive themselves, not merely of luxuries, but perhaps of comforts, in order that they may aid, as they imagine, in releasing the poor Irish from an ignorant superstition and in giving them a purer religion. But, however we may differ from Roman Catholics in matters of creed, yet can we justly call that religion an ignorant superstition, under whose auspices the institutions which I have attempted to describe have arisen? However, setting that question aside, what are the results of this expenditure, especially of that portion of it devoted to the conversion of the poor, the destitute and the starving? These unfortunate creatures

* Report of the Irish Church Missions.

I did not make the acquaintance of any ladies belonging to this order, but we visited a convent of cloistered nuns (the order of the Visitation) in the neighbourhood of Dublin in which we found the sisters engaged in their schools, and they appeared perfectly happy, and contented with their lot. But the nuns whose acquaintance we had chiefly the pleasure of making, belonged to the sisterhoods of Charity and Mercy, who differ from other religious orders, in being able to leave their convents whenever the objects, to which they have devoted their lives, require them to do so. They also, unlike other orders, visit the sick, and undertake the management of hospitals.

The foundation of both these orders is of comparatively recent date, the former having been organized by a Mrs.* Aikenhead, a lady of Cork (who is still alive), in 1815; and the latter by Mrs. M'Auley, in 1827. These orders have spread so rapidly that their convents have been established all over Ireland, and so far as regards the sisterhood of Mercy, in several other parts of the world. Very possibly (but of this I am not sure), the sisters of Charity may also have establishments in foreign countries.

Both these orders have the same object in view, *i. e.* the amelioration and relief of the sick and destitute, the education of the poor, and the reformation of the vicious. "Miss M'Auley," says the friend whom I have before mentioned, "resided with a wealthy gentleman and his wife in Dublin, as companion. The fidelity with which she watched over their interests, and the general sweetness of disposition she evinced, on all occasions, towards them, so won upon the hearts of this good couple, that they were induced, when dying, to bequeath her their entire property, well aware in what manner she would dispose of it, her love for, and devotion to, the poor (particularly unprotected young women) having been so evident during her residence with them."

The benevolent intentions of the two foundresses have been admirably carried into execution by both sisterhoods, who work unceasingly at their labour of love.

It must also be understood that the house work in all convents, except the very rough cleaning, is almost always performed by the sisters themselves; and that not only are

* *Mrs.* is the title given to nuns in Ireland, whether they are married or not.

these various charitable institutions, (many different ones being carried on in the same convent,) superintended, but, if I may use the expression, *worked* by the Nuns.

The first school I visited in Ireland was in the convent of St. Mary of the Isles, at Cork, belonging to the Sisters of Charity, where, besides a school for poor children, there is an asylum for destitute female orphans, in which the pupils are received, clothed, and educated. They are instructed in the duties of domestic servants, and at a proper age are placed out in situations.

In Dublin we visited several convents; one in Baggot-street, the parent house of the Sisters of Mercy, and the one in which Mrs. M'Auley commenced her charitable labours by establishing an asylum for the protection of females of good character. It now contains several institutions under its roof. Firstly, a *National School*, that is, a school in connexion with the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. Every school in that country which is either directly under the management of the Board, or which being managed by local Trustees or Patrons is inspected and assisted by the Commissioners, *must* be thrown open to children of every Christian denomination. Religious instruction *must* be amply provided for; but no child is obliged to be present during these lessons unless it is so desired by its parents or guardians; and in schools only assisted by the Commissioners, if the managers do not choose to admit the religious teachers of the different denominations into the school-house, which all those "vested for the purposes of National Education" are compelled to do (of course under regulations of time and convenience), they must allow their pupils to absent themselves at reasonable times for the purpose of receiving religious instruction elsewhere. These admirable regulations, which are faithfully carried into practice, have rendered it possible for persons of any denomination to become either patrons, managers, or teachers of National Schools. The Commissioners have thus demonstrated that with judicious rules, honestly enforced, the two religions whose antagonism has so long been, aye, which still is the bane of Ireland, may exist together in harmony. Let us, therefore, hope that if the admirable example of the National Board of Education be followed generally in the country, religious

be no opposition to sending subjects to them. But as it has been judged more advisable in these institutions to have smaller *families*, I should hope the extensive ones may be the minority. The greater the number of homes, if well worked, the greater amount of benefit to be conferred on all, innocent as well as guilty; since I would make it, as I said before, *obligatory* with all to have an Industrial School attached, into which any poor child may be received, and for the necessary support of which money and help must be generously given. I consider these schools the crowning point of the whole. They secure certain employment for the discharged convict; they make the neglected girl independent of the world, while regaining the esteem of friends and neighbours. They give her an opportunity of social intercourse of which she might otherwise be deprived; they also bring her in contact with kind and independent patronesses, who may by their countenance and friendship obtain her a toleration, if not an equal footing, amongst her companions, and support her tottering resolutions in moments of temptation and weakness. Surely I need not add all that naturally presents itself to the thoughts of any one who chooses to enter into the difficulties and dangers lying in the path of the poor restored prisoner!

Industrial Schools established by aid of the funds of Reformatories, or rather gaol-grants, must naturally become the economical branch of this hitherto swamping and sweeping prison expenditure. Look at the table of charges for each prisoner convicted and reconvicted, and then see what one quarter of the sum so lavished would have produced of blessing and comfort to thousands if this system had been in operation those many years. Is it not simple and easy? what risk can there be in attempting it? Surely it carries blessings even when it fails, for it cannot be in existence ever so short a time without sowing the seed of industry, hope, self-dependence, and exertion. In addition, the Industrial School combines the important object of preservatory institutions. It meets the great difficulty, the prejudice and fears of those unwilling to credit, and almost incapable of believing in, the reformation of the convict. It tests the prisoner herself thoroughly. It keeps her more under surveillance than if watched by a whole company of police, while it secures to her a longer care, and consequently a more certain support in her good resolutions, by

enabling her to keep near the friends, who, under God, have saved her. If I have dwelt too long on this part of the subject, excuse me, as it is because I feel it to be the all important completion of the good aimed at. Otherwise, how meet the continual and overwhelming numbers that will accumulate? It is not for a present evil you are going to legislate, but for an ever recurring misfortune. And here I would suggest that the work should not be too quickly developed. Much must be learned by experience, and unity of action is all important. Let the trust of direction be confided to very few, until the system has been tried, and errors remedied.

Thus, with God's blessing, the work must progress, multiplying with the wants, and still more in proportion to the benefits accruing, as many charitable institutions will become in a manner affiliated to the fundamental Reformatory.

An industrial school properly worked, acts on the poor in its neighbourhood, as a railway does on an isolated and inland country town. Trade follows; friends arrive; sickness becomes known and succoured; a tie is established between the parents and the bread givers of their children. All the good insured of religious training, is reflected on the homes. The noted improvidence of our people is at least checked in the children. A small fact will prove this. When in the Cork school, at one period of our most prosperous demand for nets, many of the children used to complain to me, that they would have earned much more in the week, had they not unfortunately given all their earnings on Saturday to their mothers, who having spent them early in the week, had not the means of procuring candles towards the close. But this did not last long, for after a while I remarked that before going home on Saturday, many a child turned into a chandler's shop, and supplied herself with caudles for the week. How much this fact may suggest.

In speaking of the necessity of experience before developing the work, I have been made to feel its importance by a few of the difficulties I found with the girls who came to me from the Reformatory. Not that I want to criticize, or would permit myself to disapprove of the good sisters' system. I do believe they adopted the best, indeed the only one suitable to the subjects presented. But this does not prevent me from stating the defects, as we are all concerned in coming to the truth, in order that we may secure the most perfect method

for carrying out the determination made for it. It is equally certain I believe that any change in their mode of treatment if the parents as I may call them, would be numerous and a change is equally evident that a change should be gradually effected in removing the case after a certain time.

We found these reformed girls when we returned into the industrial establishment very busy in the struggle of life. Having been apparently unacquainted as a reformed. The first fault found in the nation was considered moral and intellectual. The girls were almost all well and well and the industrial girls who were of the poorest class, but were generous in conduct and who seemed reserved a little, disappointed that the change did not by any means make a fair share of the common mode of the industry. Then the reformed girls murmured at not being able to do much which they had been accustomed to while in the same time they were unwilling to work themselves to such even a sufficiency of the ordinary sort of our work. There was no getting them up in the morning; they made many excuses of weakness or illness, which we were generally obliged to accept, being always fearful of the one great fear that the girls would leave us, and as had themselves without means of employment be supported from week to week by the aid of a few small. Had these girls been happy & loved to go long separately in poor houses and poor houses together like other girls to get work, they would have a great chance that they must struggle even more than the rest.

When we began to consider of their entire dependence on their own earnings, and knowing how little they could expect from the families with whom they lodged, they would not have attempted to escape more. But the case was different, where we were having them lodged together with care taken of their conduct. They knew we could not let them want, they had begun to feel as a matter of course that they were privileged, and yet they were far from being content. While many a poor respectable girl left our door in sorrow, that we could not take her in, and give her work, those reformed ones were constantly threatening to go away, saying that certainly in a few weeks they would leave, if we did not secure elsewhere some situation for them. I believe they began to hate the thought of each other's society, and felt always that an imprudent word might expose them to be known in the School.

This I believe to have been the chief cause of their uneasiness in their position, and it is proved by the fact that when all had left, but one, she brightened up so as to be no longer the same downcast, though docile girl. She was the best of the four that we took from the Reformatory, and is now comfortably placed where her master and mistress are quite pleased with her. We did not tell her secret, as we were not asked, and supposed it was taken for granted, that she had been always as good as her companions. This was the success of our trial to amalgamate the reformed with the innocent girls. I have no doubt those four would have gone on admirably, had they been previously inured to more hardship. The proof of this is the letter I received from one of them, who emigrated to Canada. She speaks of the happy days she spent in our laundry. She now feels by contrast that she had been only asked to do her due share of work ; but the easier life of the Reformatory had made it appear too difficult. She had been seven years in a poor-house, from whence she had been sent direct to Prison for two years, then eight months at Golden Bridge. She remained four months with us, and when she left us was about twenty-three years of age. She could only do coarse washing, and therefore had no hope of being placed soon, and when she emigrated found it very hard to get employment. She regrets that she had not been better prepared, and begs of me to tell her companions not to come, unless they have learned to be at least thorough servants. The kind patron who gave her the means of emigrating would have been very glad had she consented to remain longer with us, but the term of her ticket-of-leave had expired, and she was free. We had no time to repair the early neglect, as we could do nothing to detain her.

While in our institution the matron complained one day that this girl seemed to give herself up entirely to despondency, and had that morning sulkily refused to do any work. I directed that she should be sent to my house, and there we sat together for about two hours. Of course I spoke gently to her and reasoned on her conduct. At first her answers were short and stiff ; but after a little while, when I reminded her what pain her misconduct would give her patron and benefactor Mr.—, who had given her a further trial after she had lost by ill temper their privilege of being sent to service, she burst into tears and then poured out her history of the past. She

told how she had sorrowed long and hopelessly in the poor-house, often wishing that some one would teach her something by which she could earn a subsistence, for though she had been employed in coarse work while in the union, she had never advanced farther, and when she came to us she could not be trusted even to wash stockings. She read very well and wrote a fair hand. At first I thought of having her trained for teaching, but remembering how unfit she was for the charge of children, her temper being uncertain and moody, I considered it would be unwise to do so. Who indeed would employ her when aware of her antecedents? She was intelligent, and fully understood her position; and this it was no doubt which sometimes made her irritable to the last degree. In the course of the conversation I referred to, she complained bitterly of her hard fate. I tried to give her hope, and prayed her to have patience, at the same time representing how impossible it was that I could keep her in our house if she continued to disregard the matron, and give such bad example to the other inmates. "Oh!" said the girl, "I know my fate. I am doomed I see!" I asked, how? "Why, ma'am, I know I cannot earn my bread honestly—I won't go back to the union, but I will to prison." I asked how she was to return there? "I cannot tell you," she replied, "but once in again I will make up my mind to remain; I shall be a *good prisoner*." It was in vain I tried to remind her that she could only re-enter by infringing God's law. She would not, nor could she apparently be brought to think herself culpable by the very thought, she could only tell me of the misery of the poor-house, and the comfort of the prison contrasted with it. However, when I promised that if she conducted herself well for a few weeks, I should ask her kind benefactor to help her to emigrate, she began to cheer up, and said at once, "you shall see that I shall keep my word." She did so, fulfilling every duty that was required. Moreover she determined to contribute something towards the expense of her voyage, and for this purpose denied herself almost necessary food, until we were obliged to remonstrate with her on the danger to her health if she continued to eat so sparingly. It was too late to commence teaching her any trade, and I was afraid to give her on trial to any one for domestic service, for her threat gave me serious uneasiness. I could not tell by what act of violence she might qualify herself again for prison. I have delayed thus long on

this girl's history, because it illustrates the defects of both the establishments in which she had lived so long at the expense of the public, and from whence she was sent forth after all in danger of being forced to deserve recommitment while unable to earn her bread honestly.

These girls constantly spoke to me of the good food they got in prison, and of the just manner in which their work was allotted to them; above all they dwelt on the advantage of being able to earn while there. They all seemed most grateful to the lady matron, whom they told me was ever kind and watchful over them. They mentioned her care in coming to taste the milk, and see that the bread was also faultless. What a pity that while giving them all this, nothing was attempted to enable them to gain a livelihood. Surely it was not to be expected that domestic servants were to be entirely supplied from the prisons. I should think such situations most unfit for discharged prisoners, most likely of all others to bring danger to themselves, and cause discontent on the part of mistresses. Where would those poor girls be more likely to get habits of luxury, and to find occasions tempting them to betray trust. Employment at home or with those of their own rank would I think be far safer, as giving them more help to sustain their good resolutions, and more interest to regain the esteem and trust of the neighbours about them. No doubt exceptions will occur, and some excellent servants may be trained from a prison. But there will be far greater help for the many, by securing them in the Industrial School the knowledge of some means of support independent of the hazards of service.

While speaking of the reformed girls I should tell you that although we lodged them in our Institution and gave them work, we thought it better to pay them their wages weekly and let them spend the money as they pleased. By so doing we gave them the power and the habit of self dependence and self restraint. Each procured her own food, and it was only required that it should be taken at a fixed time, and in company with the rest. It was pleasant to see them all sitting cheerfully and socially together at table, the discharged convict and the innocent respectable girl side by side. One would have tea and hot cake: her neighbour nothing but dry potatoes, preferring to save, and purchase some article of dress badly needed. Another would give herself the indulgence of a salt herring and butter with her potatoes, while her companion would have fried

bacon. No one seemed to think it a grievance that she could not enjoy the luxury within view, and thus moral training went on. They used to take it as a great favour when I looked and chatted with them while they were at dinner, and she from whose store I accepted a potatoe deemed herself quite a favoured individual. Oh if the prosperous and gentle of our sex only remembered and were aware of all the joy they could give by the small sympathy of a cordial look or word to the poor, how much they might do to raise and comfort them.

I will now add my plan of the Industrial School to be attached to each Reformatory.

Religious instruction and training must be the first and last object. All rules and regulations to be made in reference to this essence of their vitality.

Next, such teaching as may prepare each child to take her place as a useful member and loveable addition to the poor man's fireside.

Every effort to be made to correct, if not eradicate, the habits of disorder and improvidence, added to the general ignorance of household work, which unfortunately characterize our people wherever they are domesticated. This real regeneration may be secured by earnest and unwearied efforts, while the children are under the subjection of those entrusted with the management of the Industrial Homes.

Every school must have a class of plain work into which each child must pass as she enters, and there remain until able to make a shirt creditably. Special premiums to be given yearly to such as distinguish themselves in patching and every other kind of reparation of clothes, darning stockings, &c. &c.

A class should also be formed for the house-work, washing rooms, cleaning grates, making up dormitories, &c.

A class for learning to cook. Great care should be taken to provide a clever head for this department. She alone should be permanent in it, her helpers being drawn from the classes, and left with her long enough to be made to understand the business thoroughly.

A class for the laundry. When made good washers of the plain clothes of the house, it will be easy to add the knowledge and practice necessary to make up shirts.

The literary classes to be distinct from the training organization. It may be optional with each establishment to accept the aid of the National System for the four hours required by the Board; but

only so far as it is no hindrance to the religious training. It could not possibly be accepted if its ordinary rules were required to be kept. Special exemption from certain regulations should be conceded, otherwise, in aiming at intellectual culture for our children, their hearts and souls might be lost, as sincere and earnest piety must be inculcated at every step both by word and deed, otherwise the very title of reformatory must become a mockery.

Every school must secure to each child the certainty of learning to read, and write, and a fair knowledge of arithmetic, sufficient at least for the details of house-keeping. A special inspector should be charged with this literary supervision, and be required to visit the schools constantly.

The distribution of the school hours to be entirely optional with the Managers of the Home, as they should depend on the kind of labor adapted for the employment and future support of the children. As it would be essential to the success of the Industrial and Preservatory Schools that well conducted children should attend them, it would be well that part of the pecuniary profit arising from the work of the interns should be devoted to giving one meal to the extern children. A certain sum also should be laid aside as a reserve fund for the wants of the intern child when leaving the Home.

In conclusion, when I propose to give the Catholic Convicts into the care of nuns in the first instance, it is not by any means my wish or intention to exclude from the glorious work of reforming the poor prisoners any ladies who may be willing and capable of accepting this responsibility, on the approval of those appointed to examine their qualifications for this all important trust. It may be a completion of the work, if seculars, endowed with the necessary requirements, undertake it, but much circumspection and a searching scrutiny should be used before their election. The charge is so onerous, and requires such entire devotedness, that no persons, unless separated from worldly ties, or at least worldly pleasures, can be deemed worthy of the trust. But I have no doubt some such will present themselves and they should be accepted cordially. Their help would be most important, as classes may be confided to them with the certainty that their worldly experience would enable them to bring additional and valuable help to the efforts of the communities.

The above sketch of a regulation for Reformatories is of course very imperfect. It would be impossible to give a rule applicable to each individual home. Special details must be left to the Lady-Inspector, fulfilling an office which I deem indispensable to the successful working of the entire system. Much must depend in the first instance on the class of prisoners selected for admission, and in the second place on the kind of occupation chosen for them. To those who fear the experiment of encouraging respectable children to frequent the Industrial classes, it is only necessary to say that such admixture can never be attempted, except in cases where the strictest watchfulness is exercised by the manager with regard to the stage of Reformation arrived at by the class most needing supervision, and also with respect to the conduct of the external children attending. The latter class are in reality far less exposed to danger under the roof of an Industrial School than they are by remaining at home, where perhaps in their own lane, or lodging, they are hourly coming in contact with the unconvicted rogue. Be it also remembered that all Industrial Schools need not be Reformatory Institutions, or even classified preservatory establishments. Many classes of industry may be attached to ordinary schools, by benevolent individuals, and these will find their advantage in the fact that commercial travellers will come to the larger market. The greater the number of these Schools, the better for each, the more work done, and the greater the variety, the more chance of large orders. It was so in Cork. We were often able to give help to Schools whose workers were not so far advanced as our own, and being certain of such supplementary aid, we were able to take large orders including various kinds of work. The beginners were given such portions as they could undertake, and the entire was completed by the trained hands.

Again, we must not suppose that these girls are to remain always at the Industrial School. In that event how should room be made for the new comers? I should anticipate a similar result to that experienced in the South. The girls after a time were enabled to set up on their own account. In Mr. Maguire's account of the National Exhibition 1852, it is mentioned that I found one of our best hands on one occasion in her humble home surrounded by twenty children whom she had selected to enable her to finish an order she had obtained for herself from one of the monster establishments. She had

been a most attentive, well-conducted girl, and when I missed her from School, I feared she was ill. She seemed quite alarmed when I entered, but was quickly reassured by the evident satisfaction it gave me to see her success. This girl had been reduced to a state of the deepest distress, and had come to the School from the Fever Hospital. Another supposed truant, whom I accosted one day in the street, informed me that she was then herself paying £2 10s 0d weekly wages. The same thing occurred with the shirt trade. Agents came from England and cut out shirts, which they gave at the counter to those who had been trained at our Schools, and thus prepared to take work on their own responsibility. Without the operation of Industrial Schools they could never have acquired so much knowledge; they were brought to it gradually, and we were all the while enabled to pay the learner at every stage, in consequence of the immense quantity of work to be executed.

After a few days, a child could *hem*, and was perfected so far; her mother often accompanied her, and was taught to finish; while a third or fourth of the same family was taught the other parts—the advantages of centralisation and unity becoming manifest. A child who had perhaps given up embroidery or *sewed muslin* work, hopeless of being able to remain long enough at it to make it really productive, was easily brought to apply the knowledge she had acquired to the button hole work of a shirt, while the good *veiner* became at once a good finisher of fronts. I have already proved to you that one manufacture produced another. The same embroidery enabled us to accept an order for cloth waistcoats, by which our children continued for several months to earn from six to eight shillings a week. The very designs from which the patterns were formed, were also of home manufacture. I got them done by the pupils of the Christian Brothers' drawing schools.

Why do I detail all these particulars? just to encourage those who listen to my pleadings for the establishment of these schools. If so much was actually accomplished in the midst of innumerable obstacles arising from want of money, of knowledge, and of sufficient help, what might not be hoped if Reformatory Establishments dotted all over the country were given the means of causing the blessings of industry to be spread throughout the land.

But I have exceeded all bounds in the length of this *abridge-*

ment. Be thankful that you have at last come to the end. Tempt me no more to write letters. You might cause me to become what I so much deprecate—a mere theorist. We have a struggling school to mind just at this moment. As a consequence of the late American failures, the work is wretchedly paid; and at such a crisis there is nothing left for us to do but to put on a higher pressure of kindness and sympathy by visiting our children more frequently, talking over their hopes and concerns, and looking after the truants. In this way alone can we endeavour to keep the school together until some help shall be providentially sent us. If you think these details too long, select what may be useful, and cut away the rest. I know nothing of the art of writing, and may only weary the reader I would fain interest. Use therefore your own discretion on the matter, and be sure that whatever you decide on will satisfy

Yours, dear Sir,

Very sincerely

E. W.

Richmond,

March 6th, 1858.

This letter, from the pen of a lady whose former communications to THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW have attracted the notice of the most influential portion of the English and Irish Press, and which have loaded our table with private letters, in approval of, or requesting further information from the writer, appears to us of the vastest importance. It would be important at any period, but just at this particular time, when a Reformatory Schools' Bill for Ireland is on the point of being laid before the Legislature, its importance and value are a hundred fold increased.

Reformatory Schools are good things, and are needed, most pressinglly required, in Ireland, but it must also be recollected that there is a vast mass of floating, undeveloped crime, that crime which always lurks under want, and which the Industrial School, rather than the Reformatory, is calculated, to meet. It must always be kept clearly in mind that the little, idle, wandering, workless, ignorant "loafing" child of to-day may become the predatory "city arab," the "home heathen," of to-morrow. All who are acquainted with the philosophy of the Reformatory question know this, and thus it comes to pass, that they who do know the question most thoroughly are those who desire most ardently to see Industrial Schools established on safe and sure principles throughout every portion of these kingdoms. It is a Christian and a wise desire, because it is founded on that unquestionable truth which the Aberdeen Industrial Schools take for their motto—**PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE.**

We are ardently anxious for a Reformatory Schools' act for this country, but if that act be unaccompanied by an extension of *Dunlop's Act*, modified to suit the peculiar requirements of Ireland, the work will be, in our mind, but half accomplished,

We have, doubtless, numbers of juvenile criminals, but we have a still more numerous body of juvenile idlers. Our Poor Houses *train* up girls who must live idle in the Poor House, and starve in the world, 'or become criminal to obtain a gaol maintenance, or sinful to flaunt in the wretched tawdriness of the prostitute. They are helpless to obtain an honest living, they are a disgrace to the legislation which legalizes a system as unnatural in management as it is unchristian and unwise in design.

Thus are the Poor-House-reared girls: change the sex, and every evil is but more strongly, and more dangerously, and more patently developed.

If, however, a sound, well designed, and carefully carried out

system of industrial training were adopted, a system teaching self-reliance, and self-respect, this coupled with Reformatory Schools, would make our now "famishing and dangerous" classes of juveniles one of, as Mary Carpenter tenderly and thoughtfully calls them, "*little sinners*," and something more like the little ones amongst whom our Saviour sat, and whom he said we should resemble if we hoped to be his friends.

THE

IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXIX.—APRIL, 1858.

ART I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

SIXTH PAPER.*

1. *Typographia, or the Printers' Instructor, including an account of the origin of Printing, with Biographical Notices of the Printers of England from Carton to the close of the Sixteenth Century.* By J. Johnson, Printer. London: Longman and Co., 1824.
2. *Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris.* Par J. Chevallier, Paris, 1694.
3. *Annales Typographica.* Norimbergæ: 1793.
4. *Essai sur les Livres dans l'Antiquité.* Par H. Gérard. Paris: 1840.

PRICES OF BOOKS IN ANCIENT TIMES AND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.—“The ancients apprise us, according to Aulus-Gellius, that Plato, though possessed of a very moderate patrimony, purchased for 10,000 deniers (£400) the three books of the Pythagorean Philolaus, and from which Plato is said to have derived the greater part of his *Timæus*. Some authors assert that this sum was given him by his friend Dionysius of Syracuse. It is also related that Aristotle, after the death of Speusippus, paid three attic talents (£659) for some books composed by this philosopher. This sum, according to the value of the Roman money, was about 72,000 sesterces. Timon, in his three books of satires, gives vent to his malignity; apostrophizes Plato, whom he tells us was very poor, in consequence of hav-

*For the other papers of this series see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. VI., No. 23, p. 439. No. 24, p. 647. Vol. VII., No. 25, p. 1. No. 26, p. 267. No. 27 p. 629.

ing purchased at a very high rate a treatise on Pythagorean philosophy, from which he obtained some plagiarisms for his famous dialogue. The following are Timon's lines on the subject:—"And thou also Plato, thou hast been seized with the desire of improving thyself, and purchased with so much money a little book, by the aid of which thou wilt be enabled to write thyself."*

We have here the most ancient mention of the prices given for books by the writers of antiquity, but few evidences have been afforded us on this subject. Martial, however, furnishes us with a few.

"Near the Forum of Cæsar," wrote he in the hundred and eighteenth epigram of his second book, "may be seen a shop, the entire front of which is covered with titles of works, where with the glance of an eye you can read the names of all the poets. Entering there and addressing yourself to Atrectus, the name of the shopkeeper, you ask for my book. He takes from the first or second shelf a Martial well bound and ornamented with purple, which he sells to you for five deniers" (about 3s.)

The work alluded to here is the first book of Martial's *Epigrams*, composed of seven hundred lines. Besides, speaking of his thirteenth book, composed of a hundred and twenty-seven very brief title pages, and of two hundred and seventy-four lines, the same poet wrote (*Ep.* 3): "Everybody sought to procure this little book, which sold so dear, four sesterces (about nine pence) four! too much. If the bookseller Tryphon had sold it for two, he would still have had profit." If this *Epigram* might be taken literally, it followed that Martial's bookseller in selling the thirteenth book of the poet for four sesterces gained more than cent per cent profit on each copy.

The following are some particulars of the prices given in the middle ages, which will complete those which we have already inserted.

In 690 Benedict Biscop, monk and founder of the monastery of Wearmouth, sold to Egfride, King, of Northumberland, a manuscript on cosmography for eight hundred acres of arable land.

* *Attic Nights*, book III., ch. 17, Collection Dubochil. See also Diogenes Laërtius, *Life of Plato*.

In 1174, Walter, prior of Saint Swithin, at Winchester, purchased the *Homilies* of Bède and the *Psalter* of Saint Austin, for twelve measures of barley, and a pallium, on which was represented, in embroidery, the history of Saint Berinus converting a Saxon king.*

W. de Howton sold to the Abbot of Croxton, in 1276, a Bible expounded, for 50 marks of silver, about thirty-four pounds, whilst the construction of two arches of the Bridge of London, at this period cost only twenty-five pounds. In the registry of the Priory of Bolton, in the year 1305, may be found this note: Pro quodam libro Sententiarum empt. XXXs. It was the book of Sentences of the famous Peter Lombard. They would have got two fat oxen for the same price.

In a deed of 1332, Geoffroy de Saint Liger, one of the clerks of the library of Paris, acknowledged and confessed having sold and surrendered, under mortgage of all his goods and guarantee of his body, a book entitled, *Speculum historie in consuetudines Parisienses*, divided and bound in four volumes, covered in red leather, to a nobleman, Girard de Montagu, Advocate to the King in Parliament, for the moderate sum of forty Paris livres

The book of Pierre Comestor, *Scolastica Historia*, taken at the battle of Poitiers, was afterwards bought for 100 marks of silver, (about 66 livres sterling), by the Count of Salisbury.

Petrarch (who died in 1374), relates in a letter addressed to his friend Penna, that Tuscus, his master of grammar and rhetoric, being a great libertine, was obliged, in order to pay his debts to pawn two small volumes of Cicero.

A very old document of the same period, (1393), the truth of which is unimpeachable, relates that Alazacie de Blevis, a lady of Romolles, wife to Boniface the Magnificent of Castellane, Baron of Germany, in making her will, bequeathed to a young lady, her daughter, a certain number of books in which were inserted all the body of laws, formed and designed on parchment in the most elegant hand-writing; she enjoined her that in case she was about to marry, she should select a gentleman of the long robe, a jurisconsult, and that at her death she

* Timperly relates that in 1120, Martin, a monk selected by the Convent of St. Edmund's Bury to transcribe a copy of the Bible, could not obtain parchment in England for this object.

would bequeath to him this rich and most valuable treasure, as being a portion of her dowry. We may here observe that the Art of Printing was not at the time in use, or even discovered, Guttenberg being the originator. Gentlemen of Germany, and such of the noble houses of Provence as possessed such volumes, esteemed them a great treasure and considered themselves endowed with a vast and important inheritance; because libraries containing such works usually cost a very large sum, and they could not be copied or transcribed for even a very high price; and the men of letters were so scarce, so very difficult to be met with, and held in such high esteem and veneration, that those who could possessed themselves of those treasured volumes, studied them eagerly night and day, and preserved them carefully.*

In 1394, Louis d'Orleans bought of Oliver Lempire, a Breviary, in a single volume, for 40 crowns in gold. Another Breviary used in Paris, in two large volumes, covered in white leather, was purchased by the same prince, the 18th of February 1397, for 200 golden francs.

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In 1400 a copy of the *Romance of the Rose*,‡ was sold at Paris, before the Palace gates, for about thirty-three pounds.

* L'Histoire et Chronique de Provence, de Cæsar de Nostradamus, Lyon, 1614, in folio p. 516.

† See the Bibliothèque de Charles d'Orleans, à son Château de Blois, by Le Roux de Lincy, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes, vol 5. We would be able to extract from this Catalogue the price of a very great number of books, but these volumes were almost all ornamented with such gorgeousness, that it would be impossible to give a just idea of the relative value of such work.

‡ For an account of this book see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 24, p. 673.

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Les Heures which Charles the VI. gave, in 1412, to the Duchess of Burgundy, cost 600 crowns.

An ancient scroll at the abbey of St Stephen at Caen, recorded that in 1431 they purchased for seven francs the works of Peter Lombard. This year they might have had, for the same sum, seventy bushels of corn.

The 2nd of November, 1447, Lantimer de Gisors made a bargain with Guillaume Tuleu, proctor to the Hotel Dieu at Paris by which he obtained entrance into the hospital and permission to dwell there on condition of his bestowing a manuscript entitled *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, written about the year 1358, by Guilleville, a Bernardine religious of Chaales; in order said Lantimer "to obtain pardon of his sins, and that our Holy Father the Pope would grant in his Bulls to the Hotel Dieu the power of maintaining him for that sum, and an intention also through God's mercy for himself, his wife, children, father, mother, friends, and benefactors, both living and dead, and especially his master Nicole Ducar, surgeon to King Charles, whom may God absolve for having given him this book, and may he participate with him in obtaining pardon of his sins."

About the middle of the fifteenth century, Cardinal James Piccolomini having requested the Florentine, Acciaïoli to purchase for him a Josephus, Acciaïoli not daring to buy this work in consequences of its very high price offered to the Cardinal, three volumes of Plutarch for 8 crowns of Gold, and the *Epistles* of Seneca for 16 crowns.

We find in the fifth book of the *Epistles* of Antonio Panormita, a letter addressed by this savant to the King of Naples, Alphonso V. the enlightened supporter of literature, (who died in 1458). The following is a translation:—

"Having been apprised that the works of Livy, in good type are selling in Florence for 120 golden crowns, I request your Majesty to purchase in my name, and send to me the works of this historian, that we have been in the habit of designating the *King of Books*. In a short time I hope to be enabled to procure money to reimburse you for this purchase. I desire, however, very much to know who has acted a wiser part, Poggio or me. He, in order to purchase a villa at Florence, sold a *Livy* that had been magnificently transcribed in his own hand whilst I have sold an estate to buy a *Livy*."

We read in the twentieth epistle of Gaguin á Fichet, that,

would bequeath to him this rich and most valuable treasure, as being a portion of her dowry. We may here observe that the Art of Printing was not at the time in use, or even discovered, Guttenberg being the originator. Gentlemen of Germany, and such of the noble houses of Provence as possessed such volumes, esteemed them a great treasure and considered themselves endowed with a vast and important inheritance; because libraries containing such works usually cost a very large sum, and they could not be copied or transcribed for even a very high price; and the men of letters were so scarce, so very difficult to be met with, and held in such high esteem and veneration, that those who could possessed themselves of those treasured volumes, studied them eagerly night and day, and preserved them carefully.*

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having been commissioned by one of his Italian friends to purchase at Paris, a concordance of the Bible, he could only find one very well written copy, which the bookseller Paschassius would sell for 100 golden crowns.

Louis XI having learned that the Faculty of Medicine were in possession of a manuscript of Rasès, a celebrated Arabic Physician of the tenth century, demanded a loan of it from the Faculty for the purpose of transcribing it. We have here the reply addressed to him by the body.

"Our Sovereign Lord, whilst in our humility we recommend ourselves to your favour, and desire to inform you, our Sovereign Lord, that the president, Messire Jean de la Driesche, has commissioned us to say that you can have the rescript for which you have sent, *Totum continens Rasie*, in order to transcribe it; but as we possess but one copy, we require a guerdon for its security, Sire, being the most valuable and rare treasure in our faculty, and not to be procured elsewhere. Nevertheless, desiring with all our hearts to comply with your request, we will forward the book for transcription, provided you deposit certain vessels of silver and other securities to bail us as to its safety: this, according to the statutes of our faculty, must be complied with, having sworn on the Holy Gospel to guard and preserve it, which, without such observance could never have been accomplished. Praying to God, Sire, &c. This 29 November, 1471." Farther on it has been recorded that the security required by the faculty had been fixed to 12 marcs of silver and 20 sterlings, and that beside Malingre should go security for a hundred golden crowns.*

As might be supposed the discovery of printing pulled down rapidly the price of manuscripts. "What acts of thanks!" wrote Jean André Bishop of Aleria to Pope Paul II., "should not the Christian and literary world render to you for having introduced printing into Rome. Is it not a great glory and honor for your Holiness to have procured for so many of your poor people the facility of forming a library at comparatively trifling expense, and of purchasing for 20 crowns correct volumes which some time since could scarcely be obtained for 100 crowns, though filled with the errors of the copyists? At

* "Historia Universitatis Parisiensis," by Du Boulay, vol. v. p. 685.

present we can buy a volume cheaper than formerly we would pay for binding."*

To conclude all we have written on the price and value of books before the discovery of printing, we do not consider it irrelevant to shew by the following catalogue that in 1521 a small classic library could be formed at but trifling expense. We copy it textually from an unpublished inventory taken at Paris the 22nd of March, 1523, after the death of M. Pot, who whilst living had been the king's councillor, president of inquiry, treasurer and canon of La Sainte Chapelle of the Palace:—

	Sols.	Deniers
Turnois		
Anlus Gellius .. ...	..	6
Ariani prefacio de res gestas (sic)	..	6
Alexandri ...	....	8
Cicero de officiis cum commento. 1 vol. ...	12	..
—de Natura Deorum, textus avec Sallus-		
tus cum commento	12	..
Tusculanes Ciceronis cum Commento ..	6	..
Rhetorica Ciceronis cum Commento ...	6	..
Plura Ciceronis ..	2	..
Commentaria Cesarii (sic), Venize ...	6	..
Diogenes Laercius ...	2	..
Opera Dyonisii ...	12	..
Herodiani historie ...	16	..
Isidori sinonima, escript à la main		
en parchemin ....	..	6
Titus Livius, 3 vol.	17	..
Lucianus cum interpretatione Erasmi	4	..
Philostratus de vita Apoloui (Apollonii)	..	12
Opera Platonis	18	..
Plinius, 2 vols. ...	16	..
Priscianus cum Commento ..	3	..
Sallustius, impression d'Alde	2	..
Opera Senesce, 1 vol.	20	..
Sactonius cum commento, impression		
de Venise. ...	18	..
Cornelius Tacitus ...	6	..
Thucides (Thucydides) de Bello	6	..
Pelomponesaaco (Peloponesiaco) ...	6	..

* Dedication of the "Epistles and Treatises of Saint Jerome."

him, and he promises to reimburse his correspondent all that he expends for the same.*

These public scribes derived their principal employment from the monks and the lawyers; from the former in transcribing their manuscripts, and by the latter in drawing up their legal instruments. They carried on their avocation at their own homes, like other artizans; but sometimes when employed by the monks executed their transcripts within the cloister, where they were boarded, lodged, and received their wages till their work was done. This was especially the case when some great book was to be copied, of rarity and price; thus we read of Paulinus, of St. Albans, sending into distant parts to obtain proficient workmen, who were paid so much per diem for their labour; their wages were generously supplied by the Lord of Redburn.†

The increase of knowledge and the foundation of the universities, gave birth to the booksellers. Their occupation as a distinct trade originated at a period coeval with the foundation of these public seminaries, although the first mention that we are aware of is made by Peter of Blois, about the year 1170. We shall have occasion to speak more hereafter of this celebrated scholar, but we may be excused for giving the anecdote here, as it is so applicable to our subject. It appears, then, that whilst remaining in Paris to transact some important matter for the King of England, he entered the shop "of a public dealer in books"—for be it known that the archdeacon was always on the search, and seldom missed an opportunity of adding to his library—the bookseller, Peter tells us, offered him a tempting collection on Jurisprudence; but although his knowledge of such matters was so great that he did not require them for his own use, he thought they might be serviceable to his nephew, and after bargaining a little about the price he counted down the money agreed upon, and left the stall; but no sooner was his back turned than the Provost of Sexeburgh came in, to look over the literary stores of the stationer, and his eye meeting the recently sold volume, he became inspired with a wish to possess it; nor could he, on hearing that it was

* *Nosti quot Scriptores in Urbibus aut in Agris Italiæ passim habeantur.*—Ep. cxxx. See also Ep. xlii. where he speaks of having purchased books in Italy, Germany and Belgium, at considerable cost. It is the most interesting Bibliomanical letter in the whole collection.

† Cottonian MS. in the Brit. Mus.—*Claudius*, E. iv. fo. 105, b.

bought and paid for by another, suppress his anxiety to obtain the treasure ; but offering more money, actually took the volume away by force. As may be supposed, Archdeacon Peter was sorely annoyed at this behaviour ; and " To his dearest companion and friend Master Arnold of Blois, Peter of Blois Archdeacon of Bath sent greeting " a long and learned letter, displaying his great knowledge of civil law, and maintaining the illegality of the provost's conduct.* The casual way in which this is mentioned makes it evident that the "*publico mangone Librorum*" was no unusual personage in those days, but belonged to a common and recognized profession.

The vast number of students who, by the foundation of universities, were congregated together, generated of course a proportionate demand for books, which necessity or luxury prompted them eagerly to purchase : but there were poor as well as rich students educated in these great seminaries of learning, whose pecuniary means debarred them from the acquisition of such costly luxuries ; and for this and other cogent reasons the universities deemed it advantageous, and perhaps expedient, to frame a code of laws and regulations to provide alike for the literary wants of all classes and degrees. To effect this they obtained royal sanction to take the trade entirely under their protection, and eventually monopolized a sole legislative power over the *Librarii*.

In the college of Navarre a great quantity of ancient documents are preserved, many of which relate to this curious subject. They were deposited there by M. Jean Aubert in 1623, accompanied by an inventory of them, divided into four parts by the first four letters of the alphabet. In the fourth, under D. 18, there is a chapter entitled "*Des Libraires, Appretiateurs, Jurez et Enlumineurs,*" which contains much interesting matter relating to the early history of bookselling.† These ancient statutes, collected and printed by the University in the year

* Epist. lxxi. p. 124, Edit. 4to. His words are—" Cum Dominus Rex Anglorum nre nuper ad Domini Regum Francorum nuntium destinasset, libri Legum venales Parisius oblatis sunt mihi ab illo B. publico mangone librorum : qui cum ad opus cujusdam mei nepotis idoneo viderentur conveni cum eo de pretio et eos abud venditorem dimittens, ei pretium numeravi ; superveniente vero C. Sexburgensi Præposito sicut audini, plus obtulit et licitatione vincens libros de domo venditoris per violentiam abspertavit."

† Chevallier *Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, 4to. 1694, p. 301.

1652,* made at various times, and ranging between the years 1275 and 1408, give us a clear insight into the matter.

The nature of a bookseller's business in those days required no ordinary capacity, and no shallow store of critical acumen; the purchasing of manuscripts, the work of transcription, the careful revisal, the preparation of materials, the tasteful illuminations, and the process of binding, were each employments requiring some talent and discrimination, and we are not surprised, therefore, that the avocation of a dealer, and fabricator of these treasures, should be highly regarded, and dignified into a profession, whose followers were invested with all the privileges, freedoms and exemptions, which the masters and students of the university enjoyed.† But it required these conciliations to render the restrictive and somewhat severe measures, which she imposed on the bookselling trade, to be received with any degree of favour or submission. For whilst the University of Paris, by whom these statutes were framed, encouraged and elevated the profession of the librarii, she required, on the other hand, a guarantee of their wealth and mental capacity, to maintain and to appreciate these important concessions; the bookseller was expected indeed to be well versed in all branches of science, and to be thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of those subjects and works of which he undertook to produce transcripts.‡ She moreover required of him, testimonials to his good character, an efficient security, ratified by a solemn oath of allegiance,§ and a promise to observe and submit to all the present and future laws and regulations of the university. In some cases, it appears that she restricted the number of librarii, though this fell into disuse as the wants of

* "Actes concernant le pouvoir et la direction de l'Université de Paris sur les Ecrivains de Livres et les Imprimeurs qui leurs ont succédé comme aussi sur les Libraires Relieurs et Enlumineurs," 4 to 1652, p. 44. It is very rare; a copy was in Biblioth. Teller, No. 132. p. 428. A statute of 1275 is given by Lambecii Comment. de August. Biblioth. Casarea Vindobon, vol. ii. pp. 252—267. The booksellers are called "Stationarii or Librarii;" *de Stationariis, sive Librariis et Stationarius, qui vulgo appellantur, &c.* See also *Du Cange*, vol. vi. col. 716.

† Chevillier, p. 301, to whom we are deeply indebted in this branch of our inquiry.

‡ Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. ix. p. 84. Chevillier, p. 302.

§ The form of oath is given in full in the statute of 1323, and in that of 1342, Chevillier.

the students increased. Twenty-four seems to have been the original number,* which is sufficiently great to lead to the conclusion that bookselling was a flourishing trade in those old days. By the statutes of the university, the bookseller was not allowed to expose his transcripts for sale, without first submitting them to the inspection of certain officers appointed by the university, and if an error was discovered, the copies were ordered to be burnt or a fine levied on them, proportionate to their inaccuracy. Harsh and stringent as this may appear at first sight, we shall modify our opinion, on recollecting that the student was in a great degree dependent upon the care of the transcribers for the fidelity of his copies, which rendered a rule of this nature almost indispensable: nor should we forget the great service it bestowed in maintaining the primitive accuracy of ancient writers, and in transmitting them to us through those ages in their original purity.†

In these times of free trade and unrestrained commercial policy, we shall regard less favourably a regulation which they enforced at Paris, depriving the bookseller of the power of fixing a price upon his own goods. Four booksellers were appointed and sworn in to superintend this department, and when a new transcript was finished, it was brought by the bookseller, and they discussed its merits and fixed its value, which formed the amount the bookseller was compelled to ask for it; if he demanded of his customer a larger sum, it was deemed a fraudulent imposition, and punishable as such. Moreover, as an advantage to the students, the bookseller was expected to make a considerable reduction in his profits in supplying them with books; by one of the laws of the university, his profit on each volume was confined to four deniers to a student, and six deniers to a common purchaser. The librarii were still farther restricted in the economy of their trade, by a rule which forbade any one of them to dispose of his entire stock of books without the consent of the university; but this we suspect, implied the disposal of the stock and trade together, and was intended to intimate that the introduction of the purchaser would not be allowed, without the cognizance and sanction of the university.‡ Nor was the bookseller able to purchase

* Du Breul *Le Theatre des Antiq. de Paris*, 4to. 1612, p. 608.

† *Ibid.* *Hist. Lit. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 84.

‡ Chevillier, p. 303.

books without her consent, lest they should be of an immoral or heretical tendency; and they were absolutely forbidden to buy any of the students, without the permission of the rector.

But restricted as they thus were, the book merchants nevertheless grew opulent, and transacted an important and extensive trade; sometimes they purchased parts and sometimes they had whole libraries, to sell.* Their dealings were conducted with unusual care, and when a volume of peculiar rarity or interest was to be sold, a deed of conveyance was drawn up with legal precision, in the presence of authorized witnesses.

In those days of high prices and book scarcity, the poor student was sorely impeded in his progress; to provide against these disadvantages, they framed a law in 1342, at Paris, compelling all public booksellers to keep books to lend out on hire. The reader will be surprised at the idea of a circulating library in the middle ages! but there can be no doubt of the fact; they were established at Paris, Toulouse, Vienna, and Bologna. These public librarians too, were obliged to write out regular catalogues of their books and hang them up in their shops, with the prices affixed, so that the student might know beforehand what he had to pay for reading them. We are tempted to give a few extracts from these lists.

- St. Gregory's Commentaries upon Job, for reading 100 pages, 8 sous.
- St. Gregory's Book of Homilies, 28 pages for 12 deniers.
- Isidore's De Summa bona, 24 pages, 12 deniers.
- Anselm's De Veritate de Libertate Arbitrii, 40 pages, 2 sous.
- Peter Lombard's Book of Sentences, 3 sous.
- Scholastic History, 3 sous.
- Augustine's Confessions, 21 pages, 4 deniers.
- Gloss on Matthew, by brother Thomas Aquinas, 57 pages, 3 sous.
- Bible Concordance, 9 sous.
- A Bible, 10 sous.

This rate of charge was also fixed by the university, and the students borrowing these books were privileged to transcribe them if they chose: if any of them proved imperfect or faulty, they were denounced by the university, and a fine imposed upon the bookseller who had lent out the volume.

Thus potent influence exercised by the universities over book-

* *Marconi Ansel. tom. i. p. 302. Hist. Lit. de la France, ix. p. 142.*

* Chevillier 319, who gives a long list, printed from an old register of the University.

ellers, became, in time, much abused, and in addition to these commercial restraints, they assumed a still less warrantable power over the original productions of authors; and became virtually the public censors of books, and had the power of burning or prohibiting any work of questionable orthodoxy. In the time of Henry the Second, a book was published by being read over for two or three successive days, before one of the universities, and if they approved of its doctrines and bestowed upon it their approbation, it was allowed to be copied extensively for sale.

Stringent as the university rules were, as regards the book-selling trade, they were, nevertheless, sometimes disregarded or infringed; some ventured to take more for a book than the sum allowed, and, by prevarication and secret contracts, eluded the vigilance of the laws.* Some were still bolder, and openly practised the art of a scribe and the profession of a bookseller, without knowledge or sanction of the university. This gave rise to much jealousy, and in the University of Oxford, in the year 1373, they made a decree, forbidding any person exposing books for sale without her licence.†

Now, considering all these usages of early book-selling, their numbers, their opulence, and above all, the circulating libraries which the librarii established, can we still retain the opinion that books were so inaccessible in those antepreprinting days, when we know that for a few sous the book-lover could obtain good and authenticated copies to peruse, or transcribe? It may be advanced that these facts solely relate to universities, and were intended merely to insure a supply of the necessary books in constant requisition by the students, but such was not the case; the librarii were essentially public *Librorum Venditores*, and were glad to dispose of their goods to any who could pay for them. Indeed, the early bibliomaniacs usually flocked to these book marts to rummage over the stalls, and to collect their choice volumes. Richard de Bury obtained many in this way, both at Paris and at Rome.

Of the exact pecuniary value of books during the middle ages, we have no means of judging. The few instances that have accidentally been recorded, are totally inadequate to enable us to form an opinion. The extravagant estimate given by

* Chevillier, 303.

† Vet. Stat. Universit. Oxoniæ, D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

some, as to the value of books in those days, is merely conjectural, as it necessarily must be, when we remember that the price was guided by the accuracy of the transcription, the splendour of the binding, which was often gorgeous to excess, and by the beauty and richness of the illuminations.* Many of the manuscripts of the middle ages are magnificent in the extreme. Sometimes they inscribed the gospels and the venerated writings of the fathers with liquid gold, on parchment of the richest purple,† and adorned its brilliant pages with illuminations of exquisite workmanship.

The first specimens we have of an attempt to embellish manuscripts are Egyptian. It was a common practice among them at first to colour the initial letter of each chapter or division of their work, and afterwards to introduce objects of various kinds into the body of the manuscript. The splendour of the ancient calligraphical productions of Greece,* and the still later ones of Rome, bear repeated testimony that the practice of this art had spread during the sixth century, if not earlier, to these powerful empires. England was not tardy in embracing this elegant art. We have many relics of remote antiquity and exquisite workmanship existing now, which prove the talent and assiduity of our early Saxon forefathers.

In Ireland the illuminating art was profusely practised at a period as early as the commencement of the seventh century, and in the eighth we find it holding forth eminent claims to our respect by the beauty of their workmanship, and the chastity of their designs. Those well versed in the study of these ancient manuscripts, have been enabled, by extensive but minute observation, to point out their different characteristics in

* The Church of Norwich paid £22 9s. for illuminating a Graduale and Consuetudinary in 1374.

† Isidore Orig., cap. ii.—Jerome, in his preface to Job, writes, "*Habeant qui volunt vetereslibros, vel in membranas purpuris auro argentique colore purpuros aurum liquiscit in literis.*" Eddius Stephanus in his Life of St. Wilfrid, cap. xvi., speaks of "*Quatour Evangelis de auro purissimo in membranis de purpuratis coloratis pro animæ suæ remedio scribere jussit.*" Du Cange, vol. iv. p. 654. See also Mabillon Act. Sanct., tom. v. p. 110, who is of opinion that these purple MSS. were only designed for princes; see Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, and Montfaucon Palæog. Græc., pp. 45, 218, 226 for more on this subject.

* See a Fragment in the Brit. Mus. engraved in Shaw's Illuminated Ornaments, plate 1.

the monastic scribes erased *classical* manuscripts, for the sake of the material, seems altogether improbable, and certainly destitute of proof. It is true, many of the classics, as we have them now, are but mere fragments of the original work. For this, however, we have not to blame the monks, but barbarous invaders, ravaging flames, and the petty animosities of civil and religious warfare, for the loss of many valuable works of the classics. By these means, one hundred and five books of Livy have been lost to us, probably for ever. For the thirty which have been preserved, our thanks are certainly due to the monks. It was from their unpretending and long-forgotten libraries that many such treasures were brought forth at the revival of learning, in the fifteenth century, to receive the admiration of the curious, and the study of the erudite scholar. In this way Poggio Bracciolini discovered many inestimable manuscripts. Leonardo Aretino writes in rapturous terms on Poggio's discovery of a perfect copy of Quintilian. "What a precious acquisition!" he exclaims, "what unthought of pleasure to behold Quintilian perfect and entire!"* In the same letter we learn that Poggio had discovered Asconius and Flaccus in the monastery of St. Gall, whose inhabitants regarded them without much esteem. In the monastery of Langres, his researches were rewarded by a copy of Cicero's Oration for Cæcina. With the assistance of Bartolomeo di Montepulciano, he discovered Silius Italicus, Lactantius, Vegetius, Nonius Marcellus, Ammainus Marcellus, Lucretius, and Columella, and he found in a monastery at Rome a complete copy of Tertullian.† In the fine old monastery of Casino, so renowned for its classic library in former days, he met with Julius Frontinus and Firmicus, and transcribed them with his own hand. At Cologne he obtained a copy of Petronius Arbiter. But to these we may add Calpurnius's *Bucolic*,‡ Manilius, Lucius Septimus, Coper, Eutyebius, and Probus. He had anxious hopes of adding a perfect Livy to the list, which he had been told then existed, in a Cistercian Monastery in Hungary, but, unfortunately, he did not prosecute his researches in this instance with his usual energy. The scholar has equally to re-

* Leonardi Aretini Epist. l. iv. eb. v.

† *Mebi Prefatio ad vit. Ambrosii Traversarii*, p. xxxix.

‡ *Mebi Pref.*, pp. xlviii.—xlix.

gret the loss of a perfect Tacitus, which Poggio had expectations of from the hands of a German monk. We may still more deplore this, as there is every probability that the monks actually possessed the precious volume.* Nicholas of Treves, a contemporary and friend of Poggio's, and who was infected, though in a slight degree, with the same passionate ardour for collecting ancient manuscripts, discovered, whilst exploring the German monasteries, twelve comedies of Plautus, and a fragment of Aulus Gellus.† Had it not been for the timely aid of these great men, many would have been irretrievably lost in the many revolutions and contentions that followed; and, had such been the case, the monks, of course, would have received the odium, and on their heads the spleen of the disappointed student would have been prodigally showered.

ORIGIN OF PRINTING.—It was about the year 1398 or 1400 that Jean Gutenberg was born at Mayence.‡

In 1420 he was forced to exile himself in consequence of an insurrection which broke out in the city. We are ignorant what became of him during the fourteen following years, but know positively that in 1434 he resided at Strasbourg, where, two years later, he worked polishing mirrors and carving precious stones.

In 1436, he formed, with a certain Jean Riffe, for the achievement of some secret design, a society, which was afterwards joined by André Dritzehen and his brother Anton Heilmann. In the deed which was registered in writing we perceive that the interests of the society were divided into four parts; Gutenberg, who was the soul and spirit of this undertaking, reserved for himself two, having moreover allowed to his two latter associates the sum of 160 florins. Ere long Dritzehen perceiving that Gutenberg occupied himself secretly

* A MS. containing five books of Tacitus which had been deemed lost, was found in Germany during the pontificate of Leo X., and deposited in the Laurentian library at Florence.—*Mehi Pref.* p. xlvii. See Shepard's Life of Poggio, p. 104, to whom we are much indebted for these curious facts.

† Shepard's Life of Poggio, p. 101.

‡ His father, of the noble family of Gensfleisch, bore the surname of Friele. He married Else de Gutenberg, and gave this latter name to his son Henne Gensfleisch Zum Gutenberg. The name of Gutenberg has been sometimes written Gudinberg, sometimes Gutenbergger, and at other times Gudenburch.

with an invention, with the construction of which they were kept in total ignorance, obtained admission with André Heilmann to enter a new association by paying 250 florins. This invention, with which the Mayengais occupied himself so mysteriously, was printing.

André having died in 1438, his two brothers George and Claus, re-claimed from Gutenberg, either their admission into the society, or the payment of a sum of 100 florins, which the associates had reserved for the successors of those who died amongst them. A lawsuit was the result of this demand, when, after having heard a great number of witnesses, the tribunal acknowledged that Gutenberg was not bound to pay the inheritors more than 15 florins. It was in the depositions of the witnesses that mention was for the first time made of printing by means of moveable type, and this fact, of such paramount interest, remained undiscovered up to the year 1745, when the keeper of records, Schœpflin, found the deeds in an old tower of Strasbourg, the *Pfennigthurm*. These documents written in German, the authority of which is incontestible, were published by Schœpflin, in his *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*. M. Léon de Laborde has recently made an accurate copy of them, to which he has joined a translation and the facsimile of several passages.*

As their text has been the subject of various important discussions we think it well to give the following extracts. The first part thus commences

“*Item*, Barbel de-Zabern, deposes that he had one night a conversation with Andres Dritzehen on various matters, that amongst others, having said to him: ‘Will you not retire to rest at length?’ he replied: ‘I must finish this before I do so.’ Then the witness spoke thus: ‘But God pre-serve me, what a vast sum of money you must have expended? Why that must have cost at least 10 florins.’ In reply he said; ‘thou art a fool, if thou thinkest that that has cost me but 10 florins? Harken, know, that this has already cost me more than 300 florins, a sum more than sufficient for thy whole life, ay, it has cost me at least 500 florins. And that will be no-

* See *Débuts de l'imprimerie à Strasbourg*, Paris, 1840 in octavo. The original parts of the documents are preserved with great care in a cabinet at the library of the university of Strasbourg.

thing if it does not cost me still more, it is for this purpose that I have pledged my goods and my inheritance.' 'But,' said this witness, 'holy dolors, if it should not succeed what would you do then?' To which he replied; 'That is impossible, it must succeed; before another year revolves we will have recovered our capital, and we shall all be happy unless it be God's will to subdue us.'

"*Item*, the woman Ennel, wife of Hanns Schultheiss, timber merchant, deposes that Lorenzo Beildeck came at one time to the house of Claus Dritzehen her cousin, and said to him. 'Dear Claus Dritzehen, Andrés Dritzehen had iiij pieces concealed in a press, and, Gutenberg requests you will take them from the press, and that you will separate them one from another, in order that they might be unintelligible, as he did not wish any one to understand them.' this witness also deposed that, when at the house of her cousin Andres Dritzehen she assisted in this work night and day.

"Lorenzo Beildeck deposes that Jean Gutenberg sent him on one occasion to the house of Claus Dritzehen after the death of Andres his brother to tell Claus Dritzehen not to show any one the press he had under his care. He told me moreover, that by going to the press and taking the trouble of opening it with two screws, that then the pieces would become detached one from the other. He was then to place these pieces in the press or on the press, and no one after that could understand for what they were intended.

"*Item*, Hanns Dunne; goldsmith, deposes that he had, three years before, gotten from Gutenberg nearly 100 florins, for matters belonging to printing alone."

The text, sometimes very vague, of these proces-verbaux have been examined and commented on in a hundred different ways by those who occupy themselves in studying the origin of printing, each seeking to draw from it a text for the system which they have adopted.

There are four questions raised about the type: were they moveable or fixed? Schœpffin sustained the former opinion and Fournier the latter. Were they metallic or xylographic; Schœpffin maintained that they of were lead, Fournier and Meerman that they were of wood.

Does the word *pressen* which is very often used, imply the same meaning as we give to the term *press* at that present day? This question has been resolved as the preceding, affirmatively

by some, negatively by others. It appears nevertheless certain that Gutenberg, according to the report of his cotemporaries, invented at Strasbourg a new species of writing carved on wood with moveable type. It is doubtful for which of his type he employed metal, whether in engraving or in cast fount. "Besides, it is probable," wrote M. de Laborde, "that he composed in moveable letters some leaves of works of which he had the manuscripts beside him; he had undoubtedly re-printed some volume of great importance, and when he offered his device to his associates, they could then undertake works of greatest importance, a bible, for example. We can easily conceive that these four men reunited had undertaken what was altogether above their strength, the impression of a bible in folio, in double columns; and this supposition has been confirmed by the evidence that the productions of the association ought to have found a quick and enormous sale at Aix-la-Chapelle during the grand reunion of pilgrims in 1440; and that another year of assiduous labour was requisite to produce something beside a bible, or a *catholicon*, they should also be voluminous and worthy by their title to receive a good price." *

Gutenberg remained at Strasbourg for several years and returned in 1445 or 1446 to Mayence, where, from 1443, he had rented the house called *Zum Jungen*, in which he established at a later period his first presses.

The considerable expense he had to undergo in order to accomplish this attempt, had completely cramped his resources. Fortunately he met with powerful support from his fellow-citizen, Jean Fust or Faust, with whom he became associated in 1450 by a deed, the copy of which has been preserved. Fust engaged to advance to Gutenberg the sum of 800 florins in gold at 6 per cent interest, for the formation of the implements and instruments necessary for printing, and which were to be pledged to Fust; he, besides, giving 300 golden florins for what we would call at the present day general expenses, such as hiring domestics, rent, fuel, purchasing parchment, paper, ink, &c., the emoluments to be divided equally between the two associates. In case the society should be dissolved, it was agreed that Gutenberg should release his tools and reimburse Faust his 800 florins.

* See *Biographie Michaud*, t. XLVIII. p. 446.

In the earlier period of their association, Gutenberg and Fust do not appear to have made much advance. It seems even, according to a passage of an author of the time, that they did not at first make use of the moveable type that Gutenberg had employed at Strasbourg; it was necessary for them to have as many separate blocks as they had pages to print, and the leaves could only be printed on one side. They had probably been disheartened by the enormous expense entailed in engraving moveable type on wood,* as also by the difficulty of giving to these letters and their tails equal dimensions, and of disposing of them in such a manner as that they would not be broken or put out of order whilst in press. Meerman, in his *Origines typographicæ*, maintains, however, that the tails, which were of box and separated in the centre, could very easily be reunited by a little cord or brass wire. The ancient printers of Mayence preserved, it is said, some of these letters of wood in their workshops, and it was customary to give one to each apprentice who was admitted as freeman in their corporation.

After having printed on the fixed blocks of wood, a small vocabulary and a *Donatus Minor*,† Gutenberg and Fust detached from these blocks the type which they carved separately to render them moveable; there are a few specimens of this edition in xylography.

About the years 1452 or 1453 they discovered a method of casting the figures of the Latin alphabet, which they called matrices, and in these matrices they formed new type in brass or pewter.

Notwithstanding this very positive testimony the honor of having invented the casting of the type was attributed exclusively to Pierre Schœffer a workman of Fust ‡ who was more likely to have improved on the invention of Gutenberg and his associate. We have here an explanation on this point from Jean Frédéric Faust d'Aschaffembourg, an extract from his

* Camus carved letters in wood, which, polished and arranged in proper order, brought him a profit of ten sous each. According to M. de Laborde, a letter in wood at the present day would be only value for three sous.

† The Bibliothèque Royale is in possession of two of these blocks, see *Chronicon urbis Coloniz*, 1433, folio.

‡ According to the incorrect custom of this period, the name of Schœffer (Shepherd) was to be found translated in latin by *Opilio* among the historians of the time.

family papers, and translated in Latin in the *Monumenta typographica* of Wolf (vol. 1, p. 468):

"Pierre Schœffer of Gernsheim, having conceived the project of his master Fust, and filled with taste for his art, discovered by divine inspiration the manner of engraving the type which they have called matrices; and of casting by this means other type, by which they were enabled to increase them and give them the same form without being obliged to do each separately. He made without the privy of his master, a matrice in alphabetical order, and shewed it to Jean Fust with the type which he had cast by these means. His master was so delightful that in a transport of joy he at once promised his only daughter to Pierre, who espoused her shortly after. But they encountered as many difficulties in this species of type, as they did heretofore in the type engraven on wood, for the substance was too weak to resist the pressure. At length by the amalgamation of several other metals they discovered a substance which sustained the weight of the press."

There is great uncertainty regarding the first works printed by means of the process invented by Schœffer. However, without entering into any of the discussions, we will limit ourselves to the mention of the Letters of Indulgence granted by Pope Nicholas V. in 1454 to the faithful who, by their alms, aided the King of Cyprus, John II, to make war against the Turks: these were most likely printed in this type; the bible of three quaternions* of eight hundred and seventy sheets, and attributed to Gutenberg and Fust never existed; but the edition of the bible in six hundred and forty sheets has been acknowledged as the most ancient, having been printed at Mayence between 1453 and 1455 with the type invented by Schœffer.

The royal library possesses four sheets of a *Donat* printed on parchment with the imprint of Mayence by Pierre Schœffer. These sheets found in Germany covering some books were collected by an inhabitant of Trèves who bestowed them on the library in 1803. Lambinet has given a circumstantial description of them. At the back of the fourth and last leaf, may be read at the top of the page the following inscription in red ink: *Explicit Donatus, arte nova imprimendi seu caracterizandi,*

* The ancient printers gave the name *quaternion* to a collection of four leaves forming 16 pages in folio.

per Petrum de Gernsheim, in urbe moguntina cum suis capitalibus absque calami exaratione effigiatus.

Gutenberg was as unfortunate at Mayence as he had been at Strasbourg. He had to sustain, in this city, a new lawsuit, and on this occasion lost it altogether. The following is the translation of the original German deed relative to this affair.

"Fust summoned Gutenberg to recover the sum of 2,020 golden florins, accruing from the 800 florins he had advanced to Gutenberg, in accordance with the contract they had entered into: also 800 more florins, given at the demand of Gutenberg, to finish the work, besides 36 florins expenses and interest, which he had neglected to pay, not having sufficient funds. Gutenberg replied, that the first 800 florins, had, according to their letter of contract, been all at once employed in preparations for their work; that he had offered to render an account of the last 800 florins, but that he had no idea he was to pay either interest or usury. The Judge tendered the oath to Fust, whether he had lent him the money, and he having taken it, Gutenberg lost his cause, and was condemned to pay the interest, and that part of the capital which he had employed for his own particular use. Fust then demanded and obtained a decree from the notary, Helmasperger, dated the 6th of November, 1455."

This lawsuit caused a dissolution of the partnership, and Gutenberg finding it impossible to satisfy his creditor, was obliged to resign to him all his printing implements. Nevertheless, he found another person willing to advance funds, in Doctor Conrad Humery, syndic of Mayence, and succeeded in establishing a new printing establishment in the same city; but the only typographical memorial that we can attribute to them is a large work in folio, known under the name of *Catholicon*, bearing the date 1460, and entitled: *Summa quæ vocatur Catholicon, edita a Joanne de Janua*.

The latter years of Gutenberg were spent very happily. He was, in 1465, received amongst the gentlemen in waiting on the Elector of Mayence, Adolphus II., who granted him a pension; he died, however, in 1468.

We have not noted, in this biographical sketch, two writings cited in all the accounts given of printing. The first is a letter addressed from Strasbourg, in March, 1421, by Gutenberg to his sister Bertha, a religious in a convent at Mayence; the second is a deed executed in 1459, between

Gutenberg, his brothers, and his sister, by which he undertakes to bestow to the library of the convent where his sister dwelt, the books he had printed, and should print in future. A *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, published about twenty years since, by M. Schaaber, has proved in the clearest manner that the keeper of the archives at Mayence, Bodmann, who was assumed to have discovered these writings, had simply fabricated them, in order to relieve himself from the importunities of Oberlin, Fischer, and other bibliographers, who tormented him unceasingly to obtain for them some souvenirs of Gutenberg.*

After the separation from Gutenberg, Fust and Schœffer preserved their workshop, and began to print anew. The first book known up to the present day as indicating a precise date of the name and residence of the publishers, is the Psalter of Mayence, which issued from their press in 1457. This book in large folio, regarded as a chef-d'œuvre of its kind, was an epoch in the history of printing.

In what sort of type was it printed? This question was a matter of dispute amongst the savants; Van Praet thought they employed moveable type in wood, the number being so considerable, as to oblige them to have 640 for one page and 2,560 for a sheet.

The volume is composed of 75 sheets; it is embellished with 258 ornamented capitals, engraven in wood, with surpassing delicacy, traced in red when the ornaments are blue, and in blue when the ornaments are in red; the largest capital letter is on the first page. It is printed in three colors, blue, red and purple, comprising ornaments 92 millimetres high, and 108 wide. It represents a B encircled by arabesques of foliage and flowers; in one of the bends of the letter may be discerned a hare chasing a flying partridge.

The following inscription may be seen printed in red characters on the back of the last leaf:—

Presens Spalморum (for Psalmorum) Codex Venustate capitulum decoratus rubricationibus que sufficienter distinctus, ad inventionem artificiosam imprimendi ac characterizandi. Absque calami ulla exaratione sic effigiatus, et ad eusebiam Dei industrie est consummatus, per Johannem Fust, civem Maguntinum. Et Petrum Schœffer de Gernszheim. Anno Domini millesimo CCCCLVII in vigilia Assumptionis.

* Lambinet has given the translation of these writings.

There are but six copies of this edition extant, and each varies. Two years later, Fust and Schœffer published another work with the same type as the former, and comprising 136 sheets. There are eight copies of it to be found at the present day in the Royal Library.

The Psalter was re-printed in 1490 and 1502 by P. Schœffer alone, and in 1516 by J. Schœffer son to Peter.

We have here the detail of the works printed by Fust and Schœffer.

1459. *Guilelmi Durandi rationale divinatorum officiorum. Moguntiae, Joannes Fust et Petrus de Gernshezm, 1459, large folio.*

This edition, looked on as a *chef-d'œuvre* of typography, is probably the first work printed in moveable type bearing date and the name of the two printers.

1460. *Constitutiones Clementis Papæ V. Una cum apparatu Joannis Andreæ. Moguntiae, Joannes Fust et Petrus Schoiffer 1460, large folio.*

1462. *Biblia latina vulgaræ editionis, ex translatione et cum præfationibus S. Hieronymi. Moguntiae, Joannes Fust et Petrus Schoiffer. 1462. 2 vols. large folio.*

This latter Bible, the first printed with a date, is famous as the Mayence Bible. There are various copies in vellum and paper. A copy which belonged to Coustard, Minister of the Parliament at Paris, and which perhaps is lost at the present day, contained a deed of sale in Latin of which the following is a translation. "I, Herman of Germany, factor to the honest and prudent Jean Guymier accredited librarian to the University of Paris, acknowledge to have sold to the illustrious and learned master Guillaume de Tourneville, Archpriest and Canon of Angers, my lord and very respected master, a Mayence Bible in two volumes for the sum of forty crowns, which I have substantially received; a sale, which I promise to ratify in the following manner:—guaranteeing to my lord the indisputed possession of this Bible, against any claimant who may seek to dispossess him of it. In testimony of which I affix my seal this fifth day of April, the year of our Lord MCCCCLXX."

1465. *Liber sextus Decretalium Domini Bonifacii Papæ VIII. cum glossa, 1465 in folio.*

Cicero de Officiis. Moguntiae, 1465, in quarto.

1466. *Grammatica vetus rhythmica. Moguntiae, 1466, small folio.*

At the end of this work which contains but eleven sheets, may be found the following four lines which are rather obscure.

Artis ter deni jubilaminis octo bis annis.
 Moguncia reni me condit et imprimit amnis
 Hinc nazareni sonet oda per ora Johannis.
 Namque sereni luminis est scaturigo pereunis.

Various explanations have been given of this quatrain; the best, however, is that of George Bathon, Canon of Saint Bartholomew at Frankfort. *Jubilamen*, designating a Jubilee of fifty years. Twenty nine jubilees make fourteen hundred and fifty years. If twice eight years (*octo bis*) be added of the thirtieth (*ter deni*) the current jubilee would take place at the date of 1466.

The two last lines indicate Mayence as the place where it was printed, and Jean Fust as printer.

Fust and Schœffer did not limit themselves, in the sale of their books, to the towns where they were published; it is unquestionable that they established depots in Germany, Italy, France, and in the most celebrated Universities. Naudé even gave sanction to a fable, which has been repeated by several writers. He maintains that Fust having brought a great number of copies of the Bible of 1462, to Paris, sold them at first as manuscripts at sixty crowns, and afterwards for twenty crowns only; the fraud having been discovered, he was prosecuted by the purchasers, and obliged to fly. This story which is not substantiated by any authority, has been refuted by several critics, who have sought in vain amongst the parliamentary registers of Paris, for any trace of the prosecution against the printer of Mayence.

Be that as it may, it is fact that Fust came to Paris in 1466. It is even conjectured that he died there of the plague, which desolated the city in the months of April and September of that year.

After the death of his associate, Pierre Schœffer continued to print alone at Mayence, up to the year 1503, and had repositories for the sale of his books in several towns in France. He had for factor at Paris a German, named Herman de Statboen. He having died there, the Royal Commissary in virtue of his right of escheat, seized and sold all the books and effects which were found on the premises; Schœffer and his associate Conrart Hanequis or Henlif, took active measures to obtain from Louis XI., an indemnity or restitution of the books which belonged to them. Their demand, supported by the King of the Romans, Frederick III., and the Elector of Mayence, was most successful, and in the month of April, 1475,

the King issued the following decree, a portion only of which we give, as a detailed account would be quite uninteresting.

“Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France, to our trusty and beloved counsellors, ordained by us comptrollers of finance, greeting in all affection, on behalf of our dear and well beloved Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer, merchants and citizens of Mayence in Germany, who have been represented to us as devoting the greater portion of their time to the invention of the art of printing, by which means they have with much care and diligence succeeded in making several beautiful books of rare and exquisite workmanship, in which history and the different sciences have been portrayed; some of those have been sent to various parts of our kingdom and even to our City of Paris, and its eminent university; that in order to dispose of those books, a commission was given to a certain man employed by them for that purpose; that with this man Herman de Stathoen, native of the diocese of Munster in Germany, they had contracted for the sale of a certain quantity of books, which they had sent to him and for which he was held responsible by Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer; Stathoen dying, according to the universal law of our kingdom his goods and effects were escheated, as no alien dying in our City of Paris was empowered to make a testament or dispose of any property in his possession. In this manner the books belonging to those men were seized by the commissary and the other officers of our kingdom, and in requittal for this loss, they demand from us either the books or restitution to the amount of the value of those books, which they estimate as being worth the sum of two thousand four hundred and twenty-five golden crowns and three solstournois: Now, in consideration of the most high and very powerful prince our very dear and best beloved brother, cousin and ally the King of Romans, having written to us on this matter, and also, as we understand that Hanequis and Schœffer are subjects to, and from the same country as our very dear and truly beloved cousin the Archbishop of Mayence who is our father, friend, confederate and ally, and who has also written to us on their behalf, for the love and affection we bear to them, as well as in requittal for the services rendered by Conrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer to science, and the public advantage which their invention has bestowed in the increase of literature, we are willing to make restitution to the amount of the sum claimed of two thousand four hundred and twenty-five

golden crowns and three sols tournois and therefore agree to grant out of our finances the sum of eight hundred livres yearly, to commence the first day of next October, and to continue annually until the entire sum be paid. We therefore expressly command and enjoin our friend and leal Counsellor, Jean Briçonnet, comptroller general of our finances, to pay and deliver to the said Contrart Hanequis, and Pierre Schœffer or to their agent the sum specified, commencing the first day of October, and continuing annually till the entire sum of two thousand four hundred and twenty-five golden crowns and three sols tournois be liquidated; signed this day by our hand and with our royal seal in discharge of our recognizances to Contrart Hanequis and Pierre Schœffer.

Given at Paris the XXI day of April, year of Grace MCCCCLXXV and the XIV of our reign. Signed Louis, King. The Bishop of Evreux and several others present.—Le Gouzy." *

Origin of Printing, Type Founding, Block, or Stereotype, Printing.

These subjects perhaps ought to have been noticed in an earlier portion of our pages, but as it was not intended to go into any regular or systematic details or elaborate discussion, we shall introduce a few remarks from *Ames's* *Typographical Antiquities*, or an Historical account of the origin and progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland, being by far the most extensive work on the subject, and which has from time to time, been considerably enlarged by Mr. Herbert and Mr. Dibdin; added to these, there are other admirable histories of the art, by Meerman, Bowyer, Nichols, Watson, Palmer, Luckombe, Le Moine, Hansard, Stower, &c.—But as it would be impossible to do ample justice to them all, we shall advert to the leading features of a few of the Printers, and their Biographers.

Joseph Ames, the historian of British Topography, was born at Yarmouth, 1698-9, and apprenticed by his father, the master of a Yarmouth trading vessel, to a plane-maker in London. After serving out his time, he became a ship-chandler in Wapping, which business, notwithstanding his antiquarian pursuits, he carried on until his death. He early discovered a taste for English history and antiquities; and in 1730, the composition of a history of printing in England

* See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. XIV. p. 243.

being suggested to him, after a labour of twenty-five years, he brought out in one vol. 4to, 1749, *Typographical Antiquities, being an historical account of Printing in England, with some memoirs of our ancient Printers, and a register of the books printed by them from 1471 to 1600 ; with an appendix concerning Printing in Scotland and Ireland to the same time.* He inscribed his work to lord chancellor Hardwicke, and was at the same time fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, being chosen secretary to the last of them. Sir Hans Sloane in particular showed him very great countenance, and left him trustee to his will. Mr. Ames died in 1739, much esteemed. Besides his great work, he wrote *1. A Catalogue of English Printers from 1471 to 1700, 4to ; 2. An Index to Lord Pembroke's Coins ; 3. A Catalogue of English Heads ; or an account of 2000 English prints, describing what is peculiar to each ; 4. Parentalia, or Memoirs of the family of Wren, 1750, folio.* An enlarged edition of the *Typographical Antiquities* was published by the late Mr. W. Herbert, vol. 1, 1785, vol. 2, 1786, and vol. 3, 1790. A new and splendid edition of Ames and Herbert has since been presented to the world by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin.

It is somewhat extraordinary that Mr. Cole, a celebrated Antiquary and collector, who was on friendly terms and corresponded with Ames, should have drawn the following eevere character of him, and which appears under the head "*Biographiana*" in the 24th Number of Sir Egerton Brydges's *Restituta*, in article 3.—After copying the full title page of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* he says,

"I have written as follows on the back, of the title-page—The author, Mr. Ames, I was well acquainted with, having been several times to see him, in order to look over his curious prints, of which he had no small collection, especially of English heads ; many of which at different times I purchased of him to add to my collection of the same sort. He lived in a strange alley or lane in Wapping : was a patten-maker, an Anabaptist, with a spice of Deism mixed with it. I have often thought it no small reproach and disgrace to the Antiquarian Society, to have so very illiterate a person to be their Secretary : he could not spell, much more write, English : I have several letters of his by me at this time which prove it. It was by no means proper to have such a person in that station, which required reading aloud at the meetings of the Society, several papers in various languages often, of which he was used to make miserable work ; more especially when strangers and foreigners happen to be there, which was often the case.

"He was a little, friendly, good-tempered man ; a person of vast

application and industry in collecting curious old printed books, prints, and other curiosities both natural and artificial. It is to this must be attributed his office of Secretary to the Society: but surely, a Secretary who could neither read nor write, was an odd appointment for a learned Society! He must have procured some one to have perused his book for him, which yet is full of blunders, and prove my assertion in an hundred places: the printers would correct the false English and spelling.

"What is singular, Mr. Stephen Wren employed Mr. Ames, an Independent, and Deist professed, to usher into the world the *Purentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* in 1750, which throughout is a most orthodox book, full of reflections upon the fanatics of King Charles's time."

"The origin of Printing, by multiplying letters, is intitled to the first place after the invention of letters themselves (though it gives light to all other arts) remains itself in obscurity. It has been the subject of repeated discussions.—Mr. Meerman is the last who has written upon it, and he has endeavored to reconcile some difficulties on this head in his "*Origines Typographicæ*," printed in 1765; and translated and abridged by Mr. Bowyer, in his two Essays on the Origin of Printing, 1784.

"The more we reflect on the accidental discovery by Laurentius, of the effect produced by concave wooden types, the more we wonder that the mechanics of antiquity should never have applied the concavity of their metal inscriptions to the same use as those of their intaglio, and their liquid colours to an use similar to that which they made in wax.—But we are not here to extend our views beyond our own country. Whether Laurentius of Haerlem, Geinsflech, of Mentz, or Guttensburg, at Strasburgh, invented single wooden types, much certainly may be concluded, that the invention took place rather before the middle of the fifteenth century in Holland or Germany. We have a fact established beyond controversy, that WILLIAM CAXTON first introduced the Art of Printing with fusile types into England; and some suppose that Frederic Corsellis, or some foreigner, used wooden types a few years before him. Be this as it may, Caxton (an eminent mercer and negotiator) within a few years of the discovery of printing, is thought to have printed a French romance at Cologne in 1464."

"William Caxton an Englishman, memorable for having first introduced the art of printing into his native country, was born in Kent about 1410, and served an apprenticeship to Robert Large, a London mercer, who in 1439 was Lord Mayor. On the death of his master, Caxton went to the Netherlands, as agent for the Mercers' company, in which situation he continued about twenty-three years. His reputation for probity and abilities occasioned his being employed, in conjunction with Richard Whitchill, to conclude a treaty of commerce between Edward IV. and Phillip duke of Burgundy. He appears subsequently to have held some office in the household of duke Charles, the son of Phillip, whose wife, the lady Margaret of York, distinguished herself as the patroness of Caxton. Whilst abroad he became acquainted with the then newly discovered invention of printing, by JOHN FUST. At the request of the duchess, his

mistress, he translated from the French, a work, which he entitled "The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, by Raoul le Feure," which he printed at Cologne, 1471, in folio. This book, considered as the earliest specimen of Typography in the English Language, is reckoned very valuable. At the famous sale of the Duke of Roxburgh's library in 1812, a copy was purchased by the Duke of Devonshire for 1060*l.* 10*s.*, which originally belonged to Elizabeth Gray, Queen of Edward the Fourth. A copy sold in West's Sale 1773 for 32*l.* 11*s.*, an imperfect copy sold at Lloyd's Sale in 1816, for 126*l.* After this he printed other works abroad, chiefly translations from the French; at length having provided himself with the means of practising the art in England, he returned thither, and in 1474 had a press at Westminster abbey, where he printed the "Game and Playe of the Chesse," generally admitted to be the first typographical work executed in England. Caxton continued to exercise his art for nearly twenty years, during which space he produced between fifty and sixty volumes, most of which were composed or translated by himself. Among his most distinguished patrons were John Islip abbot of Westminster, and those two learned noblemen John Tiptot, earl of Worcester, and Anthony Wydeville, earl Rivers. Caxton died about 1492, and was buried according to some accounts at Campden in Gloucestershire; though others state his interment as having taken place at St. Margaret's, Westminster. The following line from his epitaph are characteristic of the age.

"Modor of merci, shyld he from th' orribul fynd,

And bring him lyff eternal, that never hath ynd."

Ames devotes 116 quarto pages to an account of Caxton, and of the Works that passed through his press; to Wynken de Worde the second Printer of note, he has bestowed 120 pages, and to Richard Pinson, 84 pages. He has also given portraits of the above personages, with one or two others, which I insert as fac-similes of the rude wood block devices, characteristic of the time.

John Lettou and William Machlinia, or Machlyn, were cotemporaries of Caxton, as well as Wynken de Worde. "*Lyttletons Tenures*," is supposed by Sir William Dugdale, to have been Printed by them in the reign of Henry VIII., and Dr. Middleton, in his discourse of Printing, supposes the above book to have been put to press by the Author, Littleton, who died 1481. It contains 108 leaves folio.

Mr. Ames has placed *John Lettou* with *William Machlinia* between *Caxton* and *Wynken de Worde* which authorizes the supposition of Sir Wm Dugdale, and of Middleton.

"*Wynken de Worde*. This famous printer was a foreigner, born in the dukedom of Lorraine, as appears by the patent-roll in the chapel of the Rolls. Our first printer, Caxton, when resident abroad, might probably meet with him there, and engage him to come over to England for a servant or assistant, like as John Fauat at Mentz had his lad, or servant, Peter Sheoffer, whom they chose for their ingenuity and promising parts; and their after works shew they were not mistaken in their choice. However this be, he continued in some capacity with Caxton till his death, 1491; and printed at his house in Westminster afterwards.

If he was married or not, or had relations that came over with

him does not appear by his will; yet we find in the church-wardens accounts for St. Margarets Westminster, an entry made in the year 1498. "Item for the knell of Elizabeth de Worde vi pence, Item, For iii torches, with the grete belle for her, v. iii." Again, in the year 1500,—item for the knell Julian de Worde, with the grete bell, vi. pence."

"By his connection with Mr. Caxton, and on account of this new art, he occasionally fell into the company and acquaintance of the learned and noble of this kingdom; and at length was appointed printer to Margaret mother of king Hen. VII. and grandame to Henry the VIII., as he styles himself in 1509; which is the first year of thus describidge himself.

"After the death of Mr. Caxton, he printed, in his house as aforesaid; primarily it may be supposed with his types, sometimes using his cypher only, without the printer's name; sometimes adding "in Caxton's house;" and at other times, probably the latter part of his dwelling there, adding thereto his own name also. By his colophons we learn that he continued at Westminster until the year 1500, or very likely 1501; in which year we find in Mr. Ames, an account of only one book, 'Mons perfectionis,' without any account where it was printed; but Palmer's continuator has added "ibid," which must refer to Westminster preceding; and he does not mention any book printed by him at the Sun in Fleet-street before 1503: however I find "The ordynarye of crysten men" was printed there in 1502. We do not find any sign mentioned by him while at Westminster. It has been supposed that Caxton's cypher might have been exhibited as a sign, but we find no imitation of this by either Caxton or himself."

He printed *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*.—The first book printed on paper made in England.

At the Duke of Roxburgh's in 1812, a copy sold for 70*l.* 7*s.* An imperfect copy at the Sale of Stanesby Alchorne, Esq. in 1813, sold to the Duke of Devonshire for 13*l.* 13*s.*

Rowe Mores was of opinion that Wynken de Worde was his own Letter Founder, a circumstance that shews the rapid progress of the Art in England at so early a period; in fact, the circumstance cannot be doubted, for it appears that Caxton had him employed with Fust's servant's, at Cologne;—amongst whom were also said to be, Pynson, Bood, Macklin, and Lettou.

The great advancement and improvements in this beautiful Art, during the whole of the last and present centuries, has been truly astonishing; aided by the taste and talents of the Caslons, Baskerville, Fry, Figgins, Thorowgood, and others, as *Type Founders*.

"Richard Pynson, Esq., was born in Normandy in France, as appears by king Henry's patent of naturalization, wherein he is styled "Richardus Pynson, in partibus Normand, oriund." However there were of the same name in England, as may be seen in the church-warden's account for St. Margaret's Westminster, in the year 1504; "Item, received of Robert Pynson for four tapers iiii d." Perhaps some relation of his. There was one also Philip Pinson an Englishman, who died of the plague, the 2d of December, 1503; three days after he had been nominated to the archbishoprick of Tuam, in Ireland."

"Whether this artist was apprentice to Mr. Caxton, as intimated by Mr. Lewis, is rather uncertain; nor can I see any reason for such a supposition of him any more than of W. de Worde, whom he styles his foreman or journeyman: perhaps these characters may be equally true of them both, at different periods of time. However this be, Pynson himself in his first edition of Chaucer, calls Caxton his worshipful master—"whiche boke diligently ouirsen & duely examined by his pollitike reason and ouirsight of my worshipful master William Caxton," &c."

Mr. Ames intimates that our artist was in such esteem with the lady Margaret, King Hen. VII's mother, and other great personages, that he printed for them all his days; but this does not particularly appear.

He printed "*The life of a Virgyn cully'd Petronylla, whom Erle Flaccus desired to his Wyf.*" 18mo.

"A very rare Poetical Tract, consisting only of three leaves, 18mo., and which at Townley's Sale in 1814, was sold for the very moderate sum of six guineas, or two guineas per leaf, to Messrs. Longman and Co."

Mr. Heber bought a copy at Horne Tooke's Sale in 1813, for the sum of six pounds, two shillings, and sixpence.

"Pynson was the first who introduced Roman letters to this country, and he was eminently successful in his publications, which consist chiefly of law books. He is supposed to have died about 1529.

Pealmanazaar intimates that this printer lived in the utmost familiarity and friendship with W. de Worde, and quite undisturbed by any mutual emulation or rivalry in trade; the contrary rather appears by their works, for they are found frequently printing different editions of the same books, at or near the same time; not as partners, or the one's name taken out, and the other's inserted to a certain number of the same edition. He tells us indeed that they printed several year books together: perhaps they might be joined in the same privilege or licence for printing them.

Reynold Woolfe, Esq., King's Printer, "He was a man of eminence, a good antiquary, great promoter of the reformation, and in favour with king Henry VIII. lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, &c. John Leland was of his acquaintance. Our learned Kentish antiquary John Twine calls him a German by nation, good man, and well learned, and a very faithful friend of his, whose kindness he had experienced in prosperity and adversity, and who, when he was set at liberty from his imprisonment in the Tower, took him into his house, situ squaloreque obsitum, and entertained him there till he could return to Canterbury, to his own house and family. John Stowe observes of him, that in the year 1549, the bones of the dead, in the Charnel house of St. Paul's, amounting to more than 1000 cart loads, were carried to Finsbury field, and the expence paid by him. He spent 25 years in collecting materials for an universal cosmography of all nations, which though at his death he left undigested, he thereby laid the foundation of those chronicles, which afterwards were compiled by Ralph Holinshed, who frankly acknowledged so much in his dedication to lord Burghleigh. Those chronicles were published in 1577 by John Harrison his son in law; and

again with large additions, in 1587, by the said John Harrison, and others. We are further informed by Edmund Howes, the continuer of Stowe's Annals, that if Stowe had lived but one year longer, he purposed to have put in print *Reyne Woolfes chronicle*, which he began and finished at the request of Dr. Whitgift, late archbishop of Canterbury; but being prevented by death, left the same in his study, orderly written, ready for the press; but it came to nothing."

"He settled his printing-office in Paul's Church-yard, and set up the sign of the Brazen Serpent, which device he used to most of his books, though he sometimes used that of the tree of charity; his rebas you will see in the frontispiece."

The house, says Stowe, as I guess, he built from the ground, out of the old chapel, which he purchased of the king at the dissolution of monasteries, where on the same ground he had several other tenements, and afterwards purchased several leases of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. He followed his business of printing with great reputation for many years, and printed for archbishop Cranmer most of his pieces, and for others of great note Henry Binneman was servant to him, who afterwards proved a good printer, and used the same device of the Brazen Serpent; as also did John Shepperde, another of his apprentices.

"He was the first who had a patent for being a printer to the king in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; by which he was authorized to be his bookseller and stationer, and to print and publish all sorts of books in the said languages, as also Greek and Latin Grammars, although mixed with English; and likewise charts, maps, and such other things, which might be at any time useful and necessary." He printed,

"James Serringham Yates's, Castell of Courtesie, whereunto is adioyned the Holde of Humilitie, with the Chariot of Chastitie, thereunto annexed, 1582."

A Copy sold at the Sale of G. Steeven's, 1800, for £2 10s. And another at Saunders's Sale Room, 1818 for £23 10s.

John Day, Daye, or Daie, was born in St. Peter's parish, Dunwich in Suffolk, to which he left a gift; as appears by the papers of the late Thomas Martin, Esq.; of Paulsgrave, from Mr. Le Neve. He is supposed to have been descended from a good family, buried at Bradley-Parva, in that county. He bore for his arms, ermin, on a fess indented, two eaglets displayed; his crest, out of a ducal coronet, a demi eagle with wings expanded ermin. He first began printing a little above Holborn conduit; and about 1549 removed into Aldersgate, where he printed, and, for his greater convenience, according to Stowe, built much on the wall of the city, toward St. Ann's church; he kept also, at the same time, several shops in different parts of the town, where his books were sold. He had a licence in September, 1552, to print the Catechism, which K. Edw. vi had caused to be set forth, both in Latin and in English: but as Raynold Wolfe had a former privilege for all Latin books, he seems to have applied for redress; accordingly among Cecil's papers, published by the Rev. Mr. Hains in 1740, page 128, is this memorandum:—"Item, that were one Day, hath a priviledge for the catechisme, and one Beyne Wolfe, who hath a former priviledge for

Latyn Books they may joyne in printing of the sayd catechisme." However, it appears to have been determined that Wolfe should print it in Latin, and Day in English, for thus we find it printed; and Day in another license, dated 25 March, 1553, had privilege to print it only in English, with a brief of an A B C, thereunto annexed: Also, for the printing and reprinting all such works and books, devised and compiled by John (Pouet) now bishop of Winton, or by Tho. Beacon, professor of divinity; so that no such book, be in any wise repugnant to the holy scriptures, or proceedings in religion, and the laws of the realm."

He printed "*The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalms.*"

It is so scarce, that Mr. Strype tells us he could never get sight of it; and Warton, in his "*History of English Poetry*," points it out as a great rarity, adding "*It certainly would be deemed a fortunate acquisition to those capricious Students, who labor to collect a library of rarities.*"

"Its rarity is conjectured to arise from the circumstance of only a few copies having been given away to the nobility, by the Archbishop's wife Margaret, to whom Fuller, in his "*Church History*," has given a very high character."

Mr. Ames then continues to give a full account of all the eminent Printers from *Julian Notary* in 1498, and *William Faques* in 1500, down to *William Aspley*, and *John Bailie*, in 1600, with a general history of Printing from its origin to that period; this elaborate Work, with Mr. Herbert's additions, form 1875 quarto pages, and Mr. Dibden's edition still enlarges it.

Mr. Herbert, after his labours in correcting and enlarging Ames's *Typography*, from a single volume, to three extensive ones, concludes his history of Printers, and Printing in England at page 1467, and in the following one, thus commences his history of

PRINTING IN SCOTLAND.

Since an account has been given of printing in England, I shall now proceed to offer a few hints, relating to the rise and progress of the art in Scotland, which may be of use to such as would pursue this subject further, in that formerly antient kingdom.

The late ingenious *JAMES WATSON*, who with *Freebairn* obtained a patent from *Q. Anne*, for printing in Scotland and was afterwards one of his majesty's printers there in the time of *K. George* the first, did in the year 1713, publish a short history of the art of printing, containing an account of its invention and progress in Europe; to which he added a preface, wherein he mentions three or four books, and as many printers of Scotland within my assigned time; that is, from the introduction of the art there, to the year 1600, which I shall take notice of in their proper place. He indeed supposes they had the art of printing early from their having a constant trade with the Low Countries; from their cases and presses being all of the Dutch make, till of late years; from their manner of working, in distributing the letter on hand with the face from us and the nick downwards; and their making ink, as the printers there do at this day; but that the books may be lost, being either lives of saints

and legendary miracles, or of devotions then in vogue, carried away by the priests, who fled beyond the sea, or destroyed by the zeal of the reformers. His further account of the Scotch printers are later than my time."

"The first book I have found mentioned by any, is, A breviary of the church of Aberdeen, printed at Edinburgh 1509, thirty-five years after the introduction of this art by William Caxton. The account Mr. Ames had of this, is in a letter directed to his good friend, Dr. John Mitchell, from Mr. Charles Mackey, professor of history in the university of Edinburgh. "The art with us is as early as 1509 I imagine, though I am not certain, that I have found Mr. Ames's voucher for it. Mr. John Ker, late humanity professor here, gave into the lawyers library an old breviary in octavo, for the use of Aberdeen, but the title page, and some sheets at the end are wanting."

In 1510, another Breviary, was printed at Edinburgh, and Mr. Herbert remarks that they evince that Mr. Watson's conjectures were well founded.

During the succeeding space of forty years, to the middle of the 15th century, about twelve books only were printed in Scotland.

Mr. Herbert, after devoting upwards of fifty pages in describing Printing in Scotland, from 1509 to the close of 1600; proceeds to the following account of

PRINTING IN IRELAND.

Ireland was one of the last European states into which the art of printing was introduced. Mr. Ames used his best endeavours to form thence an account of its rise and progress in that kingdom before 1600; but all the information he received was the following:

Extract of a Letter from Doctor RUTTY, of Dublin, dated June 28, 1744, to Dr. WILLIAM CLARK, of London.

Thy commission for furnishing a catalogue of books printed in Ireland before the year 1600, I think I have had pretty good opportunities of executing, and have accordingly made use of them. First, I had an acquaintance with a learned antiquary, who has made things of this sort his particular study for many years, who is able to furnish me with but one book, which he can assure me to have been printed within that period, which is this:

"The book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other ceremonies of the church of England. Dublin in officina Humphredi Poweli. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, anno Domini 1551." In black letter, a large quarto.

Next, I had recourse to the large library of Dr. Worth, a late eminent physician here, who was eminently curious in collecting ancient pieces, but there I found but one printed here so early as 1633. Lastly, on perusing the catalogue of the college library, I found within the period by thee limited, but that one individual book, as above recited. The truth is, printing is but of a very late date in Ireland. Here were indeed some few authors within that period, but their works were printed abroad as in England, France, Flanders, Italy, &c. Even down to 1700 very few books were printed here, but whatever was written here, was generally printed in London;

even now the printing trade here consists chiefly in reprinting books printed in London, and they that value their reputation, commonly send their writings to England to be printed. And this is all the satisfaction in my power to give thy friend, on this account.

"The following books purporting to have been printed at Waterford, are thought to have been printed in England, having no assurance of any press being set up so early at Waterford; besides it must have been as dangerous printing these books openly there during queen Mary's reign as in England; therefore they more properly belong to our General History; however we have given them a place here; one of them bearing the superscription; and the other having the same types, on the authority of Maunsell."

"Warranted tidings from Ireland," was the first newspaper printed here, which was in 1641."

In noticing Printing in England, at the commencement of the 17th century, I alluded to the Elder *Bowyer*, and referred to the works that passed through, or were connected with his press to the year 1732, which with Mr. Nichols's mass of Literary information, occupies a volume of 700 pages.

In 1712-13, the elder Bowyer, after having for thirteen years pursued business with unremitting industry and unsullied reputation, was, in one fatal night, reduced to absolute want, by a calamitous fire. Every one who knew the respectable sufferer was instant and anxious, either to relieve, or to sympathize in his great affliction; and Mr. Bowyer on this occasion, received from Dean Stanhope one of the most excellent and affecting letters that so melancholy an event could be supposed to suggest. It was written in haste the very day after; and speaks indubitably, the language of the heart.

The younger Bowyer never forgot this striking testimony of regard for his parent.

A similar accident occurred in the Office of Mr. Nichols, in 1808, nearly a century afterwards.—In both instances Literary property to a vast amount was destroyed.

Of the second Wm. Bowyer, (born 1699, died 1777,) son of the preceding—Mr. Nichols gives a voluminous account, and of the annals of his Press from 1732 to 1777. Mr. N. entered into partnership with him in 1766.

I shall now select the following abridged account of him, which appears in GORTON, from the Gentleman's Magazine. "WILLIAM BOWYER an English printer and classical scholar of eminence in the last century," was a native of London, where his father, also a printer, carried on business. The son acquired the rudiments of learning under Ambrose Bonwicke, a nonjuring clergyman, and was afterwards admitted a sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, but left the university without a degree in 1722, and became an associate in trade with his father. In 1729 he obtained the office of printer, of the votes of the house of commons, which he held nearly 50 years. He was subsequently appointed printer to the Society of Antiquarians, of which learned body he was admitted a member; and on the death of Samuel Richardson in 1761, the interest of Lord Macclesfield procured him the appointment of printer to the Royal Society. In 1768 he was nominated printer of the journals of the house of Lords

and the rolls of Parliament. He died in 1777, aged 78, and was interred in the church of Low Layton in Essex. By his will he bequeathed a considerable sum of money, in trust to the Stationers' Company, for the relief of decayed printers or compositors. His principal literary production was an edition of the New Testament in Greek, with critical notes and emendations. He also published several philological tracts, and added notes and observations to some of the learned works that issued from his press. About ten years previous to his decease, he entered into partnership with Mr. John Nichols, who shortly after that event published a small volume of biographical anecdotes of Bowyer and his learned contemporaries, which formed the basis of his "*Literary anecdotes of the 18th Century*," 9 vols. 8vo., a work containing a vast mass of indigested materials for a history of English literature during the period to which it relates."

It is highly creditable to Bowyer and to Nichols, in having maintained the highest respect from the first rate Literary characters for more than a century, and it is no less remarkable, that they have printed the Votes of Parliament not only during that period, than it must be gratifying, that they are now printed by J. B. Nichols, Esq., Son and successor to as extraordinary a man, as an author and printer, as the last century has produced.

Mr. Nichols does not appear to have been ambitious of printing, what is called *fine work*, hot pressing, &c. He left that to *Bensley, Bulmer, Davison, Whittingham* and others, who were particularly laid out for the *fine*, or *superior* style of Printing—in fact Mr. N— from the very nature and extent of his avocations and occupation, could not attend to the minutiae of that branch of the trade, so peculiar to itself. I have before observed that from this voluminous Writer, having not only Printed all his *own Works*, (exceeding upwards of one hundred Volumes,) but also *Edited* and *Printed* the most extensive Monthly Periodical the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Votes of the House of Commons*, besides general work, for more than half a century, the tedious process of fine Work, pressing, and hot-pressing, &c., could not be contemplated or expected. The *Gentleman's Magazine* alone may almost be considered a closely printed Monthly Volume.

Mr. John Bowyer Nichols is following similar noble pursuits to those of his late amiable Father, who states, that his son was enjoined by the great antiquarian Gough, to assist his executors in transmitting his Library to Oxford; and Owen Manning acknowledges his great obligations to him, for his indefatigable attention in correcting his History of Surrey.—Mr. J. B. Nichols also edited the last edition of the *Life and Errors of John Dunton*, has displayed considerable literary taste, and been an ornament to his profession as a printer.

TYPE FOUNDRING.

Of the improvement in Type Founding from the time of our predecessors, down to the commencement of the 18th century, *Custom* appears the first, and the family ever since have continued to maintain its pre eminence.

Mr. Nichols gives a long and interesting account of him in different parts of his Work. I can only select the following :

Mr. William Caslon, born in that part of the town of Hales Owen which is situated in Shropshire, in 1692, and who is justly styled by *Mr. Rowe Mores* the "Coryphæus of Letter-founders," was not trained to that business ; " which is a handy work, so concealed among the artificer of it," that *Mr. Moxon*, in his indefatigable researches on that subject, " could not discover that any one had taught it any other ; but every one that had used it, learnt it of his own genuine inclination."

Mr. Caslon's first residence was in Vine-street in the Minories, where one considerable branch of his employment was to make tools for the book-binders and for the chasing of silver plate. Whilst he was engaged in this employment, the elder *Mr. Bowyer* accidentally saw in the shop of *Mr. Daniel Browne*, bookseller, near Temple Bar, the lettering of a book uncommonly neat ; and enquiring who the Artist was by whom the letters were made, *Mr. Caslon* was introduced to his acquaintance, and was taken by him to *Mr. James's* Foundry in Bartholomew close. *Caslon* had never before that time seen any part of the business ; and being asked by his friend if he thought he could undertake to cut types, he requested a single day to consider of the matter, and then replied he had no doubt but he could. From this answer *Mr. Bowyer* lent him 200*l.* *Mr. Bettenham* lent him the same sum, and Watts 100*l.* ; and by that assistance our ingenious Artist applied himself assiduously to his new pursuit, and was eminently successful —The three printers above mentioned were of course his constant customers.

In the *Universal Magazine* for June 1750, is a good view of *Mr. Caslon's* workshop in Chiswell-street, with portraits of six of his workmen. *Mr. Caslon* was three times married. The name of his second wife was Longman ; of the third Waters, and with each of these ladies he had a good fortune. The abilities of his son *William* appeared to great advantage in a specimen of types of the learned languages in 1748—His younger son, *Mr. Thomas Caslon*, was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1782 ; and died March 29, 1783.

Mr. William Caslon died in 1778, leaving a Widow who conducted the business with extraordinary ability, until her death, on the 23rd of October, 1795—Aged about 70. After the death of the mother, there were still two very large foundries carried on ; one of them by a third *William Caslon*, who having quitted Moorfields, had become the purchaser of the *Jackson* foundry in Dorset-street ; since given up to his son, a fourth *William Caslon*, a young man of considerable abilities, to whom I cannot recommend a better model than his great grand-father, who was universally esteemed as a first-rate artist, a tender master, and an honest, friendly, and benevolent man —The original foundry in Chiswell-street was purchased by *Mr. Charles Catherwood*, a distant relation, who died June 7, 1809, æt. 45 ; and is now carried on by *Mr. Henry Caslon* (another great-grandson of the first *William*) under the firm of *Caslon and Livermore*.

Jackson and Cottrell, were eminent in their day. *Mr. Jackson* had acquired some considerable property, the bulk of which, having left

no child, he directed to be equally divided between fourteen nephews and nieces. On his only apprentice, Mr. Vincent Figgins, the mantle of his predecessor has fallen. With an ample portion of his kind instructor's reputation he inherits a considerable share of his talents and his industry; and has distinguished himself by the many beautiful specimens he has produced, and particularly of Oriental types.

Figgins and *Thornycroft*, have always stood high in the estimation of first rate judges; they are succeeding in all the beauties, chasteness, and improvements of the Art.

The *Frys* have also been eminent in this beautiful art, particularly *Edmund*, whom *Watt* in his *Bibliotheca Brit.* thus designates.

"*Edmund Fry*, M.D., produced specimens of Printing Types, 1785-98. also *Pantographia*; containing copies of all the known Alphabets in the world, and specimens of all well authenticated languages, in a large octavo volume, price 2 guineas; this interesting and laborious Work, is executed with great neatness."

. Mr. JOHN BASKERVILLE.

I cannot slightly pass by this extraordinary Letter Founder, Printer, Paper maker, Ink maker, &c.—In my "History and Topography of Warwickshire," I devoted, with the aid of his Biographers, about a dozen pages to him, of which I here present a small portion. Mr. Hutton says, "he was in succession—a stone cutter, a school-master, a japanner, and lastly an eminent type founder and printer; he gave his name to the first, and his establishment and fame to that of the other. The pen of the historian rejoices in the actions of the great; the fame of the deserving, like an oak tree, is of sluggish growth, the present generation becomes debtor to him who excels, but the future will repay that debt with more than simple interest. The still voice of fame may warble in his ears towards the close of life, but her trumpet seldom sounds in full clarion, till those ears are stopped by the finger of death."

Of Mr. John Baskerville, Mr. Nichols, who appears like myself to have been indebted to Mr. Hutton, states that "this celebrated printer was born at Wolverly, in the county of Worcester, in 1706, heir to the paternal estate of £60 per annum, which in fifty years after, while in his own possession, had increased to £90, and this estate, with an exemplary filial piety and generosity, he allowed to his parents until their deaths, which happened at an advanced age." Mr. Nichols says that he was brought up to no occupation, but Mr. Hutton asserts that he was trained to that of a stone cutter, but they agree as to his becoming a schoolmaster in 1728, and that in about ten years after he taught school in Birmingham, and wrote an excellent hand. Both circumstances account for his subsequent skill and talent in the formation of letters. It appears that he was not even confined to his early predilections, for previously to his attempt at printing, he found that painting accorded with his taste, and in despite of the odium cast upon, what is termed "tea board painting," he entered into that lucrative branch at his then residence, No. 22, in Moor-street. His biographer, Hutton, observes that, in 1745, "he took a building lease of about eight acres north west of the town, to

which he gave the name of Easy hill, converted it into a little Eden, and built a house in the centre ; but the town, as if conscious of his merit, followed his retreat, and surrounded it with buildings. Here he continued the business of a japanner for life ; his carriage, (each pannel of which was a distinct picture, and might be considered as the *pattern card of his trade*,) was drawn by a beautiful pair of cream coloured horses. His inclination for letters induced him in 1750, to turn his thoughts to the press. He spent many years in the uncertain pursuit, sank £600 before he could produce one letter to please himself, and some thousands before the shallow stream of profit began to flow. His first attempt, in 1756, was a quarto edition of Virgil,—price one guinea, now worth several." This according to Nichols, he reprinted in 1758, and was employed by the University of Oxford upon an entirely new-faced Greek type.

The talents of Mr. Baskerville were now very generally appreciated; the celebrated Mr. Derrick, in a letter to the Earl of Cork, July 15, 1760, containing a description of Birmingham, says, "I need not remind your Lordship, that Baskerville, one of the best printers in the world, resides near this town. His house stands at about half-a-mile's distance, on an eminence that commands a fine prospect. I paid him a visit and was received with great politeness, though an entire stranger. His apartments are elegant ; his staircase is particularly curious ; and the room in which he dines, and calls a smocking room, is very handsome. The grate and furniture belonging to it are, I think, of bright wrought iron, and cost him a good round sum. He has just completed an elegant octavo common prayer book ; has a scheme for publishing a folio edition of the Bible ; and will soon finish a beautiful collection of fables, by the ingenious Mr. Dodsley. He manufactures his own paper, types and ink ; and they are remarkably good. This ingenious artist carries on a great trade in the japan way, in which he shewed several useful articles such as candlesticks, stands, salvers, waiters, bread baskets, tea boards, &c., elegantly designed and highly finished. Baskerville is a great cherisher of genius, which he loses no opportunity of cultivating."

In 1764, Mr. Baskerville received the following curious letter from the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin.

"Craven-street, London, 1764."

"Dear Sir,

"Let me give you a pleasant instance of the prejudice some have entertained against your work. Soon after I returned, discoursing with a gentleman respecting the artists of Birmingham, he said, "you would be the means of blinding all the people in the nation, for the strokes of your letters, being too thin and narrow, hurt the eye, and he never could read a line of them without pain." "I thought (said I) you were going to complain of the gloss on the paper some object to." "No, no, (says he) I have heard that mentioned, but it is not that, it is in the natural and easy proportion between the height and thickness of the stroke, which makes the common printing so much more comfortable to the eye." You see this gentleman was a connoisseur. In vain I endeavoured to support your character against the charge ; he knew what he felt, and could see the reason

of it, and several other gentlemen among his friends had made the same observations, &c. Yesterday he called to visit me, when mischievously bent to try his judgment, I stepped into my closet, tore off the top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham, saying, "I had been examining it since he spoke to me, and could not for my life perceive the disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me." He readily undertook it, and went over the several founts, shewing me everywhere what he thought instances of that disproportion, and declared, "that he could not then read the specimen without feeling very strongly the pain he had mentioned to me." I spared him that time the confusion of being told, that these were the types he had been reading all his life, with so much ease to his eyes; the types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very types his own book is printed with, for he is himself an author, and yet never discovered this painful disproportion in them, and he thought they were yours."

"I am, &c."

"B. FRANKLIN."

In 1765, he applied to Dr. Franklin, then at Paris, and afterwards ambassador from America, to sound the Literati, respecting the purchase of his types; but received for answer, "That the French reduced by the war in 1756, were so far from pursuing schemes of taste, that they were unable to repair the public buildings, but suffered the scaffolding to rot before them." After this we hear nothing of Mr. Baskerville as a printer. He died without issue, in Jan. 8, 1781; but it is painful to observe, that in the last solemn act of his life, he seriously avowed his total disbelief of christianity.

I have a copy of his Will, but some parts of it are objectionable, which the following inscription on his tomb would imply:—

"Stranger,

"Beneath this stone, in *unconsecrated* ground, a friend to the liber-
te of mankind directed his body to be inurned."

"May his example contribute to emancipate thy mind—from the
idle fears of *Superstition* and the wicked arts of *Priesthood*."

The principal part of his fortune, amounting to about £12,000, he left to his widow; who sold the stock, and retired to the house which her husband had built.

Many efforts were used after his death to dispose of the types; but no purchaser could be found in the whole commonwealth of letters. The universities rejected the offer. (Hutton says coldly) "The London booksellers (Mr. Nichols says) preferred the sterling types of Caslon and his apprentice, Jackson." Hutton says, "they understand no science like that of profit. The valuable property, therefore, lay a dead weight, till purchased by a literary society at Paris, in 1779, for £3700. Invention seldom pays the inventor. If you ask what fortune Baskerville ought to have been rewarded with? The most that can be comprised in five figures. If you further ask what he possessed?—the least; but none of it squeezed from the press. What will the shade of this great man think, if capable of

thinking, that he has spent a fortune of opulence, and a life of genius, in carrying to perfection the greatest of all human inventions, and that his productions, slighted by his country, were hawked over Europe in quest of a bidder." Mrs. Baskerville died in March, 1788.

"We must admire, if we do not imitate, the taste and economy of the French nation, who, brought by the British arms, 1762, to the verge of ruin, rising above distress, were able in seventeen years to purchase Baskerville's elegant types, refused by his own country, and to expend an hundred thousand pounds in poisoning the principles of mankind, by printing with them the works of Voltaire."

Near his residence a conic urn was placed to the memory of Mr. Baskerville, but was lost in the ruins, or destroyed by the riots of 1791, a remarkable circumstance has, however, recently occurred in determining the spot where he was entombed; In levelling the ground for the formation of wharfs, his coffin, standing in an upright position, and in an entire state, was dug up; upon opening it, the body was not decomposed, and the teeth had the appearance of being perfectly sound, although he died at the age of 60, and had been interred for nearly half a century. I have by me a small piece of the Shroud with which he was surrounded! It has been asserted, that, a little before his death, he jocularly said he should "again appear upon a white horse," which saying, connected with his extraordinary exhumation, has met with believers in the credulity of some connected with the manufactory established on this spot.

Baskerville's ambition to excel caused him to spare no expence; he even went to that of casting some founts of type in Silver, instead of the usual metals, and their agents; and certainly the face and form of his letter was extremely beautiful and chaste. Dr. Franklin speaks of its lean and sharp strokes being too fine, but it is the plan of the French to this day, who have by far exceeded Baskerville in the length and sharpness of their letters, and although they appear (as most of our modern types do, in one way or other,) a sort of caricature, still they are very beautiful.

BLOCK PRINTING.

William Ged.—In 1781, Mr. Nichols printed and published *Biographical Memoirs of William Ged*, including a particular account of his progress in the art of *Block Printing*, on which the *Monthly Review*, spoke favorably.

It appears that GED gave a narrative of his scheme for Block-printing, in 1730, and stated that "he had eclipsed his competitors in the art of Letter-founding, but found more difficulty than he apprehended in an attempt to make plates for Block-printing." Mr. N—— gives the following interesting narrative of him:—

"WILLIAM GED, an ingenious artist, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh and made his improvement in the art of printing in 1725. The invention was simply this. From any types of Greek, Roman, or any other character, he formed a plate for every page or sheet of a book, from which he printed, instead of using a type for every letter, as is done in the common way. This was the first practised, but on blocks of wood, by the Chinese and Japanese, and pursued in the first essays of Coster, Guttenberg, and Faust, the European invent-

ors of the present art. "This improvement," says James Ged, "is principally considerable in four most important articles; viz. expense, correctness, beauty, and uniformity." But these improvements were controverted by Mr. Mores and others. In July, 1729, William Ged entered into partnership with William Fenner, a London Stationer, who was to have half the profits, in consideration of his advancing all the money requisite. To supply this, Mr. John James, then an Architect at Greenwich (who built Sir Gregory Page's house, Bloomsbury Church, &c.) was taken into the scheme; and afterwards his brother, Mr. Thomas James, a founder, and James Ged, the inventor's son. In 1730, these partners applied to the University of Cambridge for printing Bibles and Common Prayer-books by blocks instead of single types, and, in consequence, a lease was sealed to them April 23, 1731. In their attempt, they sunk a large sum of money, and finished only two Prayer-books; so that it was forced to be relinquished, and the lease was given up in 1738. Ged imputed his disappointment to the villainy of the pressmen and the ill-treatment of his partners; (which he specifies at large,) particularly Fenner, whom John James and he were advised to prosecute, but declined it. He returned to Scotland in 1733, and had no redress. He there, however, set about Sallust, which he printed at Edinburgh in 1736, 12 mo. Fenner died insolvent in or before the year 1735; and his widow married Mr. Waugh, an Apothecary, who carried on the printing-business with her, and whom she survived. Her printing materials were sold in 1768. James Ged, wearied with disappointments, engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, in Captain Perth's regiment; and, being taken at Carlisle, was confined, but, on his father's account, by Dr. Smith's interest with the Duke of Newcastle, was pardoned, and released in 1748. He afterwards worked for some time, as a journeyman, with Mr. Betterham, and then commenced master; but being unsuccessful, he went privately to Jamaica, where his younger brother William was settled as a reputable Printer. His tools, &c., he left to be shipped by a false friend, who most ungenerously detained them to try his skill himself. James Ged died the year after he left England; as did his brother in 1767. In the above pursuit Mr. Thomas James, who died in 1738, expended much of his fortune, and suffered in his proper business; "for the Printers," says Mr. Mores, "would not employ him, because the block-printing, had it succeeded, would have been prejudicial to theirs." Mr. William Ged died in very indifferent circumstances, Oct. 19, 1749, after his utensils were sent for to Leith to be shipped for London, to have joined with his son James as a printer there. Thus ended his life and project: which, ingenious as it seemed, "must," says Mr. Mores, "had it succeeded have soon sunk under its own burthen," for reasons needless here to recapitulate. It is but justice, however, to add, that, since that period, the plan has been revived, first by my friend Mr. Alexander Tilloch, the learned Editor of "The Philosophical Magazine," who, without having known of Ged's plan, obtained a patent for a similar invention, which he afterwards relinquished. But the exertions of Mr. Andrew Wilson have been more successful; as he has been able to accomplish several very considerable *Stereotype Editions*."

It will be recollected that Stereotype-printing was practised in Paris, ere it was generally adopted in England, and numerous beautiful Editions of the classics were printed there from Stereotype plates. A work on the Christian Religion said to be translated from the German,* by the late Queen Charlotte, was the first book Stereotyped and Printed in England, executed by Andrew Wilson, and published by Harding of Pall-mall. This mode of printing being now so general and so well known, and ample descriptions being given in the various Encyclopædias, render it unnecessary here.

The *Logographic* mode of Printing was invented about 50 years ago by an ingenious Irish gentleman of the name of Johnston:—this system was arranged by the casting of whole words upon one piece of Metal, and arranging those more generally in use, in the most convenient position to the Compositor, in a similar way to single types as now placed in the Cases.—

The only person that took up this mode of Printing was the late *John Walter, Esq.*, the original proprietor of the *Times* Newspaper. At this time he printed for a few Authors, and one or two Booksellers—among the former was the celebrated Rev. Dr. Trusler, among the latter the late Mr. Owen of Piccadilly; but this mode of Printing was soon found not to answer—in fact a very unlucky accident occurred at its commencement, which was as follows. An elegant edition of *Robinson Crusoe* was printed in 2 handsome volumes in octavo; it was intended to have been dedicated to his *Majesty*, but unfortunately the Letter *M* broke from the rest, and a large portion of the impression went into circulation, (before the accident was discovered) dedicated to his *ajesty*! this created an unfavourable impression in the trade, and the *Logographic* Art of Printing fell to the ground.

Engraving on Stone, Engraving on Copper, Drawing upon Stone, or Lithography; Drawing upon Zinc, or Zincography.

Engraving on Stone rested with the ancients for a length of time; but was lost in the middle ages, nor was it revived or practiced with any success in Britain, until about the middle of the 18th Century. Soon after which, Mr. Tassie produced a catalogue of his extraordinary performances. The following very interesting account of this talented man is given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

“This truly ingenious Modeller, whose history is intimately connected with a branch of the Fine Arts in Britain, was born in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, of obscure parents; and began his life as a country stone mason, without the expectation of ever rising higher. Going to Glasgow on a fair-day, to enjoy himself with his companions, at the time when the Foulis's were attempting to establish an Academy for the Fine Arts in that city, he saw their collection of paintings, and felt an irresistible impulse to become a Painter. He removed to Glasgow; and in the Academy acquired a knowledge of

* John Anastatius Freylinghausen's abstract of the whole doctrine of the Christian Religion, London, 1804, was the first book stereotyped on a new process. *Watt's Bibliotheca Brit.*

drawing, which unfolded and improved his natural taste—He was frugal, industrious, and persevering; but he was poor, and was under the necessity of devoting himself to stone-cutting for his support; not without the hopes that he might one day be a Statuary if he could not be a Painter. Resorting to Dublin for employment he became known to Dr. Quin, who was amusing himself in his leisure hours with endeavouring to imitate the precious stones in coloured paste, and take accurate impressions of the engravings that were on them. That art was known to the Antients; many specimens from them are now in the cabinets of the curious. It seems to have been lost in the Middle Ages; was revived in Italy under Leo X. and the Medici Family at Florence; became more perfect in France under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, by his labours and those of Homberg. By those whom they instructed as Assistants in the Laboratory it continued to be practised in Paris, and was carried to Rome. Their art was kept a secret, and their Collections were small. It was owing to Quin and to Tassie that it has been carried to such perfection in Britain, and attracted the attention of Europe. Dr. Quin, in looking out for an Assistant, soon discovered Tassie to be one in whom he could place perfect confidence. He was endowed with fine taste; he was modest and unassuming; he was patient; and possessed the highest integrity. The Doctor committed his laboratory and experiments to his care. The associates were fully successful; and found themselves able to imitate all the gems, and take accurate impressions of the engravings. As the Doctor had followed the subject only for his amusement, when the Discovery was completed he encouraged Mr. Tassie to repair to London, and to devote himself to the preparation and sale of those pastes as his profession. In 1766 he arrived in the Capital. But he was diffident and modest to excess; very unfit to introduce himself to the attention of persons of rank and affluence: besides the number of engraved Gems in Britain was small; and those few were little noticed. He long struggled under difficulties which would have discouraged any one who was not possessed of the greatest patience and the warmest attachment to the subject. He gradually emerged from obscurity; obtained competence; and, what to him was much more, he was able to increase his Collection, and add higher degrees of perfection to his Art. His name soon became respected, and the first Cabinets in Europe were open for his use; and he uniformly preserved the greatest attention to the exactness of the imitation and accuracy of the engraving, so that many of his Pastes were sold on the Continent by the fraudulent for real Gems. His fine taste led him to be peculiarly careful of the impression; and he uniformly destroyed those with which he was in the least dissatisfied. The Art has been practised of late by others; and many thousands of pastes have been sold as Tassie's, which he would have considered as injurious to his fame. Of the same of others he was not envious; for he uniformly spoke with frankness in praise of those who executed them well, though they were endeavouring to rival himself. To the ancient Engravings he added a numerous Collection of the most eminent modern ones; many of which approach in excellence of workmanship if not in simplicity of design and chas-

tity of expression to the most celebrated of the ancient. Many years before he died he executed a commission for the late Empress of Russia, consisting of about 15,000 different engravings (see article *Грав.* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*). At his death in 1799, they amounted to near 20,000; a Collection of Engravings unequalled in the world. Every lover of the Fine Arts must be sensible of the advantage of it for improvement in knowledge and in taste. The Collection of Feloux at Paris consisted of 1800 articles; and that of Dhen at Rome of 2500. For a number of years, Mr. Tassie practised the modelling of portraits in wax, which he afterwards moulded and cast in paste. By this the exact likeness of many eminent men of the present age will be transmitted to posterity as accurately as those of the philosophers and great men have been by the ancient statuaries. In taking likenesses he was in general uncommonly happy; and it is remarkable, that he believed there was a kind of inspiration (like that mentioned by the Poets) necessary to give him success. The Writer of this Article, in conversing with him repeatedly on the subject, always found him fully persuaded of it. He mentioned many instances in which he had been directed by it; and even some, in which, after he had laboured in vain to realize his ideas on the wax, he had been able by a sudden flash of imagination, to please himself in the likeness several days after he had last seen the original. He possessed also an uncommonly fine taste in Architecture, and would have been eminent in that branch if he had followed it.—In private life Mr. Tassie was universally esteemed for his uniform piety, and for the simplicity, the modesty, and benevolence, that shone through his character.”—*Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The great Prize of the “Shakespeare Gallery”—drawn in Mr. Boydell’s Lottery on the 28th of January, 1805, fell to the lot of Mr. Tassie, the above ingenious modeller.

Engraving is divided into so many branches, and is so important and interesting an art, that numerous volumes have been written upon the subject; and the *Encyclopædias* and *Dictionaries* of Engravers, and the *Fine Arts*, present such ample details and directions for the execution of each separate branch, that I shall only give an outline of each. Mr. Elmes in his valuable “*Bibliographical Dictionary of the Fine Arts*,” not only describes the whole of them, but in many instances gives valuable information for practising each, particularly that of the more modern invention of Engraving or drawing upon Stone, termed Lithography, with which *Senefelder*, the Inventor, has furnished him with the means which he acknowledges, and other valuable communications that he has given.

It is stated in the *Dictionarium Polygraphicum*, that the art of Engraving is for the greatest part of modern invention, not being older than the 16th Century.

“It is true indeed, the ancients did practise *Engraving* on precious stones and crystals; some of which works are still to be seen, equal to any production of the latter ages; but the art of Engraving on plates of metal or blocks of wood in order to form prints from them, was not known till after the invention of painting in oil.”

Elmes in his *General and Bibliographic Dictionary of the Fine Arts*, states,—

The art of engraving is divided into various branches or classes: as engraving on stones for seals, signets, called *gem sculpture*; the sinking for coins, medals, &c., called *medallurgy*; on copper-plates after various manners, as *line engraving*, *etching* or engraving with aqua fortis, *mezzotinto engraving* or *scraping*, *aquatinta engraving*, *dipple dot* or *chalk engraving*, *engraving on wood*, *engraving on steel*, on stone, called *lithography*, *etching on glass*, and some other minor branches of the arts.

The art of engraving is of great antiquity, and was originally only rude delineations expressed by simple outlines, such as are described by Herodotus, as traced upon the shields of the Carians. The importance and utility of this art is acknowledged by every person of taste and knowledge; and its dignity as an art is undoubted. It multiplies the works of other artists and preserves them to posterity; it records the talents of eminent artists by an art which requires equal talent, and scarcely less genius. Bezaleel and Aholiab are mentioned in the book of Genesis as "filled with wisdom of heart to work all manner of work with the graver." The hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are also a species of engraving, of which there are many fine specimens in the British Museum. Among the Etruscan antiquities in the same collection are two specimens of the art of engraving at a very remote period; a representation of which forms the frontispiece to one of the volumes of STURTT'S *Dictionary of Engravers*.

The art of engraving in this country, like the practice in every other country, commenced and increased with civilization and knowledge. Under Alfred the Great the art met with great encouragement, and remains of it as practised in his days are still in existence. There is still preserved in the Museum at Oxford a valuable jewel of this period representing St. Cuthbert, the back of which is ornamented with foliage very skilfully engraved.

The most ancient as well as the most legitimate and beautiful mode of practising the art is that which is called line engraving or engraving proper; and is the art of cutting lines upon a copper-plate, by means of a steel instrument called a graver or burin, without the use of aqua fortis. This was the first way of producing copper-plate prints that was practised, and is still much used in historical subjects, portraits, and in finishing landscape.

Of Mezzotinto Engraving or Scraping.—This art, which is of modern date, is recommended by the ease with which it is executed, especially by those who understand drawing. Mezzotinto prints are those which have no strokes of the graver, but whose lights and shades are blended together, and appear like drawing in India ink. They are different from aquatinta, but as both resemble Indian ink, the difference is more easily perceived than described. Mezzotinto is applied to portraits and historical objects, and aquatinta is chiefly used for landscape and architecture.

The invention of *mezzotinto* engraving is generally attributed to Prince Rupert; but in the Life of Sir Christopher Wren it is given to that eminent architect. "The mode of impressing pictures by light and shade on copper, commonly known by the name of engraving in mezzotinto, owes its improvement if not its origin to Wren." The

journals of the Royal Society for October 1, 1662, record that Dr. Wren presented some cuts done by himself in a new way, whereby he could almost as soon do a subject on a plate of brass or copper as another could draw it with a crayon on paper. On this subject the editor of *Parentalia* speaks with decision, that "he was the first inventor of the art of graving in Mezzotinto; which was afterwards prosecuted and improved by his Royal Highness Prince Rubert, in a manner somewhat different, upon the suggestion, as it is said, of the learned John Evelyn, Esq."

Of Engraving in Aquatinta.—Aquatinta is a method of producing prints very much resembling drawings in Indian ink. The principle of the process consists in corroding the copper with aquafortis in such a manner that an impression from it has the appearance of a tint laid on the paper. This is effected by covering the copper with a powder, or some substance which takes a granulated form, so as to prevent the aquafortis from acting where the particles adhere, and by this means cause it to corrode the copper partially, and in the interstices only. When these particles are extremely minute and near to each other, the impression from the plate appears to the naked eye exactly like a wash of Indian ink; but when they are larger, the granulation is more distinct, and as this may be varied at pleasure, it is capable of being adapted with success to a variety of purposes and subjects.

The art of *engraving on wood* is not only of very ancient date, but is a legitimate, beautiful, and artistlike mode of operation, for the production, of prints, particularly for books. The first engravers on wood whose names have reached our times are William Pluydenwurff and Michael Wolgemuth, who engraved the cuts of the Nuremburg Chronicle which was published in folio in 1493, which are marked with all the stiffness and inaccuracy which characterize the works of the German artists of that time.

Engraving on wood is a very artist-like mode of execution, and requires considerable graphic abilities to execute it well. Hence many painters of excellence have practised it with success. Among the best engravers on wood, we must particularly mention Pierre Scæffer or Schoifer, whose coloured figures in his celebrated Psalter (folio 1457) prove that this mode of engraving, the invention of which is commonly attributed to Hugo Da Cabri, had its rise in Germany.

ALBERT DÜRER also practised the art of wood engraving with great success, which began now to assume a higher character; and, as far as regards the executive part, he brought it to a perfection which has hardly been equalled by any succeeding artist.

Bewick of Newcastle, Harvey his pupil, the Thompsons (brothers). Braddon, and other artists, have carried this art to the highest perfection.

Engraving on Steel is performed in nearly a similar way to engraving on copper. For etching on steel the plate or block is bedded on glazier's putty, and etched with a needle through a ground of Brunswick black in the common way. Messrs. Perkins and Heath have carried the art of engraving on plates of softened steel, afterwards hardened by a scientific process, to a great degree of perfection.

Engraving on stone is a recent invention now in great vogue. It is

cheap and, when well performed, produces impressions of great beauty in imitation of chalk, Mezzotinto, pen and ink, and even of etching.

Engraving or etching on glass is performed by laying on a ground consisting of a thin coat of bees wax, and drawing the design therein with an etching needle. It is then to be covered with sulphuric acid, sprinkled over with powdered fluor spar or fluoric acid. It must be taken off after four or five hours, and cleansed with oil of turpentine.

Etching is a mode of engraving on copper and other metals or substances by drawing with a needle inserted in a handle, called an etching needle, on and through a thin ground, which being corroded or bitten by aquafortis, forms the lines upon the plate.

Lithography. A little reflection will suffice to show that this invention, of only a few years' date, is calculated to be in many ways of the highest possible utility. The facility with which, through its medium, any thing whatever in the shape of writing or pictorial display can be multiplied is truly astonishing. By means of it the painter, the sculptor, the architect, are enabled to hand down to posterity as many fac similes of their original sketches as they please. The collector or antiquarian is enabled to multiply his originals, and the amateur the fruits of his leisure hours. The portrait painter can gratify his patron by supplying him with as many copies as he wishes to have of a successful likeness. Men in office may obtain copies of the most important despatches or documents, without a moment's delay, and without the necessity of confiding in the fidelity of secretaries and clerks; whilst the merchant and the man of business, to whom time is often of the most vital importance, can, with similar promptitude, preserve what copies they may require, of their tables or accounts.

My Son-in-law, the late F. Calvert, Esq. executed a greater variety of Subjects in this branch of the art, than perhaps any other person in Europe.

It is gratifying to me to state, that at my request, my Son has enabled me, by his execution of the four Lithographic Heads, which accompany this Retrospect—to present this earliest specimens of his ability in that art; my second GRANDSON has also engraved the five fac simile Wood Cuts of the ancient Printers.

Drawing, or Etching upon Zinc called *Zincography*.

This is the very latest invention, or improvement in the fine Arts.—The process and progress is similar to the drawing on, and printing from Stone. It was invented by Messrs. Chapman & Co. of London, who have obtained a patent for this branch of art, and have extensive Mills at Dartford, in Kent, for preparing the Zinc Plates, which possess a great advantage over Stone, from being light and portable; I have some Impressions from this mode of Printing, executed by my ELDEST GRANDSON. from the original drawings, which are very beautiful.

ART. II.—THE WAR OF THE FEUILLETONS.

1. *Les Contemporains*, Alexre Dumas, Émile de Girardin, Eugène Sue, George Sand, Jules Janin, &c. par Eugène Mirecourt; 24mo. Paris. 1856-7.
2. *Fabrique de Biographies Maison E. de Mirecourt et Cie*; par un ex Associé Pierre Mazerolle; 24mo. Paris. 1857.
3. *Biographie de Jacquot dit de Mirecourt*; par Théophile Deschamps. Paris. 1857.

Among those privileges of young days which we would gladly seize on again, the most desirable would be to feel once more the awe and veneration with which we once regarded every one who had written a book. Messrs Dilworth, Fenning, Walker, and other grave signiors, enthroned on easy chairs in the frontispieces of spelling books and dictionaries, and calmly dictating to files of docile urchins, were well enough in their way, and worthy of due respect; but still what a height above their full-bottomed wigs and collarless coats, sat enthroned the authors of *Sandford and Merton*, the *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Puss in Boots*, and the *Battle of Aughrim*! At twenty years of age we cheerfully sacrificed a good dinner to the pleasure of getting a glimpse of the *Great Unknown* during his visit to Dublin; and looked on it as an event to be ever after deplored, that the *bodily presence* of the authoress of *Ennui* once embalmed the air of the apartment in which we were employed at our drudgery, without our being at the time sensible of our privilege.

At that era of literary faith and hope, though we had heard of poets in Grub-street garrets holding deferential language to milk-women on the subject of scores left unpaid, we gave very little faith to the report; and looked on the author of *Marmion* sitting in ease and dignity beside a castle wall, with gallant *Lufra* by his side, and his pencil ready to fasten a poetical idea on the page of his note-book, as the true type of authorhood.

Great was our admiration of a portrait of the authoress of *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, and hearty our approval of the taste of

the painter settling her on a ruin in a dark night with bare neck and countenance lighted up by the pale moon ; while regardless of cold and solitude she calmly gazed abroad on the night landscape and the gloomy heaven, with sublime and romantic ideas sweeping across the magic mirror of her imagination. Small thanks we gave to a common-place friend in our company who suggested the propriety and comfort of the lady's resuming bonnet and shawl, walking home, putting her feet in a pan of warm water and taking a glass of hot wine negus.

If at this advanced period of our lives and experience we look on favorite writers as mere men and women, we can honestly lay hand on breast, and declare that the fault rests not with us. If Mrs. Siddons will beg for black muddy porter, though in tones of tragic depth ; if one man of genius allows himself to be so bemused in beer, whiskey-panch, and tobacco, that some one must see him in safety home when he dines abroad ; if another delights every reader where the English tongue is known with a tale of true love, loyalty, heroic daring, and liberal feelings, and afterwards calumniates in a furious newspaper, the religion, political faith, and honesty of nine-tenths of his fellow subjects, and all for sake of filthy lucre ; finally if a third casts such a production on the world as no Christian father would allow to be read by wife, son, or daughter, will not the idols which we raised to those false divinities in our mind's sanctuary, fall of themselves and be hopelessly shattered in pieces !

The light in which the young and the unworldly portion of the reading world look upon their unknown literary guides and instructors, is similar, with a difference, to that in which a judge on the bench arrayed in all the grandeurs of horse-hair and ermine, is regarded by a simple-minded occupant of the gallery, while with unruffled visage, calm passionless tone, and dignified gesture, he settles the law between the angry and smarting advocates, himself occupying that exalted seat, beyond and above the atmosphere in which irritation or personal animosity is known.

But let this lofty personage enter on a wordy war with one of the incensed wranglers, and, forgetful of his official greatness, utter such words and with such gestures as a fish-woman or car-driver, familiar with books and learned in the law, would use on the occasion, would not the un-

sophisticated listener depart in a wretched state of mind, heartily despising study, knowledge, official grandeur, and the undignified individuals in whose possession he finds them.

So to every man who thinks he can inform or improve his fellows, and writes a book, we say, "let not the example just propounded, depart from your mind: if assailed by some snarling cur, let your demeanor to him be that of the sedate judge to the irritated selfish pleader whose figures of speech were acquired at the fish-auction in Pill-lane. If misunderstood or even found in error by a rational and civil spoken censor, let logic be the substance of your answer, and courtesy its form. And so shall we settle your bust beside those of the great minds of all ages, the results of whose genius, judgment and labour remain for our pleasure and improvement; while we dwell as little on their defects, littlenesses, and faults, as if in *their* instances such infirmities were altogether unknown."

But if one, eminent by his literary and official rank, takes to exercise the romancer's privilege on the sober pages of history, and raises to the rank of a demigod, a very ordinary specimen of humanity; if he wilfully misrepresents the motives and actions of those with whose political or religious principles he does not sympathise; if after being shewn repeated proofs of the falsehood of his statements, he coolly and arrogantly repeats the seven-times convicted lie, surely the punishment of the traitor to the love of his native land will not be too severe for the traitor to truth, and the wilful calumniator of the dead. He,

"Living shall forfeit fair renown;
And doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

As the reading and hard to be pleased portion of the community expect to find a combination of virtues and good qualities, in those who cater for their entertainment, which they by no means insist on as necessary in their own individual cases, it is worth enquiring, whether consistently with the ordinary rise and progress of the literary career, their expectations seem in a fair way to be ever fulfilled. No writer living or dead was ever educated solely with a view to the profession. The republic consists of deserters

from the ranks of the students of law, of physic, of theology in some cases, or the still more difficult sciences of political and commercial finance. A youth spends his available fortune in the purchase of a stuff gown, or a gold headed cane; but these appendages will not ensure a respectable subsistence without connexion, patronage, or what is called good luck. Another has exhausted his paternal resources in dissipation, while pretending to be engrossed in earnest study; and his fortune is gone, his parents enraged, and the gold headed cane or the stuff gown not procured. Each in his progress has acquired a literary taste, and neither can tell but that he possesses a creative literary power; so he can think of nothing better than constructing a tragedy, a poem, a novel, or an essay on the state of morality among the inhabitants of the moon. He shuts himself up for three months, lives on bread and weak tea, and, when the great work is achieved, he seeks a publisher. He is requested to name his former work, and mention the publisher, the number of copies sold, opinions of the press, &c. He modestly indicates the red taped parcel as the first offspring of his brain—the rejoinder informs him that when he has acquired a name, the present individual will have much pleasure in making him further known. He naturally suggests that to acquire that same good name, paper and print must be risked by some one, and finally the sedate gentleman opposite, declines the office of forlorn hope in his regard. Thus “I will not publish till you acquire renown,” “I cannot acquire renown till you publish,” become the two unsympathising portions of a vicious circle; and instead of moving easily and swiftly between their hands as a sentient mahogany convenience, between the hands of the *ci-devant* table-turners,

“Fools that rush in where angels fear to tread,”

each by pushing and pulling in the opposite direction holds the engine fast, and a decidedly dead lock is effected.

Let us now suppose our aspirant tired in his chase after a publisher, and decided to win fame at his own proper risk. An agent for the sale and advertisements is easily found; and with a thrill of pleasure the proofs are awaited. *Oh labor of love!* *Oh welcome the comely black and red cheeks of the printing house messenger, handing in the*

dirty roll of manuscript enclosing the four leaves of type ! How interesting the title page in the windows, greeting the happy author on the day of publication, but oh how nervous the enquiries after the sale for the first few weeks !

Half a year comes to an end even with the most impatient author that ever held a pen ; and the agent unfolds his ledger. (We pass over the hot and cold fits suffered from the reviewers' varied treatment). The ledger, we repeat, is opened ; and the sanguine victim reads the plainly written statement without venturing to give credit to his eyes—" Mr. Wildgoose to Mr. Balaam Foolscap, Dr. To warehousing and advertising the '*DERVISH OF THE DESERT*,' £30 16s. 7d. Cr. by sale of 4 copies, deducting commission, 16s." A friendly householder having signed his name as security for paper and print, £87 15s., our adventurer's sensations for the next twenty-four hours may be left to the pity of the most apathetic reader.

Of course a great deal of occupation is given to persons in our hero's situation by newspapers and magazines ; but who can calculate the quantity of articles rejected or not paid for, or the misery of those who have nothing to occupy them till the last day of each month, but " the hope deferred that maketh the heart sick !"

How wise, in the greater number of cases, for the aspirers after literary celebrity to content themselves with the discharge of some useful plodding occupation ; and how unreasonable to expect from the disappointed, irritated, and excitable employèes of literature, the calmness or dignity of people placed by their position above the paltry cares requisite to procure daily subsistence !

We are spared the disagreeable task of illustrating our theme by examples from the corps of English literati, by a manifestation of decided discomfort among their brothers of the steel pen on the other side of the channel. We have endeavored ere now to familiarise our readers with the real merits of several of the French literary notables : it is now our less pleasing task to produce some traits of the men which are calculated to temper our high opinion of the writers.

Eugène de Mirecourt, not finding a free field for his labors in the domain of poetry or fiction, has established

himself the historian and censor of the great and little actions, and good and bad qualities, as well as the literary merits and defects of those of his cotemporaries who have acquired a status either in literature, the arts, politics, or finance. Unable to see any faults in some, he chastises others with so unsparing a hand, that besides retaliating to the best of their power with their own proper members, they have recourse to the long arm of the law to level their assailant. But in making out this supplement to the 'quarrels of authors' already known to the reading world, we prefer the advice of the simple giant to that of the keen satirist, and will begin at the beginning.

Eugène Jacquot, born at Mirecourt in Lorraine, and baptised in 1815, at the very moment when his native town was invested by the Cossacks, was early devoted to the clerical state by his mother. Not feeling a very strong vocation, and blaming himself profoundly therefore, he left home without warning his parents, intending by way of mortification for his lukewarmness, to become a very Trappist, and thus make a complete sacrifice of his own proper will and propensities. In the diligence he falls into conversation with a worldly-minded painter and his wife, and is induced to change his purpose, and essay the life of a man of letters in Paris; and his prentice essays fill the letter-boxes of the journals, from which they are promoted to the stoves of the editors.

He accepts and fulfils the duties of one or two offices, but is still driven back to the pen by an uncontrollable impulse; in the second stage his articles are printed but not paid for, and in the third, he gets a scanty and irregular recompense. Thirsting for fame and a first place in periodical literature, he finds himself foiled by the simple fact of the best places in the chief newspapers being filled by *Auguste Maquet*, *Paul Meurice*, *Couilhac*, and others, each and all signing their names *Alexandre Dumas*. Simultaneously appear *Les Medicis*, *Une fille du Regent*, and *La Guerre des Femmes*, in the columns of *Le Globe*, *Le Commerce* and *La Patrie*; and every time that *Eugène* prays for leave to labor in the fields of these demesnes, he is met at the gates by such responses as were erewhile given in *Puss in Boots*, "All these vast estates belong, and will

belong, till time stands still, to the *Most Arrogant the Marquis de la Pailleterie*."

Our author's patience and cash being equally exhausted, he borrows 500 francs, and in four days he puts together *Fabrique de Romans, Alexandre Dumas et Cie*. He applies to an adventurous printer, who, though he foresees a legal prosecution in perspective, puts the libel in type, and the impatient author gets 300 copies stitched, and sent to all the influential men of letters in Paris.

The brochure caused tremendous excitement; impatient readers cudgelled each other for possession of a copy, and in the editor's room of *Le National*, a paper then supported by *Armand Marrast, Duras, and Mallefille*, there was one consentient exclamation, "Here is the truth at last." Several passages were selected for insertion in next day's No. when unluckily they stumbled on this passage:—

"And now comes your turn, Messrs. Mallefille, Paul Meurice, Hippolyte Augier, Auguste Maquet, Fiorentino. Couilhac; you the principal artisans, you the foremen of this manufacture; you who do not blush at being the partner of this trafficker of sentences, and selling him soul and spirit! &c. &c."

One of the *Assailed, Mallefille*, being on the spot at the moment, the hitherto pleasurable excitement gave way to a very disagreeable feeling of consternation; and in due time and place, a duel that might have crushed many an exciting tale and biting criticism in the bud, harmlessly exploded, and left *Mallefille* and *Mirecourt* sworn friends to this day.

While these events were in progress, *Alexander* brought his foe before "their honors" who condemned *Eugene* to fifteen days detention, but without costs or seizure of the pamphlet; and he improved the opportunity by posting over some new compliments to the credit of his victim in *La Silhouette*. Immediately on their appearance, a sturdy young gentleman appeared in the office of the paper; and with his riding whip he made journals, manuscripts, and other light articles fly in all directions, demanding with might and main the address of the defamer: this *Enfant Terrible* was *Alexandre Dumas fils*.

Next day two bulky men of war with curled moustache and military gait, called on *Mirecourt*, and on his ac-

knowledging the authorship of *Mes Prisons*, demanded satisfaction on the part of Alexander Dumas.

"I am at his orders, gentlemen." "But it is only right to apprise you that we come on the part of Alexander Dumas the son, not the father." "Oh that is a different affair." He rang the bell and desired the servant to bring his son; and the nurse soon appeared leading in a child four or five years old, and his face smeared with barley-sugar.

Mirecourt then addressed his visitors with a very serious air, "Messieurs, I am certain that my son feels as lively an interest in my honor, as the son of M. Alexander Dumas in that of his father: you will therefore please to demand satisfaction from him in the present instance."

The friends arose from their seats, and exclaimed against the stupid joke played off at their expense.

"I grant that the joke is not in good taste; but it will serve to shew the ridiculous character of your proceeding. M. Alexander Dumas is in good health; him I have attacked, and it is from him I expect a demand for satisfaction. I have nothing to do with his son. If I happened to kill or wound him, would not the world say, 'lo! the defamer has murdered the child of the defamed.' This is what I propose. Let M. Alexander Dumas authorise his son to go to the ground in his stead, and I will place myself at his disposal tomorrow morning."

The visitors however disappointed; could not gainsay the justice of the proposal: they withdrew, and did not repeat the visit.

A regular Parisian *Edmund Curll*, proposes to our literary adventurer to write a chronicle on the subject of *Marian Lelorme*. He takes the hint, but rather disappoints his loosely inclined patron by the decent and moral style of the work, which gives a very lively picture of society in the Paris of Louis XIII.

The work is ready but the fitting time of publication is wanting. The revolution of February allows neither time nor inclination to the Parisians, to study old world memoirs, and the author has enemies by the hundred. After some time it comes forth in a feuilleton with the name of *Mery* attached. Towards the conclusion *Mirecourt* puts his own proper signature to the work, writes a very flattering biography of the *Marseillais Proteus* by way of introduction to the second edition of the chronicle; and being assailed by Dumas and his corps in the '*Memoirs*' and the journals at their command, *Curll* urges him to proceed with *Les Contemporains*, making use of them as fitting instruments for parrying the attacks, and assaulting in turn, *Dumas*,

Émile de Girardin, Jules Janin, Eugène Sue, and the professors of socialism and Voltairianism in general.

The idea has been worked out to the advantage of the author and his adviser, *Gabriel Roux Curll*, not without the former suffering now and then from fine and imprisonment awarded at the earnest request of his smarting antagonists. The rod seems to make no impression, nor induce more measured language. He hates to the full measure of Dr. Johnson's taste, and if the objects of his wrath exhibit sympathy with socialism or infidelity, he is at a loss to find colors sufficiently odious for the finishing touches of their portraits. He is however incapable of a deliberate falsehood; in lashing the abominable system of *Proudhon*, he does every justice to the social and domestic virtues of the man himself, while the orthodox views of *Veuillot* do not screen him from a most bitter flagellation.

As the *Fabrique des Romans* *Alexre Dumas et Compagnie* was the starting point of his literary career, it is but just to lay before our readers his style of handling that great man, cautioning them to bear in mind his original grievance and tendency to be carried away by prejudice. We need not dwell on his sketch of *Alexander's* youth, having treated that part of the subject in our review of the *Memoirs*.* Coming to the production of the Drama of *Henri III.*, he exhibits side by side, Act II. Scene IV., of *Schiller's Don Carlos*, and *Dumas' Henri III.*, Act IV., Scene I; and a more glaring piece of plagiarism could not be found after Mr. Charles Reade or Lord William Lennox.

No matter what error or fault he may be chastising for the time, the vice of borrowing from his fellow creatures, either money, or ideas, or language, is always tagged to it as certainly as the regulator to a steam engine. He gives an instance of his undoubted composition from the drama of *Christine à Fontainebleau*: it is here submitted with a faint expectation of our being favoured with a neat translation into English; the choice of prose or verse being left to the convenience of the operator.

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"Comme au haut d'un grand mont, le voyageur lassé
Part tout brulant d'en bas, puis arrive glacé ;
Sans qu'un éclair de joie un seul instant y brille,
User à le rider son front de jeune fille,
Sentir une couronne en or, en diamant,
Prendre place, à ce front, d'une bouche d'amant."

Alexander the Great hearing the report of musketry in the streets in July, 1830, cries out to his servant :

"Joseph hie to my gun-maker for my double-barrelled musket, and two hundred bullets, twenty to the pound."

Two hundred bullets! Oh Misericorde! what a multitude of royalists he means to slay!

An entire volume of the *memoires* is devoted to his exploits during the *three days*.

We seek not the slightest quarrel with him on the subject. Let him outshine *Renaud* or *Tancred*;—let him pretend that he braved the bullet shower at the Pont d'Arcole;—leave him the honor of having taken the Artillery Museum;—let him have peppered the Swiss guards from behind one of the Lions of the Institute, it concerns us little: are not these astounding facts chronicled in the "*Memoirs*."

And here the critic lectures *Dumas* and, by implication, *Souvestre* his collaborateur, on the abominations of the drama of *Antony*, and the pilfering from *Victor Hugo* of the character of *Didier*. No doubt but his censures on the evil effects of the piece are just, and the culprits richly deserve the execration he lavishes on them; but oh, Mirecourt, worthy *Censor Morum*! Why do you see the straw in *Dumas'* eye, and let the briar in *Hugo's* escape notice? Have you read the romance of the latter, and is it not one of the most depressing and least edifying that ever issued from the brain of writer, and might not these maxims be drawn from it without the slightest perversion of the author's meaning? "The moral power of a human being over his impulses and actions is nil. The world is governed by destiny, or fate, or necessity. Genuine goodness, if extant, is allied to deformity. We are powerless in our attempts to do good; but if our designs are wicked we are certain of success, the devil lending a hand; and the amiable and innocent exist for the sole purpose of being hunted down and devoured by the wicked."

The only merit allowed by our critic to his *Bête Noire* is that of a tolerable arrangement of the materials collected by his scouts: he denies him any power of invention in toto.

"There is a certain merit in being a good disposer, but solely in the case of disposing materials collected by one's self. But this is the mode adopted by our man. Here is a pirate captain who has boarded and taken a merchant vessel; but our filibuster is an amiable rogue, and would not for the world put an enemy to the sword when he cries quarter: quite the reverse. He orders an allowance of rum to the vanquished to refresh them after the fatigues of fight; but all the while, he is getting an endless amount of valuable parcels conveyed to the deck of his vessel, and thence to the hold, where he arranges everything in the neatest order. Oh what a jolly good fellow, and how comfortably he settles matters!"

On the representation of his piece "*Les Demoiselles de Saint Cyr*," Jules Janin took the liberty of passing thereon some ungracious remarks; Dumas not at all relishing the liberty taken, returned blow for blow, and a very characteristic quarrel arose. An *imaginative* French writer describes his Englishman not stretching out a saving arm to a drowning countryman, for the valid reason that he had not been previously introduced to him; so a few words about the mercurial Parisian *Jeames* of the *Morning Post*, may not be out of place before we enter on the particulars of his terrific combat with the Goliath of letters.

And here once for all, we pass unqualified censure on *Mirecourt* and his imitators, who from the circumstance of a literary opponent having a cast in his eyes, a turned up nose, a disreputable sire who saw no evil in coining bad money, or a mother who preferred the society of a neighbour's husband to that of her own, will persist in saddling his victim with the crimes of his parents, or ridiculing him for natural defects which the poor culprit himself would be the very first to repair if in his power.

Jules escapes extra punishment of the kind alluded to: his tormentor merely quotes one of his apostrophes; "Oh eighteen hundred and four! Glorious year to enter on the world!" and adds from himself.

"Of a certainty no year so glorious or prolific of great events has taken its position in the procession of ages. Napoleon, victorious at the Pyramids and at Marengo, placed the imperial diadem on his own head; and the prince of critics was born at St. Etienne near Lyons, of poor but honest parents."

In due time he is pursuing his studies in Paris at the college of *Louis le Grand*, very little to his own satisfaction, or that of his teachers. He is too much occupied in reproach-

ing government for removing muskets and drums from the students; and giving them only bells and missals in place; and in devising a Saint Bartholomew for all the Jesuits in the kingdom,—too much occupied, we repeat, to be able to afford time to physics or metaphysics.

Jeames, that is to say *Jules*, according to his biographer, was never intended by nature for a disciple of St. Peter of Alcantara; to back his assertion he quotes from his notice of *Les classiques de la Table*.

"You cannot open this book without finding the water coming to your mouth:—a book full of juice and savour—written by men full of their subject. You have but to turn over the sparkling pages, and you will at once hear the click clack of the spits, the roaring of the furnace, as the flames envelope the mighty pot; charming smoke! sweet vapors! odoriferous clouds! Ah! the difficult and perilous profession of the gourmand,—profession that requires such profound knowledge, such strength of head, and such indomitable health."

"There" says *Mirecourt*, "is a style inspired by the stomach;" but he spoils the effect by adding that *Janin* exercises his exquisite taste at his neighbour's table only. If you pay him a visit you are treated to an omelet, or if very high in favor, to a cutlet.

After leaving college our future monarch of the coulisses is supported partly by a kind aunt, and partly by the produce of lessons. Along with his attachment to the delights of the table, he has a foible for dogs, and will change his lodging if his favorite is not made free of the premises.

"He proceeds to the dog-market; his heart throbs with delight at the chorus of melodious barking and baying that he hears. He is in ecstasy, he trembles with joy in seeing round him the living merchandise, yelping, growling, shewing teeth, or wagging tail. *Janin* goes from greyhound to *boule-dogue*, from the king-Charles to the Newfoundland, from terrier to spaniel, from beagle to house-dog. He gets a shake-paw from every one, studies the breeds, makes enquiries after their morals and characters, and finishes by selecting a full-bred cur, wanting the ears, and with a coat unaffectedly ragged. The happy brute had fixed his choice by holding out his muddy paw in a more friendly fashion than the others."

Having given lessons at an academy for a quarter without touching salary, he finds the keepers in possession one morning, as he enters to discharge his functions. He knows that there is a cask of excellent wine in the cellar, and determines that it is a pity to have it sold for the behoof

of remorseless creditors. He departs, and in twenty minutes returns in the guise of a wine-merchant's porter, trundling on a hand-cart a vinous looking vessel. He calls out that his employer has sent him to exchange the present article for the cask in the vault, which had been sent in mistake, and was of an inferior quality: of course the false porter is *not* aware of the seizure. So the genuine good liquor is removed under *Janin's* careful attention, a vessel of indifferent water left in its place; and the erewhile proprietor is treated to a good glass of the generous beverage that evening, and gratified by a receipt in due form for the quarter's lessons given by our talented friend.

Through the intervention of a friend, he gets on the staff of *La Lorgnette*.

At this point the critic excuses the jesting character of the biography by simply asking "if any of his readers ever took *Janin* at his word," and asserts that the style is worthy of the subject.

"M. Janin is really a man of honour, a respectable citizen: in this light, he shall have our genuine esteem, and that is something. But why did he meddle with literature? Where was the need of his becoming feuilletonist? Why did he *Se fourrer dans cette galère*?" Can you say with hand on heart, that this broad simple-looking countenance, made for good nature, candour, and laughter, should ever present flashing eyes and snarling teeth. Look at that smooth, round, and dimpled hand; ought a cat with such a velvet paw ever exhibit her claws?

Ah poor Jules, what a piece of folly!

To distribute criticism with dignity, no matter in what department, you should be sure of yourself; you should have perfected your judgment by serious study; you should have examined your conscience; you should have inspected the very recesses of your soul, to see that reason, sincerity, and justice were its occupants.

Have you done so? answer.

Criticism is a kind of priesthood, my poor garçon, do not deceive yourself. It demands great moral strength, a hale spirit free from the mists of ignorance, and proof against rancor, jealousy, and caprice. There is more to be done than throw over your shoulders a Collegian's greasy gown, pick up a quill and lie in wait round the corner of a journal for unwary authors. That is not all that's needful, Janin, my good friend.†"

* "Les Fourberies de Scapin."

† It seems to us that our vivacious, acute, and easily prejudiced friend himself, would derive some profit by close personal attention to the lesson he is here administering to his temporary victim.

The actresses obnoxious to *Janin's* criticism, cajole him for favorable notices, and call him contemptuously *Jean Jean* when his back is turned. By-and-by they joke on him to his face in this free and easy style.

"Ah! good morning, Monsieur Jean Jean. How do you find yourself, Mr. Jean Jean? Have you seen Mr. Jean Jean's last article, my dear? every one devours Jean Jean. This big Jean Jean is quite the rage. Will you treat us to a nice little supper this evening, Jean Jean, my friend?"

Julius Janin, not acting as *Julius Cæsar* would, on such occasions, takes these stupid pleasantries in bad part; and the unthinking culprit shortly lights on a printed compliment such as the subjoined train of thought passing through the mind of the offended critic would naturally produce:

"You have nick-named me Jean Jean, Madame: very well. In your acting I neither recognise merit, delicacy, nor grace—you have no inspiration; you are destitute of vigour; the audience find you not at all to their taste, and your arms are remarkably meagre."

Jules once gave a troublesome hanger-on an effective piece of advice—doubly effective, indeed, as he thereby got rid of his importunities for the insertion of articles, and put money in the poor fellow's pockets.

"Impossible," cried *Jules*, "you write like an oyster—set your wits on the invention of monstrosities, strange suicides, horrible assassinations—tell how a child was born in such a place with a pair of horns on him—describe the sea serpent that appeared last week off Havre, three hundred metres in length. Take fourteen or fifteen lines to each article; if it induces a reply so much the better."

The advice was taken, and the system thus improvised has now acquired vast proportions. We have seen one of these *Marchands de Cuvards* in the office of M. Dumont of the *Estafette*. He entered, made his bow, and taking out a bundle of square bits of paper, read out one to the director. "How much for this?" "Two francs." "Too much; say fifteen sous." "Be it so." He pocketed the coin, and departed to dispose of his *fimsies* to other newspapers. It is really a lucrative profession.

Janin effectively contributed to the success of *Figaro*, exhibiting in that paper the jovial and aggressive spirit of his character. They cite, as his most glorious piece of mystification, the bizarre discourse at an academic reception, to which was appended, as signature, *Le Duc de Montmorency*.

The last of this noble line had been just admitted to a chair among the forty.

He protested in the *Quotidienne* against the burlesque harangue of the *Figaro*; the other royalist papers added their indignant reclamations.

Janin had his answer ready in his pocket.

"What the deuce is the matter with you, Monseigneur?" cried he, "You say you have been admitted to the *Académie Française*? *Parbleu!* I did not know a word of the matter, I assure you, and have, very unwittingly, led the public astray. *M. Leduc*, keeper of the *White Horse* at *Montmorency* was received member of the *Glorious Appollos* of that town. I gave a report of the reception, and published the speech of the new member. You count for nothing in the matter. Very sorry, I'm sure, for the quiproquo. The double meaning was most adroitly maintained from one end of the article to the other."

A young actress, daughter of a portier, rue de Tournon, makes *Jules* be of opinion that she is impressed by his talents of mind and graces of person; cunning young rogue! and she all the time the affianced bride of a young painter—but she thought it the surest road to success in her vocation. The deluded youth occasionally sees her safe home, but is not invited to enter, as she lives with her family. His hopes of a conquest are strong, till the real state of affairs is revealed by an officious tailor.

"Scandal great—duel unavoidable—but friends interpose, and they come to a sorrowful but amicable resolution. 'Let us mutually swear to see this woman no more,' cried the painter. 'Yes, my friend, we will swear,' answered the feuilletoniste, and they grasped each other's hands like men in earnest."

On the third day the painter forgave the faithless fair, and the critic was seeking an interview.

"Lovers' oaths," thought he to himself, "Jesuits' vows!"

But his false rival had anticipated him in his perjury: he uttered cries of rage, took pen in hand, and wrote out the nastiest of his novels without taking breath.

In the story, he assigned the fair but false cause of his woe, the punishment she so richly merited; but, as if to spite him farther, she is at this day a faithful and virtuous wife, and respectable mistress of a household, possessing the esteem of her friends, and the love of her husband and children.

Nestor Roqueplau, in whose judgment *Mirecourt* reposes trust, when music is not in question, thus apostrophises *Janin*—

"You are a writer of an undecided, powerless, and above all, of a frivolous cast. You adorn yourself with mock lace; you jerk about the furbelows of your faded robe, the inharmonious hues of whose tissue is never relieved by a pure or correct pattern. Your phrases abrupt, powdered with conceits, and, spun out, fly away in shreds. These circumstances, of which good writers avail themselves to give repose to their readers, become in your hands delusive finger-posts to set them astray. Sometimes, self-pampered and involved in a complicated phrase without issue, you go bumping at random to find an outlet, like a wasp inside a window. Then it is—'quick, undo me this button—be brisk with a citation to extricate M. Janin, who is knocking his forehead against the wall of his grand style.'"

* * * * *

"You never make a frank, manly attack. Your weapon, in consequence of being barbed like a Chinese dart, never penetrates. A wrestler without strength of arm, you try to trip up your adversary. Noise and no stroke—thunder and no flash—damp fireworks, the squibs escaping as chance will have it. Your pen scratches and blots the paper, and cannot make a straight line. Your composition is uncertain, and not under your proper command: it goes at random and without order; it seems no more under the control of your proper will, than the limbs of a paralytic under the influence of the spinal marrow. There is a profusion of words, but the right one is never forthcoming. When we dissect this plump-looking old child in swaddling clothes, we find neither vein, muscle, nor sinew." *So far Nestor Roqueplan.*

Our merciless critic goes on to scarify his patient at greater length than we can follow. He says that he has been gossiping, that he is gossiping, and that he will continue to gossip for ever; that he is a flood of epithets, an ocean of phrases; that he swells the balloon of the paradox, puts his lip to the sophism to blow it out to fabulous dimensions, and that he tempers the soap water for the produce of millions of sparkling bubbles which float about and burst when their hour comes. A quarter of an idea will serve for the production of a dozen columns, and his knowledge of history and geography is on a par with *Mr. Jolly Green's*, of the *New Monthly*. He criticises a theatrical piece without having heard a word of it spoken; he confounds people and incidents, for the *Debats* is waiting for copy, and he has not time to be accurate. Like Harlequin, his head may be broken by an enraged victim, and with his own wooden sword too; no matter, he continues his dance.

In October our hero is married; and on the very wedding night, instead of looking after his bride, he locks himself

up in his study to write a feuilleton, not of the last new piece, but of his own perilous exploit. This is to be *the* news of the week.

"At first a universal stupor fell on men's senses. 'What do you say? he is married—*himself*, and at *his* age—he is a dead man. What will become of him, and what will he do with his bride?' 'Why! what can a *Bohemien* do with his wife but make her a *Bohemienne*?' "

And then he relates the difficulties he had to overcome before he could cast the lasso with effect: but at last, through fire, water, and mud, the notary's table is reached, and the contract signed. *Chateaubriand* does not send his blessing, because it generally brings misfortune; but the Archbishop is not so scrupulous. Let *Jeames* of the *Morning Post* read the following, and blush for his own shortcomings.

"And then, trembling with emotion, astonished at the deep regard shown to her, and in such high quarters, she cast her eyes timidly around. Her limpid and modest glance became more decided, and seemed to say, 'You see I was right.' Mean time the church was prepared, and the altar decked, the crowd great, and nothing wanted but the presence of the young bride. At last she appeared, and they saw her such as she was—young, beauteous, smiling, sincere—the most touching, the most modest, and the most calm of beings. Eh, well! that delicate fair hand, that perfect grace, the serenity of that beauteous countenance, that loveliest of creatures, all those treasures for a mere scribbler, for a—"

Mirecourt:—"Ah, silence! you indiscreet spouse; the *National* is cocking its ears. Why should you begin to blab in the public feuilleton? Alas! it is too late; they have taken a note of your avowals; they are turning your confidences into ridicule, and M. Rolle is mending his pen. Ah! Janin, Janin, instead of an epithalamium, hear this apostrophe." *Rolle Loquitur*.

"Allow me, Monsieur, to join my congratulations to those which you have offered to yourself, and to lay my poor grain of incense on the mighty heap which you burn in your own proper honor. In fine you are married, and now there is neither *Ah*, nor *Oh*, nor *How* about it. Let the entire universe recover from its stupor, thank God, and say nothing. Your conjugal feuilleton, dated *St. Sulpice*, and written on the very altar, you have charitably entitled, 'The Wedding, not of a Critic, but of Criticism.' As another great man once boasted, 'The State is vested in me,' so you modestly announce, 'Criticism and I are one.' Many thanks, Monsieur! From the embodiment of the genius, talent, and merit of all living critics in one, it results that eight days ago we were all wedded in your person. A charming cadeau you have offered us, Monsieur, if I may trust the prospectus of the bride of whom you have got ten thousand copies issued. What a liberal husband you are, Monsieur! I know

more than one who watch their wives with the vigilance of the dragons of the Hesperides ; and what is your first care ? You get yours printed, stamped, bound, and distributed throughout Paris and the Banlieue. This cannot fail to bring in subscribers in shoals. P.S. All Europe is impatiently expecting the first cries of the young family announced."

Janin made no response ; he was literally crushed by the ridicule. "

Eugène gets tired at last of scourging *Jules*. He says that his spirits were terribly tamed by the defeat just recorded, and another suffered at the hand of *Dumas*—that, at all events, age with his slow stride is gaining on him. He has put on the hermit's gown, and now aims at burning in the eyes of young Paris, a shining example of decent morals. He now only sighs for true friends, and for enjoyment of domestic comforts, and is painfully re-erecting what he has been demolishing for thirty years.

"His conversion has affected us very sensibly ; we almost regret our tartness. Yesterday's errors are redeemed by to-day's merits. However, the old habitudes return at times, and the ancient wolf of criticism sometimes shews his teeth ; this is a simple act of oblivion, a mere distraction. He at once contritely strikes his breast, and bitterly weeps over all the sheep he has devoured. Will any one dare to call these healing drops the tears of a crocodile ?"

The mention of sheep reminds us of looking after our *moutons perdus et enragés*, whom we left on the eve of deadly arbitration.

Dumas having retaliated on *Janin* for his attack on *Les Demoiselles de Saint Cyr*, a second onslaught of the critic brought the laughers to his side. *Dumas* vomited fire and flames ; he swore that he would exterminate *Janin*.

"His seconds took their way to the Rue de Vaugerard ; the negotiations endured three weeks, and the duel was at last decreed as firm as fate. The champions were on the ground, and *Dumas*, who had the choice of arms, proposed the small sword. 'By no means,' replied the critic, 'I'm familiar with a certain push which will lay you high and dry on the sod at the first brush. I claim the pistols through sheer humanity.' 'Oh, oh, pistols indeed !' cried *Dumas* : 'you are stark mad, my dear Monsieur *Janin* ; I could lame a fly at forty paces, and you are a trifle larger than the biggest fly that floats on wing.' So, neither being willing to murder his antagonist, no passage of arms took place. They made mutual excuses, and embraced each other as brothers who should never have ceased to esteem and cherish each other."

Several of *Dumas'* fellow artisans in the manufacture of dramas having obliged him at last to allow their names to

appear in turn, it curiously happened that all falling to his name were successful, the others being failures, or at least greeted with very faint praise.

And here it may be fit to give a list of some of Dumas' plagiarisms, and assumptions of the product of his neighbours' intellects.

"His book, *Jacques Ortis*, is a mere simple translation of the *Ultime Littere di Jacopo Ortis* of Ugo Foscolo, a verb or an adjective being occasionally changed. *Les Aventures de John Davy* are borrowed from the *Revue Britannique*. *Gaule et France* is copied from *Les Études Historiques* of Chateaubriand, and from *Thierry*, without the trouble, in most cases, of inverting prepositions or changing words. *Le Capitaine Aréna* is the re-production of a delicious novelette of the *Revue Britannique*, called *Térence le Tailleur*. *Albine* is a servile translation of a German romance.

"*Les Mémoires d'un Médecin* is a re-casting of a romance of the same name in the *Revue Britannique*. Fiorentino the Neapolitan enriches his patron with the manuscript of *Le Corricolo* and that of *Le Speronare*. Paul Meurice brings *Ascanio*, *Amaury*, and *Les Deux Diane*. Mallefille wrote *Georges* from beginning to end, and signed it Dumas.

"*Auguste Maquet*, the most prolific of these literary artisans, furnished, as his own contingent, fifty volumes; *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*, *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, *Vingt Ans Après*, *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*, *Syloandire*, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, *La Guerre des Femmes*, *La Reine Margot*, *Une Fille du Regent*, *Le Bâtard de Mauléon*, *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge*, and *La Dame de Montsoreau*."

The writer of these last named books seems to belong to the class born with saddles on their backs for the convenience of other writers who are tired out treading the thorny paths of literature. We believe that he has turned restive, and pitched his patron over his head; but it is insinuated by a clever cotemporary, that the author of *Peg Woffington*, wearied with the fatigues of the rough road on which his *Course of True Love* has not run smooth, has taken our unlucky pack horse unawares; bestrode him in his explorations through the Demesne of the *Chateau Grantier*; and condescending to utter *White Lies*, has passed himself off to the unsophisticated readers of the *London Journal*, as the rightful proprietor of that *Chateau d'Espagne*, changing its title of course.

Having a high opinion of the powers of *Maquet*, we were curious to examine this original drama of his; and by the kind promptness of Mr. Nutt, we were enabled, at an interval of three or four days, to get the pamphlet

from Paris; and, on looking over it, came to the conclusion, that if the author was ever obliged to commit his catechism to memory, he had retained very little of it in head or heart, when he was constructing his *Chateau de Grantier*.

A lady, the widow of a royalist captain, is on the point of being turned adrift on the world with her two portionless daughters. The undeclared lover of the younger has been regularly laying a purse in the ladies' path at monthly intervals for some time, without their appropriation of the contents; and the declared lover of the elder is dead in the Peninsula, or worse, gone over to the enemy. One of Buonaparte's brave generals is the purchaser of the family chateau and demesne. He is on the point of starting for Egypt, and takes the chateau on his way to the coast. Under an impulse of generosity and love at first sight, he proposes for the elder sister. She, judging that her true love is either dead or false, and wishing to preserve an asylum for mother and sister, consents; and her husband leaves her to return from the church without him; for he must be at Marseilles in time for the embarkation of his squadron. Any experienced play-goer reading thus far, knows by instinct, that the dead and traitorous lover will be found as true and loyal as Leander, stretched out at the garden gate, exhausted to death, but doomed to worse than death by the sight of his true-hearted mistress, a bride of half an hour. If the play is destitute of poetry, common morality, or genuine sentiment, it possesses at all events, a terrific situation at the end of each act. The descent of the green baize puts an end to the harrowing scene.

We are admitted to the drawing room of the chateau in about fifteen or eighteen months. The bride and no wife, is reclining in a languid state on the sofa; and we find that after the best cares had been bestowed on the unfortunate lover, he quitted for the campaign on the Rhine; and is now hotly employed at the siege of some town. The false wife has been absent at some watering place for health's sake; and we find her in woe, not for the absence of her generous-hearted husband, exposed in Egypt to the rays of the hot sun, and the scymitars of the Mamelukes, but for the separation from her infant, kept at a convenient distance from the chateau.

All this time the lover is an honorable, and high-minded, and sensitive man; but what avails honor, honesty, or religion, when pleading in a cause in which counsellor Cupid holds an opposing fee. Therefore, the seducer is guiltless; and who can blame the too sensitive lady when he is informed that Lothario swore he would neither take powder nor pill, but die off from spite, if she continued insensible to his misery! Some feeling, made up of 98 per cent. of guilty sorrow for lover and child, and the rest of remorse, has induced her to secrete enough of laudanum for a composing dose for her earthly woes. She writes to her guilty partner that their love was too pure and ethereal (a pretty proof they have given) to hope for toleration here below. She was going to ascend, and when he could make it convenient to join her spirit there—but here we beg to stop short of absolute blasphemy. The deed is deferred; her innocent and sympathising sister has brought, by private passages, and in a cradle of the neatest pattern, her child to pay her a visit. Ods raptures, and extacies! The ladies retire behind a screen with the cradle, and the sister is singing an innocent lullaby, when the general, who ought to have been at the moment measuring the right eye of the Sphinx reposing in her far off sandy bed, walks in, accompanied by the affianced of the young Miss. The screen opens—the cradle and its guilty guardian is visible; and here would be the end of a two-act tragedy—but, as three acts yet remain to be achieved, the *unmarried* rushes on in despair, avows herself the culprit, and situation No. 2 harrows the hearts of the audience.

We are in the trenches of the beleagured city, and the hooded-winked general finds out Lothario, and reads him a moral lecture on the *inconvenience* he has caused. He is on the hooks of torture at first, but after the established amount of equivocation, he finds out that he has only to lead the frail sister to the altar, and do legitimate justice to his infant son, of whose existence, by the way, he is up to this moment ignorant. What was simple wretchedness, now becomes anguish, doubled, complicated, and intolerable. Marry her sister, and before her eyes!—see the world in ashes rather than such an outrage! A glorious opportunity for escape is presented. He contrives to anticipate the colonel as leader of a forlorn hope; a mine explodes, and

he and his immediate followers are blown some kilometres beyond the region of the moon. Well, here is something like poetical justice. The honest-minded general will now return, and walk over his estate for the first time, his penitent wife on his arm, swallowing her guilty tears, and doing all she can to recompense her worthy but ill-treated lord. *Benjamine*, after a decent shew of sorrow, will manage to satisfy her lover of her innocence, and a happy union will be the result. Nothing of the kind takes place.

On his return home everything is in a very ticklish state; but when he announces the death of his companion in arms, the wife's wild grief finds vent, and she reveals her guilt and shame—not that she considers herself *very* guilty, but to live with another is not to be thought of for a moment.

The mother and daughters will not now remain in the castle; but, as they are leaving the premises, a knock is heard at the gate, and the porter brings in a note to the colonel. Oh! wonderful wonder! Lothario has again found his way back to this nasty world, and is humbly requesting permission, before departing to voluntary exile among the Hottentots, or elsewhere, to embrace and bless his infant heir. A lucky thought strikes the generous Chatellan. He invites the prodigal son to enter, joins his hands to those of his self-divorced lady, utters a genuine stage blessing on their heads, and a long-concealed treasure is at the moment brought to day-light from a subterranean passage: so, if they become uncomfortable it will be their own faults, and if their lot turns out happy, all we say is, that it will give us no little surprise.

To convert this drama, vicious in spirit and form, into a circumstantial tale, fit for the perusal of a moral and religious though novel-reading public, seems to us rather more difficult than to construct a purely original work. If we have any subscribers, among the weekly purchasers of the *Journal*, whose acquirements embrace the art of writing, may some one of them favor us with an outline of the English garments thrown over the French model!

The success of *Monte Cristo*, and its fellow publications, seems to have turned poor *Alexander's* head. His dreams, even in the open sunshine, and when his bodily-eyes were wide open, were of caverns piled with gold and precious stones, and no thought of poverty ever passed his mind.

The *Folly* built by him at St. Germain, and which he was pleased to call *Monte Cristo*, was the natural result of this exalted state of his ideas.

"He summoned from Africa two Arabs, who decorated a chamber for him in the Algerian style, covering the walls with verses from the Koran; and he engaged themselves in writing to execute no other similar piece of work in Europe. There were to be seen gothic pavilions, turrets with their belfries, gardens, an island, a torrent, and the celebrated kiosk, with its sky-blue ceiling besprinkled with stars, and which served for the study of the master.

"There were at Monte Cristo an atelier for painters, twelve rooms devoted to visitors, a little palace set apart for monks, another for parrots, and a third for dogs, without mentioning a stable of regal proportions for the accommodation of eight superb steeds.

"The grand salon, hung with cloth of silk and gold, displayed wonders of artistic skill; and the private salon or boudoir was furnished with genuine cashmere for window curtains.

"It was altogether a heap of pictures, statues, Buhl ornaments, bizarre curiosities scattered at random from kitchen to attics, profusion of sculptures, and casts beyond counting: good taste was banished, and ostentation reigned supreme.

"All these riches and splendors could not confer the much-desired stamp of aristocracy on this magnificent structure. In the midst of the luxury floated a vapour of literary vagabondage, and the etiquette of the chateau had its origin in the coulisses of the theatres.

"On the façade stood out the escutcheon of the Marquis de la Pailleterie. Dumas inaugurated his palace with an entertainment given in honor of literature and art; six hundred guests were regaled, and a piece was presented after dinner, composed for the circumstance, and having for title, 'SHAKESPEARE ET DUMAS.'"

To reign even for two years in such a palace, *Dumas* was obliged to keep his journeymen hard at work. So, from 1845 to 1846, more than sixty volumes were written, printed, and published.

And here, by an accurate calculation, our critic, allowing his writer to sleep but few hours, to eat his meals in a hurry, and to be constantly under the inspiration of the muse of romance (an impossible conjunction), allows him power to produce fifteen volumes per annum, if he abstains from revising the style or correcting the proofs.

All his assistants, including his son, were trained to imitate his handwriting.*

* In addition to the works quoted, *Dumas* published in *Le Pays*, *Le Passeur d'Ashbourn*, copied literally from *Madame Montclieu's* translation of the *Village Pastor* of *Lafontaine*, the German names

Being at last obliged to say something, by way of apology or defence, here is his most frank and courageous avowal.

"Inventions are made by men, not by any individual man. Every one, at proper time and place, appropriates the things known to his forefathers, arranges them in new forms, and dies, after adding a few facts or ideas to the heap as he found it. As to the pure creation of anything, mental or physical, it is out of the question."

This is what caused Shakspeare to say, when a stupid critic once accused him of having taken an entire scene from a cotemporary writer, 'It is a young girl whom I have withdrawn from evil society to establish her in that which is good.' This also made Moliere once exclaim, 'I seize my property wherever I find it.' And Shakspeare and Moliere were right; for the man of genius never steals—he seizes by right of conquest. I am obliged to say these things in my own defence, as, instead of being grateful to me for bringing before their eyes so many scenic beauties before unknown, they point them out as thefts—brand them as plagiarisms. However, I am consoled by my resemblance to Shakspeare and Moliere in this respect; those who attacked them were so obscure, that their very names have not been preserved."

Mirecourt, lashed by the sense of his own individual wrongs, and the injury inflicted on literature and morals by the *systeme Dumas*, thus pours on him the vials of his wrath:—

"You have closed the avenues of literature against those young fresh writers who would use their talents, without providing for the public an unhealthy feast, and without committing the crime of *lese-patrie* in defiling the most noble pages of our history. Yes, Monsieur Dumas, you have murdered our literature; you have assembled a host of nameless writers, who, protected by the darkness in which they move, cast into the mass of society a leaven of bad taste and of corrupting influence. With the succour of these concealed workmen you prepare a slow poison which penetrates into the veins of the social body. You mix history and fable, and distribute the indigestible morsels as intellectual nourishment. In presence of the rising generation you remove from virtue her prestige; you discard modesty as if

being merely changed to English ones. *Le Collier de la Reine* was written by *Maquet*, so was *La Tulippe Noire*—so was *Auge Pitou*. *Le Trou de l'Enfer* was contributed by *Meurice*, as well as *Dieu Dispose*. *Hendrik Conscience*, the Flemish writer, was plundered of *Conscience l'Innocent*.

* *Sir Godfrey Kneller* was chagrined at not having been consulted at the creation, as he was conscious of being able to suggest some valuable hints. *Dumas*, in common with *Sir Godfrey* and several Gallic writers, handles awful subjects in so familiar a style that he must be satisfied with seeing some of his flights left unrecorded.

she was a castaway. In your pages vice is endowed with amiable qualities, debauchery is not so bad as it seems, and crime excites pity instead of hate. You propagate this spasmodic and frantic species of literature, which excites the evil passions, sets the blood in a ferment, and reawakes the powers of old and used-up debauchees. Thanks to your catering, the public now refuses all healthy nourishment; it cannot relish anything but your highly-spiced ragouts. . . . We are severe without doubt, but posterity will be much more so."

Against the calumniating of the memory of the characters of history, and the distorting or misrepresenting of established historical facts, we join our protest to that of our critic. With the exception of *Le Chevalier d'Harmental*, *Sylvandire*, and *La Tulippe Noire*, we can scarcely recollect one of these quasi-historical romances of *Dumas and Co.*, which we would like to see in the hands of our young people. The perusal of some in particular, is only wading through a slough of depravity, cruelty, and craft. You are obliged to light a candle in the middle of the day, if you wish to find out an estimable character, and to look for repose in some scene hallowed by the domestic virtues is altogether useless. No one of royal rank is a good man or woman, or sincere Christian. If history has handed him down as jealous for religion at all, he is sure to be an intolerant zealot and persecutor. If the reader is interested for the success of true love, he is only left to wish that D'Artagnan may carry away his neighbour's wife. And are the firm above named the only culprits in this line? By no means; they are edifying moralists when set beside *Bibliophile Jacob (Lacroix)*,* *Foudras*, *Montepin*, *La Touche*, and some others. But money was to be got to keep *Dumas* in state, on his high horse, riding to ———. To get this money, their feuilletons should be as necessary to the reading public as their *café au lait*. To infuse this quality into them, they must be piquant and terribly interesting, and leave their readers in a state of feverish suspense about the interesting but guilty lover, left outside on the window-sill, forty feet above ground, with a very slight defence against the temperature of a night twenty degrees below zero.

They know he will endure, rather than compromise the comfort of the tender female who is feigning sleep beside her clod of a husband in the warm bed-chamber within :

* We except from the works of the Rabelaisitic Lacroix, *Les Cutacombes de Rome* and *Le fils du Notaire*.

but whether will he freeze stark and stiff on his bad eminence, or make an involuntary descent,—that is the question that will keep several pairs of eyes unvisited by sleep. And won't there be a feverish welcome for the coarse damp paper next morning ! and still not the trace of an allusion to the difficulty for several numbers to come.

Dumas was obliged to defend an action for defamation of the character of a lady whose head has not ached since the days of *Henri Quatre* ; and, though he could not be touched by human law, it is no less certain that he sinned in the person of *Auguste Maquet*, against that divine statute which forbids us to bear false witness against our neighbour. It may be urged that the persons slandered are beyond the power of the poisoned tongue to wound them ; but it is no less certain that, as in the case of the descendants of *La Dame de Montsoreau*, many of the living are deeply interested in the good fame of the great departed, from ties of family, country, policy, or religion, and are deeply pained by finding their memory slandered or assailed.

We wish that we could vindicate all the writers in our own vernacular from such a reprehensible line of conduct, but that is not left in our power, since the days when half-a-dozen poor ecclesiastics were set to watch over the spiritual welfare of their thin flock, scattered through the fields and streets of Britain ; and when the same apparently inoffensive proceedings shook more terror through the land, than if Louis Napoleon, King Leopold, Pius IX., and the monarchs of all the "Heathens and Turks" throughout the world, were disembarking on all sides of the island at once, to put the inhabitants to sack or ransom.

In order to add fuel to the unholy flame that at the moment was consuming men's candour, love of their neighbour, and common justice, a lady takes at the end of her jewell-tipped pen, the character of the earnest and fearless Archbishop of Canterbury, who braved the displeasure of his loved sovereign, and the terrors of martyrdom, rather than leave it in the power of selfish and unholy rulers to deprive the flock entrusted to his keeping of their spiritual nourishment. However historians may differ as to the less or more of spiritual pride or obstinacy, or pure devotion of this great man, no one has been found to breathe a suspicion against the purity of his life after he became a churchman. What is his conduct as discovered by his fair (?) historian

through those peculiar telescopes through which novelists look over the dim landscape of the past? He is in love with Fair Rosamond Clifford; she is insensible to his suit, but he is determined that she shall be his mistress sooner or later, and takes this nefarious plan to succeed. He brings her under the notice of the unprincipled young king, judging that when she has surrendered all right to female honor, his own vile object will be easily attained.

Now, if the authoress of the *Lady and the Priest* had taken ordinary care to prepare for her self-imposed and ungracious task, by consulting the authentic histories of that reign, she would have found that her narrative was as irreconcilable with fact, from the well-established purity of the Archbishop's life, as from the circumstances of time and place through which the characters of her story moved. Poisoned springs and poisoned weapons, and the stiletto of the paid murderer, are never thought of when Christian powers are at war with each other; and shall such false and poisonous arms as these be used by parties who merely differ in their modes of Christian worship, and are all loyal subjects of the same sovereign?

In the month of February of the present year *Maquet* had his unkind patron doing penance in the courts of law. He lost the cause. It is probable that *Auguste* deserved to lose it; but quere did Alexander deserve to gain it?

We proceed to touch on another duel of the great man, and have done with our critic's personalities, as his store are inexhaustible where his swarthy foeman is the subject.

"He entered one evening the office of the *Figaro*, whence two hostile articles had been launched at him: 'Who is the author of these infamous productions? his name—be quick.' 'I know not,' said Maurice Alboy, chief editor of the paper. 'You must know; I will not wait a minute; I must kill some one.' 'My good friend,' said Maurice, 'you have exhausted my patience. I will be responsible for the articles; name your seconds.' Mutual friends interposed, and Dumas condescended to spare Alboy's life; but he, as the offended, should keep his honor intact. They should repair to the Bois de Boulogne next morning, but no blood was to be drawn. The seconds were, however, entirely ignorant of this implied arrangement.

"Alexander looked sublime; courage was visible in every feature; he was insensible to fear; pallor sat not on his manly face. They produced the swords. 'What's here,' cried he, 'blue weapons! I never used a blue-colored blade. *Pierre*,' continued he, turning with the gesture of a hero to his Negro, 'produce the dark-dyed swords.'

They were brought, and the weapons crossed.

Maurice Alhoy being somewhat nervous, and a little overawed by the truly intrepid mien of his adversary, lost command of hand altogether, when Dumas began—

‘Defend yourself, corbleau! wrist firmer: a victory over an opponent of your force would not be worth gaining—oh!’ cried he in affright, letting fall his sword.

In order to punish his vain boasting, Alhoy had slightly wounded him in the shoulder.

‘What’s that for?’ added he, forgetting himself for the moment, ‘it was not mentioned in the programme.’”

Mirecourt, feeling a sort of remorse at last for his merciless treatment of his foe, relents, and tells something to his credit:—

“Our hero, notwithstanding his faults, has sincere admirers and enthusiastic friends. [M. Porcher, the illustrious director of the *claque*,* is of the number. One day he gave a splendid dinner to the great *Mousquetaire*. The wine sparkled, and the most delightful gaiety reigned from one end of the table to the other. Porcher alone kept looking at his glass without approaching it to his lips. It must be acknowledged, however, that he had already emptied it very often, and had now reached the maudlin stage. ‘What is the matter with you, my dear friend?’ said Alexander. ‘Am I really among the number of your dear friends?’ sighed the renowned dispenser of venal applause. ‘How can you doubt it?’ ‘Well, I don’t, but still there is one thing that gives me great trouble.’ ‘Ah! what is it?’ ‘My heavy sorrow is this, you never say *thou* to me: just *thou* me once.’ ‘My poor Porcher! with the greatest pleasure! Shake hands, dear friend, and lend me a thousand crowns.’”

With some degree of inconsistency, *Mirecourt* seems disposed to enhance the merit of *Dumas Fils* in the proportion of the disparagement of *Dumas Pere*. Besides his qualities of a writer of genius and talents, he represents him as a sincere, honorable young man, living within his income, keeping his father within some bounds, and helping him out of his difficulties. In the *Cure for the Heart-ache*, *Hodge*, after relating to his sister the misdeeds of their extravagant father, and mentioning how his own good example was entirely lost on him, gravely asks her, as a case of conscience, whether he would be justified in giving the immoral old boy a licking. *Dumas Fils* supports sister and mother, and gives what he can to charitable purposes,

* For closer acquaintance with this great practitioner see our review of the *Memoirs of Dumas*.

but never lets the idea of the licking cross his mind. It may be supposed, from the character of his works, especially the earlier ones, that his life in one respect has been far from correct. Our lenient critic throws out hopes that there will be a decided improvement in his works to come, as he is Christian at heart and studies the Scriptures. Amen, say we.

However our author may relax in his dislike to *Dumas*, his feelings towards *Emile de Girardin* exhibit a most determined personal hatred; and, therefore, he is not so much to be trusted in his statements concerning his character.

His portrait, serving for frontispiece, exhibits a *Napoleon* when in good humour. So he is an anomaly, if his veins are filled with poison instead of blood, as insinuated by his critic. Circumstances connected with his birth, and the after neglect or dislike of his parents, have given a misanthropic tinge to his character. He considers every office beneath him but that of prime minister; and his political creed has been re-modelled a dozen times. The facts adduced by *Mircourt*, such as ordering his own immediate release from prison, when he might have kept him there at pleasure, do not bear out his theory to our satisfaction.

If he dispraises the husband to the utmost stretch of language, he makes up in his unqualified admiration of *Madame, née Delphine Gay*, a lovely compound of personal beauty, grace, goodness, conversational powers, and poetical gifts. Any person who has read or seen acted her delightful dramas, or read her tales, too few in number, alas! or her lively and picturesque sketches of Parisian life, social, political, literary and artistic, from about 1836 to 1848, under the name of the *Chevalier de Launay*, will bear out the critic as far as evidence is before themselves. *Mircourt* evidently grudged her to her selfish lord. Literature has had a great loss by her too early death.

One of *Mircourt's* grievances against the editor of *La Presse* arose from his rejecting *Marion D'Lorme* unless signed *Alex. Dumas*.

We must find space for the unhappy duel between *Girardin* and *Armand Carrel*, judging that a simple recital of an incident so contrary to the spirit of Christianity is nearly as good as a sermon. The account is from *Le National*, *Carrel's* paper:—July 1st, 1836.

"The direct explication which had place between M. Carrel and M. de Girardin left nothing in the power of the seconds to bring about a reconciliation. Having reached the ground, the Bois de Vincennes, M. Carrel advanced towards M. de Girardin, and said, 'Monsieur, you have threatened me with a biography: as the chance of the day may be against me you will probably fulfil your promise; but if you write it in an honest spirit you will not find either in my private or public life anything unbecoming a man of honor. Is it not so, Monsieur?' 'It is, Monsieur' replied M. de Girardin.

It had been decided that the combatants should be placed at a distance of forty paces, and that each was then at liberty to walk forward ten steps. M. Carrel advanced that distance with a firm and rapid pace; then, raising his pistol and taking aim he fired at his adversary, who had only advanced three paces. The two discharges were nearly simultaneous, but M. Carrel had fired first. M. de Girardin cried out 'I am hit in the thigh;' 'and I in the groin,' said M. Carrel.

He had still strength enough left to walk to a bank at the edge of the avenue, and sit down. His second, and Dr. Marx his friend, ran up to him. M. Persat (proprietor of *Le National*) burst into tears. 'Do not weep, my good friend,' said Carrel; 'this ball has given you quitance.' This was an allusion to a legal process to come off on the next day."

They carried him to St. Mandé, to the house of M. Peyra, an old comrade of the *Ecole Militaire*. Passing near M. Girardin, M. Carrel addressed him: 'Are you suffering much, M. Girardin?' 'I would be rejoiced if your sufferings were no greater.' 'Adieu, Monsieur, I bear no ill will to you.'

Carrel was not deceived as to the dangerous character of his wound. He requested that they would bear him directly to the cemetery after his decease; no priest, no church. Such was his short and definite direction.

The next day Armand Carrel was dead. Had his last hours been consoled by religion, his posthumous reputation would surely have sustained no loss. It is a pity that republicanism and impiety are such near neighbours."

Mirecourt handles *George Sand* with delicate touch, passes slightly over the unsound portions of her career, and gives all homage due to her great powers. She has not taken his biography, however, in good part at all; and he complains that she even adds a year or two to her age, in order to enjoy the pleasure of a contradiction. Still he will not have the public to be too fastidious as to the self-restraint, &c. of those who write or act for their amusement. Let them be satisfied that his heroine for the moment is what *Nanon de l'Enclos* once boasted herself to be, viz.: an honest man.

He quotes from the *Lettres d'un Voyageur*, a passage

which we repeat for its beauty. All the world knows that Aurora Dudevant is a native of Berri, and that she was brought up in that rough province under the wing of an energetic grand-mother.

"Oh! who amongst us does not fondly recollect the first volumes which he has tasted or devoured! Has not the very cover of an old book, found mantled over with dust, on the shelf of a neglected book-case, retraced the sweet outlines of the picture of your youthful years! Have you not seen rise before you, the wide meadow bathing in the warm rays of the evening, where you perused it for the first time! Oh! how quickly fell the night over the enchanted leaves, and how cruelly the fading twilight made the characters dance in confusion on the darkening pages!

It is all over: the lambs are bleating; the sheep have gathered to the fold; and the cricket has taken possession of the huts and the plains: you must depart.

The road is stony, the plank is narrow and slippery, the side path rough. You are covered with perspiration, but all is useless: you arrive too late, they have commenced supper. It is to no purpose that the old servant, who loves you so much, has delayed to ring the bell as long as she could. You must endure the mortification of sitting down last, and the grand-mother, relentless in etiquette even in the depth of her secluded farm, administers a tender reproach in a mild, sorrowful tone, which affects you more sensibly than a severe reproof.

But when at night, she asks you for an account of how the day was spent, and you acknowledge with a blush, that you forgot the time reading; and being required to produce the book, you draw out, with a trembling hand, *Estelle et Némorin*, Oh, then the old lady cannot help smiling. Take courage; your treasure will be restored, but mind, never be late for supper again.

O, happy days! O, my dark glen! O, Corinne! O, *Bernardin de St. Pierre*! Ye willows by the river, my vanished youth, and oh! my poor old hound, who never missed the supper-hour, but answered to the ring of the distant bell by a hungry and sorrowful howl!"

Charles Nodier, with whom we spent some pleasant moments in *Les Mémoires de Alexandre Dumas, Méry*, the exaggerated type of our *Theodore Hook, Victor Hugo, Beranger, Alfred de Vigny, Arsène Houssaye, Francis Wey, Baron Taylor, Paul Féval*, and other estimable writers meet with warm though judicious welcome in the pages of *Les Contemporains*. The degree of blame administered to *Paul de Kock* and *Balzac* is very slight, compared to the kindness with which they are treated. How *Balzac* could have spent much time in collecting materials for his *Comedy of Human Life*, we are unable to under-

stand, with the following programme of his daily occupation before us.

"Balzac has been the most assiduous worker of modern times. We must refer to the monks of the middle ages to find the same zeal, the same assiduity, the same patience. He goes to bed at half-past five, soon after taking dinner, rises at 11 o'clock, or mid-night, wraps himself in a sort of monk's gown, and works away till 9 o'clock in the morning. His servant, François, then brings in his breakfast, takes up the proofs, and Balzac, drawing out his watch, says to him, with the gravest air imaginable, 'I give you ten minutes to take these to Charenton.' Charenton (the locale of the printing office) is two leagues distant, but that does not frighten François. His stereotyped answer is—'ten minutes! very good! off I go.' Balzac resumes his writing after breakfast, and works till three o'clock; then takes a country walk till dinner, immediately after which he retires to rest, to resume the same process on awaking. . . .

Balzac sketches a romance as a painter does a picture. His first outline, even of the longest of his stories, never exceeds forty pages. He flings every leaf behind him without even paging it, for fear of being tempted to make corrections; and the next day he receives the proofs, furnished with enormous margins. The forty pages yield a hundred in the second proof, two hundred in the third, and so on to the end of the story. This mode of proceeding throws the unfortunate compositors into despair; finding their work of yesterday buried under a mountain of corrections and additions. It is a chaos, an irregular expansion of lines from a common centre, a system of fireworks; the rockets crossing and encircling each other, turning to the right, to the left, ascending, descending, knocking their heads together, and inflicting head-aches innumerable. In the compositor's time-tables, two hours of Balzac make one day."

If we can believe his indulgent critic, *Balzac*, despite the uncommon penetration into character apparent in his writings, was a very *Oliver Goldsmith* in all matters where worldly wisdom was requisite. Unable to dupe a simpleton, he was himself the most facile of that unhappy class. He was ever labouring to diminish a heavy amount of debt, and only augmented it with every new literary speculation. We give him much credit for never allowing his nieces to read his books. He enjoyed his release from his grim creditors but a short period; and now *Dumas*, his relentless foe during life, will pull down the moon, if not allowed by the widow to raise a monument to his memory, with this inscription, "TO BALZAC, BY HIS RIVAL, DUMAS."

We must find room for an extract from the sketch of *Frederick Lemaitre*. He made his debut at the *Ambigu*, in *L'Auberge des Adrets*, and was very badly received. He felt that

success in the part of *Macaire*, as then played, was out of the question, and was pensively walking along the Boulevards, devising some plan for ensuring success to his part.

"All at once he perceived a personage standing before the door of a cake shop, covered with indescribable drapery from head to foot. His clothes might once have been of irreproachable stuff and fashion; but now they hung about him in ragged stripes. Wretchedness and debauchery had left their marks everywhere; but still the wearer maintained an arrogant deportment, and the most excellent opinion of his individual merits.

Proudly poised on his old boots, broken and down at heel, and with a greasy and many cornered hat set jauntily on his left ear, he was daintily breaking, with the tips of his fingers, a halfpenny cake, carrying it to his lips with the gestures of a *petit maitre*, and eating it with all the air of a gourmand. His collation over, he drew a depending rag from his coat pocket, wiped his hands, brushed his filthy habits, and continued his route along the Boulevard. 'That's my very man,' said Frederick. In effect, the type he had vaguely imagined, was before him in flesh and blood: Robert Macaire was found at last.

That very evening at the theatre, the comedian presented himself with a coat, hat, and boots, the very fellows of those worn by the man of the Boulevards. He imitated the gestures of this Brummel in tatters; his grotesque self-possession, and his sinister dignity, induced his fellow-comedian, Serres, to adopt an analogous style, and the piece obtained an unhopèd success."

Not content with presenting Macaire to those who paid for the exhibition, he occasionally gave gratuitous specimens according as circumstances offered.

"One morning at the *Café de Malte* the bill was presented after the déjeuner. He arose, threw ten francs on the counter, and was passing on. 'But the bill is ten francs, fifty centimes,' observed the tavern keeper. 'Never mind,' said Frederick: 'the fifty centimes are for the garçon.'

In the winter of 1836 he was skating one afternoon on the pond of the Luxembourg. Some women were admiring the grace of his evolutions, when all at once one of them cried out, 'I want my fifteen francs, M. Frederic; you have forgotten my fifteen francs.' Our actor stopped. It was his old hostess of the *Quartier Latin*, at the time of his first engagement at the Odéon. 'Your fifteen francs, Madame—what assurance! I forgot a periwig when leaving your house, it is in my old trunk in the recess; it cost me thirty-five francs: you owe me a louis consequently; I will call for it the first morning I am in your neighbourhood.' He advanced the skate of his left foot and disappeared. Next day the landlady received the balance. Frederick never intended to repudiate, but he could not deny himself the pleasure of enacting *Robert* in the open air."

We have omitted those parts in the *Contemporains* which present after all the best specimens of our author's pungent, lively, and sarcastic manner, namely, his replies to *Eugène Sue*, *Girardin*, *Jules Janin*, and others on whom he bestows his hearty hatred. They are too personal and venomous for our taste. Lively sallies and bon mots innumerable we have been obliged to leave behind. Some look as if their perpetrators were of Irish descent. A worthy giving vent to his hatred says of his foeman, 'I would see him browning and not offer him a glass of water.' *Charles Nodier* gives an adroit rebuke to one of his young imitators who had been reading a specimen of his composition to the patriarch: 'My dear Wey, I fear the piece is without value, for at first I took it for one of my own.' Probably we will make up for our short comings when we resume our consideration of other literary and artistic celebrities on a future occasion.

Théophile Deschamps, at the instance, as we suppose, of some of the patients smarting under *Mirecourt's* stripes, writes a biography of the biographer; but the only approbrium he can fling on the dreaded critic is that his surname is *Jarquot*, not *Mirecourt*, that though an anti-infidel and anti-socialist, he seldom hears Mass; and that his occupation resembles that of a broker, who cuts out valuable pictures for the sake of selling the frames.

Pierre Mazerolle comes into court after him, and avows himself the author of several of the biographies. He professes Socialism and infidelity, defends the writings and conduct of *Eugène Sue*, whom *Mirecourt* had drawn as a luxurious, unfeeling, and selfish sensualist, while pretending the most earnest sympathy for the poor. He acknowledges having assumed *Mirecourt's* Christian principles while in his pay; but exclaims against his patron's passing off his (*Mazerolle's*) productions as the fruit of his own brain while declaiming against the plagiarisms of *Dumas*. He reminds the English reader of *Samson Brass* and *Man-norm* in his humble appreciation of himself, and complacency in his abjection. With a very earnest desire to disparage his former employer, he can only convict him of making use of his (*Mazerolle's*) notes in the concoction of his biographies, trusting to hearsay, and being too much disposed to believe ill of his adversaries. He is compelled

sa femme au diable," and "*Le Mystère de la Sainte Hostie*," in which latter was introduced a Jew, who having communicated, brought home the Holy Particles and endeavoured to practise tortures upon them. Subsequently the leader of the *procureurs* (solicitors) of Paris, or as he was otherwise styled, king of the Basoche, on account of the valuable aid given by that body to the real monarch against the populace, was granted certain privileges of marshalling his men, some 3000 strong, in the Pré aux clercs, then a grassy bank of the Seine, and of afterwards acting *moralités* or farces in the presence of royalty. Another company, named the *Enfans sans soucis*, were much fostered by Louis XII., who found that they disengaged the attention of his loving subjects from too nice a scrutiny of his acts of government. Two comic pieces of this time have come down to us, "*L'Abus du monde*" and "*Pathelin*," the latter of which is still a well-known subject in the country parts of France, wherein a cunning lawyer having outwitted by some trick a simple *bourgeois*, is himself in turn outwitted with the same trick by a peasant.

Under Henry II. a good attempt seems to have been made at original tragedy by a young man of noble family named Jodelle. He wrote a play named *Cleopatra*, and having obtained leave to establish a theatre at the Hotel de Rheims, he assumed himself the character of the fair Egyptian, and delighted the court with his performances. Comedy in prose was not, however, introduced before 1562, an innovation on the former doggerel verse productions, which is due to the Brothers de la Taille. In 1600 Paris contained two theatres, that of the *Troupe de la Comédie Française*, which would seem to have been held in the Hotel de Bourgogne, afterwards a great rival of Molière's company, and that of the Marais, where most probably were performed the tragic or serious dramas of the period.

Before Molière's time the French Academy usurped complete dominion over all writers for the stage; whether composers of tragedy or comedy. The great Corneille had written six pieces of the former and one of the latter, entirely subservient to the classical rules of the unities laid down by the governing judges, before he felt himself sufficiently strong to hazard an attempt at independent, untrammelled

writing, in the style, which has been since called the *Romantique*, in contra-distinction to the *Classique*, or that according to the rigid poetical doctrines of Aristotle. Comedy, however, at this time, owed its progress in France to an exterior influence and example, as Molière himself afterwards testified, namely to the form which it has assumed in Spain, where dialogue was spun out not only into acts, but into successive days, in the plays of Calderon and Lopez de Vega. A drama, by Corneille, named "*Le menteur*," partially translated from the Spanish, formed the foundation and gave the idea to the celebrated French comic writer, of many of his situations and characters.

Molière, whose original name was Jean Baptiste Poquelin, was born on the 15th January, 1622, at Paris, in the Rue St. Honoré at the corner of the Rue des Vieilles Etuves. His father held the office of valet-de-chambre tapissier to the king, and endeavoured to give his son the best education he could, at the Jesuits' college at Clermont. Here he met the famous Gassendi, and had, as school-fellows, many who were afterwards celebrated characters of the age; among the rest, Prince de Conti, who favoured and patronised him very much in after life. At the age of nineteen he succeeded his father in the small office which he held at court, and was, therefore, obliged to go to reside at Paris.

At this time there existed, near the Pont Neuf, a small theatre, maintained by a troupe chiefly composed of two brothers and two sisters named Bégarts. They subsequently changed the place of their performances to a tennis-court, called "*La Croix Blanche*," where Molière imbibed very soon an insuperable tendency towards the stage. His family, wishing to dissuade him from following what appeared so idle and profitless a pursuit, sent a pedagogue to reason with him and withdraw him from the pernicious influence. The poor man knew not with whom he had to deal; he was himself so over-persuaded by the youth's arguments and convictions, that he turned actor and abandoned his wearisome life of schoolmaster. Young Poquelin, in order to avoid bringing any stain upon his family name as much as possible, assumed that of Molière, from whence derived it is not well known. He then joined the Bégarts, and their troupe having assumed the title of the "*Illustre Théâtre*," they set out on a tour through the provinces.

During three or four years they wandered about from town to town, always patronised by the Prince de Conti, who never forgot his early connexion with Molière, and having brought out "*La Thébaidé*," a crude tragedy by the young dramatist, at Bourdeaux, they at length settled for a while at Lyons. Here, at length, his genius shone forth; "*l'Etourdi*" was produced in the year 1653, and a complete revolution effected in the manners and customs of the French stage. The public were so completely taken by surprise with this comedy, that the whole company of a rival house waited in a body on Molière, and begged that he would allow them to join their fortunes to his. Among these deserters were several, who afterwards proved the brightest ornaments of their profession, such as La Grange, Du Croisy, Duparc, Mdle. Duparc, Mdle. de Brie, and others.

The Prince de Conti now endeavoured to prevail on the comedian to accept the office of his private secretary, but Molière had got an innate love for his calling, and went to Paris in 1658, where he was shortly dignified with the post of Director of the Troupe de Monsieur, afterwards the Regent Philippe d'Orleans. Their theatre was at first established in the Salles des Gardes in the old Louvre, where "*Nicomède*" and "*Le Docteur Amoureux*" were brought out with great success; a removal soon took place to the Petit Bourbon, which being demolished in 1660, to make way for the new colonnade of the Louvre, the company were finally located at the Palais Royal. Their name was changed to that of Troupe du Roi in 1666, and after Molière's death, the actors of the Hotel de Bourgogne and the Marais having joined, the whole body combined to found the present Theatre Français. To Molière, therefore, may be ascribed the first rise of comedy as it exists at present in France, both as to composition and acting. Before his time the one had nothing remarkable either in character or dialogue, it was crude and without symmetry; the other was conducted without any unity or system, very little better than the *sottises* and *moralités* of the middle ages.

The reason why many of Molière's plays produced such an impression on the public mind of that period, was the same which gave celebrity to the ancient comic authors, Aristophanes, Plautus, Terence, and others. They were written to scourge the absurdities and vices of the time, and to

ridicule peculiarities in the manners of society. The occasions of their production were, in some instances, admirably chosen, and calculated to give ten-fold effect to the hidden satire of their scenes. An instance of this is found in the "*Précieuses Ridicules*," which was brought out in December, 1659, and having been played once on the first day, the public desire to see its performance became so enthusiastic, that the actors were obliged to resume their parts twice in the next twenty-four hours. Its subject was taken from the *Côterie* of the Hotel de Rambouillet, the female members of which indulged in the most ridiculous absurdities of speech and action. Their names were changed to those of ancient heroines and shepherdesses; they went to bed of a morning to receive their visitors, who were introduced by gentlemen, appointed directors of the "*ruelles*," (by which were designated the passages at each side of the coach); the most nonsensical formalities were gone through by the aspirants to the privileges of the society, and high-flown semi-Bucolic phraseology made use of during these *pâtes liées*. *Les Précieuses*, as these ladies styled themselves, were so successfully satirized, that they were obliged to renounce their nonsense; their *côterie* was broken up. Ménage, one of their followers, said on this occasion to his friend Chapelain—"we must, from henceforward, like *Cloris*, despise what we adored, and adore what we despised."

"*Sganarelle*" was produced in 1660, to ridicule one of the most prevalent customs of the age; that of paying extravagant attentions to married ladies, and the unpleasant positions into which the husbands were sometimes brought by that absurd practice. It is said that a rich bourgeois of Paris, who had married a handsome young wife, and had some reason to think that he had not been treated properly by her, conceived that he was specially pointed at by this comedy. He ran through the entire circle of his acquaintances complaining of the allusion, and even attempted to get the piece suppressed.

Molière was remarkable for his want of facility in finishing off his productions. Several of the very best lay by him for some years before he could bring himself to complete them, although at the dictation of the court he sometimes made an extraordinary effort, and brought out entire

pieces in a few days. These, however, proved afterwards to be the least worth of his performances. Fouquet, the celebrated intendant of finances, obtained from him "*Les Facheux*," to be presented before the king at Vaux, the intendant's private mansion, on the 17th August, 1661. On this occasion *entrées de ballet* were introduced between the acts for the first time. In one of those Mdlle. Béjart appeared, coming forth from a shell, which suddenly opening produced a magical effect on the spectators. Fontaine afterwards made the following verses on this scene :

"Peut on voir nymphe plus gentille
Qu'était Béjart l'autre jour ?
Lorsqu'on vit ouvrir sa coquille,
Toute le monde disait à l'entour,
Lorsqu'on vit ouvrir sa coquille,
Voici la mère d'Amour."

This fête, given by the unfortunate Fouquet led to his downfall, as is very well told by Madame Blaz de Bury in the following passage :

" Louise de la Vaillière had been named maid of honour to Madame, the sister-in-law of the king, and from her modesty, gentleness, and shy demeanour, remained obscure and unknown in the midst of Louis's brilliant court. These very qualities perhaps, so uncommon in the ladies of these days, and her graceful elegance, found favor for Mdlle. de la Vaillière in the eyes of the Superintendent Fouquet. The extreme coldness with which she received his advances astonished as well as annoyed him, and with true financial taste and breeding, he commissioned Madame du Plessis Bellievre to offer to the youthful fair one a couple of hundred thousand francs as the price of her honour. A second and still more disdainful refusal having met this infamous proposition, the superintendent suspected a cause of which he was not long in discovering the positive existence. The mutual affection of Louis XIV. and Mdlle. de la Vaillière was soon revealed by his spies to the watchful Fouquet ; and one day meeting the maid of honour in the anti-chamber of her royal mistress, he could not resist the desire of telling her he could account now for the refusal of his offers, as he was aware of the object of her attachment. Twelve hours had not elapsed ere the king was acquainted with the whole history, and the ruin of Fouquet was resolved. So great was his jealous rage, that he could scarcely be persuaded to dissemble a short time with a man, whose wealth and power had secured to him unnumbered adherents. Louis was full of his vengeful projects when the superintendent solicited from him the honour of receiving him and the court at Vaux. The king accepted, and the splendor of the very reception he met with only served to exasperate him still more. But one circumstance above all had nearly made him forget the part

he had imposed on himself; in the private cabinet of the superintendent the first object that met his view was a portrait of Louise de la Vaillière! Enraged beyond all bearing, the first impulse of the king was to have Fouquet instantaneously arrested. 'What!' exclaimed the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, 'in the midst of an entertainment you have accepted from him?' These words brought Louis to his senses, and he consented to defer his vengeance; but Fouquet was apprised of his danger in the midst of the fête by a note from Madame du Plessis Bellievre, and it was with the certainty of his approaching fate before his eyes that he led the way to the theatre, and smilingly listened to Pellisson's prologue, which represents Louis as

'Young, generous, wise, victorious, brave, august,
Severe as kindly, powerful as he's just,
Ruling his passions as he rules the state.'

Louis XIV. however, notwithstanding his anger, retained sufficient empire over himself not only to listen to Molière's piece but to say to him after it was finished, 'There goes an original,' pointing out M. de Soyecourt, the *grand veneur*. 'whom you have omitted to copy.' This hint was enough for the poet: in four and twenty hours the famous scene of the *chasseur* was complete, and the king, says Ménage, who recounts this anecdote, 'had the satisfaction, at the first representation of this comedy at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of the same month, of seeing added to it the scene his majesty had had the goodness to suggest.'

To the *Facheux* there succeeded in 1662 "l'Ecole des Femmes," which was criticized rather severely by Boursault in his *Portrait du Peintre*. Molière took his revenge in *l'Impromptu de Versailles*, when Montfleury, the actor of the theatre of the Hotel de Bourgogne, fell foul of him, but was stopped by the bully Cyrano de Bergeyrac, who said that actor was too large to be well thrashed all in one day. Racine wrote for Molière the drama, "les Frères Ennemis," and gave it shortly after to the Hotel de Bourgogne. Molière, however, was at this time gratified by the court with a pension of 1000 francs.

The comic poet's penchant for the female sex was of rather a heterogeneous description. He began with Mdlle Béjart, the elder, one of the company in which he originally engaged. He afterwards transferred his affections to Mdlle. Duparc, who had deserted him at Lyons, but on account of her pride and disdain, notwithstanding his persevering attentions, he confided his misfortune to Mdlle. du Brie, who consoled him with these words, "Be of good cheer, these wounds will not hurt you, they have been more fatal

to myself than to you." She was kind and gentle towards him, and such a favorite with the public that at the age of sixty when she gave up a part to a younger beauty, more suitable for the rôle, the audience called her out, and insisted on her acting.

Molière at length settled down with Mdle. Armande Béjart, whom he married in 1662. She is described as having been a coquette, guilty of the greatest absurdities, intriguing with the Abbé de Richelieu, the Comte de Guiche, and Lauzun. The comedian wrote her picture in the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," act iii., sc. 9, and satirized her again in "Le Mariage Forcé," and "La Princesse d'Elide," in 1664. Montfleury wrote a scurrilous pamphlet against her and her husband, but Louis XIV., to shew his estimation of the poet's character, stood himself as sponsor for Molière's first child. She had a great antipathy to Baron, the best actor of the company, and finally compelled him to fly from Paris. The unsuited pair were at length separated for a period of three years, when the comedian returned again to his constant friend, Mdle. Du Brie.

It would be tedious to go through the different circumstances which attended the bringing out of many of the finest of this author's comedies, "Don Juan" and "l'Amour Medecin," in 1665; "Le Misanthrope" and "Le Medecin Malgré lui," in 1666; "Tartuffe" in 1667; "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" in 1670; and "Les Fourberies de Scapin" in 1671. The first and the fifth were at first interdicted, as too strong for the age. Molière himself acted in the "Misanthrope." M. de Montansier, who had been told that he was pointed at in the "Tartuffe," went in a rage to the theatre, but at the end of the performance came forth in a transport of joy and admiration, saying that he hoped he was designated by the "Tartuffe," as it would send him down to posterity along with the name of the poet.

At this time the company of the Palais Royal received the title of Comédiens du Roi, and Molière obtained a pension of 7000 livres. A privilege of a very peculiar nature was granted to certain regiments of the guards and others, the entry into the pit of the theatre gratis. This was resisted by the porter, on the first evening, very vigorously, but he paid for his temerity, for he fell pierced by the sword thrusts of four or five officers. Further

scenes of violence would have occurred in the body of the house but that Baron, then a youth of nineteen, appeared on the stage in the character of a decrepid old man, and begged of them to spare his declining years, and prevented any further outrages. "*Le Medecin malgré lui*" appears to have been originated in a quarrel which Molière had with his landlady, a doctor's wife, who insisted on Madame Molière's paying a higher rent, and turned her out on refusal. The play is said to have been ordered, written and represented in the space of five days.

The poet numbered as his friends the first literary men of the day, among the rest Boileau and Chapelle. The latter was a notorious drinker, and Boileau undertook one evening over his cups to cure him of his bad habit; Chapelle, however, turned the tables completely on his Mentor, who by degrees insensibly imbibed such a quantity of wine, as to be in a worse state at the end than the person he wished to correct. Chapelle afterwards epigrammatized him in the following lines:—

"Bon Dieu! que j'épargnai de bile
Et d'injures au genre humain,
Quand renversant ta cruche à l'huile,
Je te mis le verre à la main."

Louis XIV., who had the greatest passion for private theatricals in his court, revived the fêtes in which he and his court played some of the principal parts. The "*Ballet des Muses*" was produced, and during one of its scenes Madame Molière gave a blow to the actor Baron, who, thereupon, fled from the stage of Paris. The valets-du-chambre, of whose body Molière was a member by succession to his father, refused to eat with the comedian, as beneath them in rank. This being reported to the king, he caused the poet to be brought into his bed-chamber at the *petit levée*, and making him sit at a table near, sent him one of the dishes, which *en cas de nuit* (as a night refection) were prepared for majesty alone. This was considered a great stretch of condescension, none but certain members of the royal family being ever permitted to eat off the very same board with royalty.

One of the best traits of Molière's character is that of his conduct towards an old player named Mondorge, who

had formerly accompanied him through the provinces, and had commissioned Baron to obtain for him some gratuity from the affluent poet. The moment his name was mentioned Moliere remembered him, and asked Baron what he ought to give him. The reply was that four pistoles would be amply sufficient. Moliere, however, gave four pistoles from himself, and sent also twenty, as from Baron, "in order," as he said, "that he may feel he owes more to you than to me."

"Le Tartuffe," when it first came out, was played under the name of "l'Imposteur," in consequence of a wicked pamphlet which had been written against it. The President Lamoignon and the parliament of Paris ordered its complete suppression, whereupon the players, La Grange and La Thorillièrre, went to Louis XIV's camp before Lille, with a petition from Molière, ending in these words: "It is certain, sire, that I must not be expected to write any more comedies, if the Tartuffes are to have the upper hand." The clergy were very vehement in its condemnation; the Archbishop of Paris forbid its being read, under pain of excommunication. The person aimed at in the principal character was the Abbé de la Roquette, a constant attendant or hanger on of the Duchesse de Longueville, and who enjoyed a rather gallant notoriety. He was afterwards made Bishop of Autun, on which Chénier has since made the following happy epigram:

De Roquette dans son temps, Talleyrand dans le notre,
Furent tous deux prélats d'Autun.
Tartuffe était le portrait de l'un:
Ah! si Molière eut connu l'autre.

The king afterwards in February, 1669, gave permission for it to be played in its present form. The name has been attributed to different sources; *tartufo*, the Italian for truffles; and from *truffer*, or *tartuffer*, which in that age meant to deceive.

Gaudouin, a rich bourgeois, was the person pointed at in the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," which, on its first appearance before the court, in 1670, was very coldly received; until the king himself, on the second occasion, remarked it to be one of the best he had seen, when it attained its complete celebrity. The "Amants Magnifiques," produced in

1670, and "Psyche" in 1671; to which Corneille, Quinault, and the musician Lulli contributed, were complete failures, because written to suit the extravagant caprices and taste of the court. Madame Moliere, at this time, fell desperately in love with Baron, the actor, with whom she had been formerly always at war, but in consequence of his complete rejection of her advances, she returned to Moliere's house, and gained a complete ascendant over him, to the exclusion of la du Brie, until the period of his death.

"Les Fourberies de Scapin" was brought out in the year 1671, and produced no great effect; but the "Femmes Savantes" in the next year, written against the *precieuses*, become blues and mathematicians, was very highly appreciated. The ladies of the Hotel de Rambouillet had turned their attention from the absurdities of mannerism, to those of pedantry and scientific extremes. The Abbé Cottin and Menage were the principal directors of their coterie, and were sharply satirized as Trissotin and Vadius, in the comedy. Moliere himself acted the part of Chrysale, and is reported to have surpassed the other members of his company.

He was offered, shortly after, by the Academy to be elected a member of their learned body, if he would consent to give up his profession of an actor. He stoutly refused, on the ground that he could not now belie the manner of living, which he had followed all his lifetime. His opinion of it was not, however, of the best description, as may be seen from the advice he gave to a young man, who wished to enter his company, although possessed of a competence: that if he were beginning life again, he would choose the meanest handicraft, sooner than the profession of an actor, the miseries of whose existence, the public were not at all aware of, and could not appreciate.

"Le Malade Imaginaire" was produced in 1673. It was his last piece, and during the rehearsals of it he labored under some serious internal disorder. In fact his health had been declining for many years, principally owing to the ungrateful way in which his wife had repaid his affection. He should have acted the part of Argan, but when going through the preparatory rehearsal, a small blood-vessel burst, which disabled him from continuing. He felt his end approaching, and crawled home, dissembling the

serious nature of his malady. His wife was not to be found, though he sent for her in every direction; he expired in the arms of two nuns, *sœurs quêteuses*, who were in the habit of resorting to his house for alms.

Such was the miserable end of this great writer, and censor of his age. The indignation of the clergy in Paris against him was so great, that the curé de St. Eustache refused to allow his body to be buried in consecrated earth. Even the king, though delighted by the comedian when alive, and always a strong supporter of his productions, was with great difficulty, and after a considerable lapse of time, induced to sign an order for his burial. This took place by torchlight in the Rue Montmartre, but the body was afterwards transferred from place to place, and finally, in 1817, lodged in Péré la Chaise. Lekain, the great comedian, proposed at the Théâtre Français, that a subscription should be entered into to provide a monument; this motion resulted only in a bust, which adorns the *Foyer* of the Theatre Français. Regnier, in later years (1839), revived the subject, and succeeded in erecting the present beautiful construction over his tomb, from the hands of the sculptor Visanti.

Molière's age at his death was only fifty-one. We have gone somewhat into detail as to his life and writings, because he was the founder of French comedy, and, moreover, of the peculiar institution which still supports the national stage of that country, with very slight modification. As we have already shown, before his time, the performances were of a crude nature, without plot or connexion, the dialogue carried on in that absurd manner, which may be observed in the pieces of Mdlle. Scudéri. He originated the play of character, manners and plot, and was particularly successful, on account of the applicability of his satire to the manners and personages of his age. It is singular, however, that he attributes a great deal of the excellence of his own performances to the ideas of the proper construction of comedies, which he got from "Le menteur" of Corneille, a play founded on the Spanish "*La Verdad Suspechosa*." This introduced particular characteristics of action and intrigue, unknown before on the French stage.

The "Troupe du Roi" remained for a year after Molière's death, under the direction of his widow, but then, in con-

sequence of the haughty temper of the lady, and her constant disagreements with the members of the body, it was broken up. Baron, with others, went into the provinces for a time, and shortly afterwards retired from the stage, to return to it again at the end of twenty-nine years. He was so broken down when he re-appeared, that although he obtained great success from his perfection of acting, yet the audience could not well hear all he said. A spectator once called out to him to speak "plus haut," when the actor retorted by telling his appellant to speak "plus bas." He had such an opinion of himself that he used to say: "It required a lapse of 1,000 years to produce another Cæsar, but it would take 10,000 years to bring forth another Baron."

All the members of the "Troupe" were *gentilshommes* or nobly connected. Floridor de Soulas came of German extraction, and at first an officer, as was also La Thorillière, a captain in one of the regiments of guards. Ducroisy became famous for his playing of Tartuffe; and Beauval for his acting of female characters, which at first were rarely performed by women. The only other part which the latter could go through creditably, was that of a "niais" or half-fool; a curious contrast with the vivacity of women. Brécourt was obliged to fly from France into Holland, in consequence of having killed a coachman by accident. He was, however, afterwards allowed to return by the king, in respect of certain services he rendered in that country, in hunting out a refugee. Louis XIV. had such an opinion of his acting, that on one occasion he said of him, "That man would make stones laugh." In 1678, at a boar-hunt at Fontainebleau, he delighted the court by a personal combat with the animal, in which he came off victorious by despatching his adversary with a single sword-thrust.

In 1680 the three companies of Paris, the Hotel de Bourgogne, the Marais, and the remains of Molière's joined to form one body, under the name of the "Troupe du Roi, ou du Théâtre Français," when the foundations were laid of the present society of the latter name. The rules and regulations, originally established by Molière, were adopted, with some slight modifications, and exist to a great extent in our own time. The performers were their own managers, inspected and supervised by the gentlemen of the king's

bedchamber, of whose body, it may be recollected, that Molière was a member. There were *sociétaires* and *pensionnaires*; the former having a right to a division of profits, and the latter paid regular salaries, subject to dismissal until elected to the higher rank. Twenty-two shares were made of the profits on the receipts, and each associate was entitled to a whole, three-quarters, half, or quarter shares, according to his standing and influence in the troupe. Small deductions were made from the surplus to form a fund for pensions, to be paid to retired or invalid actors. The beginners in this species of class found great difficulty in mounting up the ladder of promotion, the higher rungs of which were held on to most tenaciously by the old subjects.

Almost the only contemporaries of Molière in comedy, worthy of note, were, Scarron the satirist, Racine and Boursault. The first is well known as the husband of the famous Mdle. d'Aubigné, afterwards Madame de Maintenon. He said of his wife, that her fortune consisted of four louis d'or, two large coquettish eyes, a fine bust, a beautiful pair of hands, and much wit; but that her settlement would be immortality, as the wives of kings were little known, but Scarron's spouse would live for ever. He died in 1660, having been completely paralysed before his marriage. His contempt of death was so great that he said of it, "*Par ma foi, je ne me serais jamais imaginé qu'il fut si facile de se moquer de la mort.*" His plays of Jodelet and Don Japhet were gross burlesques, for which the genius of the French language is not at all fit. The latter imitated from the Spanish, disfigures the original, and, as Schlegel says, contains gross mystifications. Louis XIV. when young was so pleased by the "*Heritier Ridicule*" that he caused it to be played three times before him in the one day.

Racine's *Plaideurs* was, and is still, considered as only second to some of Molière's, although it appears to us as rather a heavy piece, not deserving the praise it has obtained of being full of witty sayings and strong paintings of character. Boursault, who came to Paris in 1651, speaking only *patois*, and refused the offer of Corneille to have him made a member of the Academy, produced several curious farces styled "*Pieces à tiroirs*," in which one actor performed several characters, and was enabled to shew great diversity

of talent. These were imitations of "Les Facheux" of Molière, but too long and diffuse to retain any command of the stage. His "Mercure Galant," "Æsopé à la Ville," and "Æsopé à la Cour," obtained some vogue, but never raised their author above mediocrity. He criticised rather severely Molière's "Ecole des Femmes" in a piece styled "Le Portrait du Peintre," and was well answered in the "Impromptu de Versailles." Boileau and he were for some time enemies, in consequence of a pamphlet he wrote called "La Satyre des Satyres," but he afterwards assisted with 200 louis the unfortunate poet, who lay at the Waters of Bourbonne in great distress.

From the time of Molière until that of Beaumarchais, that is to say for a space of nearly one hundred years, no name appears which can be ranked in the same class with the great founder of the classical French comedy. Regnard, who began, as he says himself, an adventurer travelling from country to country, was only of a secondary character. He went to Italy at first, where he gambled to a great extent, and with such success that he saved some 10,000 crowns over his expenses. Falling in love with a beautiful Provençale, they embarked on the Mediterranean for Genoa, and outside the bay of Nice were captured by Algerine pirates who sold them into slavery, Regnard fetching 1500 crowns and the lady only 1000. After two years of captivity he was redeemed by his family for a sum of 20,000 crowns, and then set out on a tour with some friends to the north of Europe. They reached the 65th degree of latitude in Lapland, when, having ascended a very high mountain, in order to view, as they conceived, the extremity of the land in that direction, they left their names and a Latin quatrain, indicative of their exploits, engraved upon a stone at the summit. On his return to Paris he was engaged in composing pieces for the Theatre Français from the year 1694 to 1708. His two best plays are "Le Joueur" and "Le Legataire Universel," the former naturally and forcibly sketched, the latter a sad style of farce, neither of them to be compared to the writings of his great predecessor.

A great deterioration now occurred in the productions of the French stage for a considerable period. The high comedy, in which the principal characters were drawn from

the upper classes or the noblesse, where it was *de rigueur* that each principal personage should carry a hat under his arm, a sword by his side, and appear in full dress, degenerated into lax morality, and the representation of adventurous heroes. The man of the world, such as "l'homme de Bonnes Fortunes" of Bezenval, and the "Chevalier à la mode" of Dancourt, became the type of the first parts, and injured very much the tone of the comedy of the age. Destouches, who next appeared, though no wit, was yet moderate, quiet and perfectly honorable in his views, and helped very much to redeem the sinking character of the drama. He had been originally in the army, and present at the siege of Landau, under Louis XIV. Retiring from that profession, he set about writing some pieces, one of which, "Le Curieux Impertinent," caused a great noise in Switzerland about the year 1710. He subsequently went to England with the cardinal Dubois, and aided the latter very much in obtaining the desired position of archbishop of Cambrai. He was offered the post of minister at the court of Russia, but declined it, preferring to employ himself in the production of comedies, two of which, his best, "Le Philosophe Marié," and "Le Glorieux," obtained considerable celebrity in their day, though not at all approaching the standard set by Molière. The academy honored him by electing him one of their members.

Marivaux, a contemporary of the last, brought out a very peculiar species of comedy, nearly approaching to those which had appeared in the French theatres before Molière's time. He was reckoned one of the "bêtes" of Madame Tencin, who had replaced the *precieuses* of the Hotel Rambouillet, by a coterie of wits of nearly as extravagant a character. Fontenelle and the philosopher Helvetius shewed a strong friendship towards him, the latter having settled upon him a considerable pension. He produced a vast number of plays, all nearly of the same character, the best of which, "La surprise de l'Amour," in 1727, may be taken as a type of the rest. His manner is not without some charm, but it is so enveloped in a superfluity of words that it falls flat upon the ears of the audience. There are no distinct characters, no intrigues to give interest to his pieces, and the sharpness of his wit is blunted by the minuteness of diction into which it is carried away.

This style has received from the name of its author the appellation of *Marivaudage*, which spoiled the taste of French comedy for nearly half a century. It was of him that the Abbé des Fontaines said "*Marivaux brodait à petits points sur des canevas de toile d'araignée,*" (*Marivaux embroidered with a fine needle cloth made from a spider's web*). Another saying of him by a lady has been also preserved, "*He fatigues himself and me by making me walk a hundred leagues on a stage bill.*"

Lagrange the actor gained some reputation by a farce named "*Le Roi de Cocagne,*" of too burlesque a character to be placed in the same category with classical comedy. Of the same description are the productions of Dufresny, who was Comptroller of Gardens under Louis XIV., and tried his hand at small comic pieces. His "*Chevalier Joueur*" and "*L'Esprit de Contradiction*" are said to have sparkled with wit, and the wit absolutely original. Though Voltaire may be placed in the second rank as a tragedian, below Racine and Corneille, yet he cannot hold even so elevated a place in his comedies. Other names, such as La Fontaine, Subligny, Champmeslé, Palaguat, J. B. Rousseau, Le Sage, De Moissy, and Bouciquault, who enlivened the stage for a short time, may be mentioned here, but any notice of their works or lives would take up too much space for our short limits.

Two other authors deserve to be noticed here; Piron, who produced "*La Metromanie*" in 1738, and Gresset, the contributor of "*Le Méchant.*" The former began life in Paris as a copyist at forty sous by the day, under the chevalier Toquet, and throwing up this employment in disgust, was engaged by Francisque to compose some pieces for the *Opéra Comique*. The first of these, "*Arlequin Deucalion,*" he finished in three days. Crebillon, however, managed to persuade him to change the direction of his talents to a nobler aim, and he produced, in 1728, "*l'Ecole des Pères,*" a respectable comedy, and subsequently several tragedies. His *chef d'œuvre* "*La Metromanie,*" in which he ridicules the mania, at that time common, of writing verses, to which he was himself strongly addicted, has been recognized by critics as full of intrigue, style, comic wit, and gaiety. It holds, however, only a second rank, as the subject is not one calculated to produce any high description of character.

Piron was famous for his epigrams, in which he indulged at the expense of his most intimate friends, amongst the rest the Abbé Desfontaines.

He joined Voltaire, La Mothe, Gresset, and other authors of the time, in a league against the comedians, who endeavoured to restrict the remuneration given for stage pieces, and to keep all the profits to themselves. The two Crebillons and several other men of letters united to form a society, which held periodical suppers at *le Caveau*, whence all pretensions and pedantry were banished, and wit reigned uncontrolled. Piron was asked once to correct his play of "Ferdinand Cortes," as Voltaire had often done before. He refused, however, peremptorily, saying, "Parbleu, gentlemen, I'm satisfied he does, he works in marquetry, whereas I cast in bronze." He had many friends, who gave him assistance from time to time; the Comte de Livry a rent-charge of 600 livres; another funded charge for 600 livres, by an anonymous correspondent, through the hands of a notary; and Montesquieu obtained for him a pension of 1000 livres, on his being disappointed of entrance into the Academy. He married Mdlle. Quenaudon, then fifty-three years old, who possessed an annuity of 2000 livres, and lived very happily in her company for many years.

Gresset, born at Amiens, obtained great celebrity at first, in 1735, by a burlesque poem called "Ver-Vert," in which the adventures of a famous parrot of Nevers were rehearsed in a most agreeable style of *badinage*. Jean Baptiste Rousseau admired this performance so much, and was so much struck with its originality, that he called it a literary phenomenon. He wrote, also, several comedies, the best of which, "Le Méchant," is remarkable for the superiority of its verses over those of the other productions of the age, many of them having since become French proverbs. It paints, with considerable force, the manners, tone, jargon, and character of the upper classes, both before and after the regency. He was admitted to the honours of the Academy, and enjoyed, for some years, the esteem of Louis XVI.

We shall mention the names of only two actresses of this age, who are not spoken of in the Memoirs of M. Fleury, Mdlle. Gaussin and Adrienne Le Couvreur; the former

gained her principal reputation by playing some of Voltaire's tragedies. On one occasion, a sentinel who was placed at the side scene became so affected by her touching expression that he burst into tears and let his firelock fall from his hand, more attentive to the actress's part than the duties of his position. A famous Cræsus named Bouret, who had given her a bank draft signed, in blank, in his youth, when he became financier was very much alarmed at the use which Mdlle. Gaussin might make of it: she, hearing of his anxiety, sent him back the note with these words written into it, "Je promets d'aimer Gaussin toute ma vie." Bouret sent her back a porringer full of gold double louis, as a recompense. She did not often play in comedy, but even at the age of fifty she was charming in the parts of young heroines, particularly in that of Lucinda in *L'Oracle*. She retired from the stage, with Mdlle. Dangeville, in 1763.

Adrienne Le Couvreur, whose name has come down to us in a recent well-known drama, became a very principal actress in her time. At fifteen years of age she performed in private circles, and was much applauded. She particularly distinguished herself by acting the part of Celimène, in the "*Misanthrope*," and her high attainments in tragic representation. It was said of her, as of Baron, that she spoke tragedy in a natural unaffected tone, without any trivial familiarity, and unencumbered by the emphasis of declamation. Her devotion to an admirer, the Comte Maurice de Saxe, is well known. On one occasion she sold all her jewels and ornaments to raise a sum of which he was in need, some say 40,000 livres. A strange rumour on which the subject of the drama, above alluded to, is founded, has assigned her sudden death to her being poisoned, either by her lover in a fit of jealousy, or by some one of her rivals in the histrionic art. This is not, however, consonant with the fact; she met her death from an inward hæmorrhage, which carried her off quite suddenly, in the year 1730. It was with great difficulty, that her friends could procure a place of burial for her body, at the corner of the Rue de Bourgogne, on the banks of the Seine.

The notices of actors and actresses, who adorned the French comedy before the time of Fleury, are so scant and uninteresting, that it would be useless to waste any more space in running over their names. This celebrated come-

dian flourished from the year 1757 to the end of the century, and consequently was a contemporary of some of the greatest artistes which the Theatre Français ever produced. The names of Mdlle. Dumesnil, Mdlle. Clarion, Préville, Dugazon, Molé, Mdlle. Contat, Sainval, Mdlle. Mars, Talma, and a variety of others, occur dispersed through his pages, which may be considered as a species of chronicle of the stage occurrences in France, during the lapse of half a century. He made his debut in the character of the "Laquais mal Vêtu" in the "Le Glorieux" of Destouches, before the ex-king of Poland, Stanislaus Leckzinsky, who at that time (1757) held his court at Nancy. Although only seven years of age at the time, his performance gained him some notoriety. A charming sister of his, named Félicité, inspired a young noble, the Vicomte Clairval de Passy, with a violent passion, to such an extent that the Vicomte married the young lady, but instead of raising her to his rank, lowered himself by taking up the profession of comedian, and assuming the name of Sainville.

Fleury was engaged by Voltaire, along with other members of his company, to proceed to Ferney, and perform some of that author's pieces there. The young actor, however, seems to have taken great liberties with the philosopher, pulling his wig, and otherwise disregarding his pretensions to respect. These escapades only produced a mild reprimand, accompanied by a curl of the mouth to the side of the face.—"*Per-met-tez moi, mon-sieur, de Fleury,*" (and then he added in a milder tone) "to tell you, that I am not royal enough to understand pages tricks. Remember that at the court of Ferney, wigs are respected, in consideration of what may happen to be within them." Fleury afterwards went to Troyes, where he fell in with a strange player, named Paulin Goy, for whom he conceived a great friendship, and in whose company he had the following amusing adventure :

"One day we had a very droll quarrell but comical as its subject was, it might have had a tragic termination. We lodged together, and everything we possessed was common property between us. I know not whether it is on record, that Orestes and Pylades wore each other's tunics, but Paulin and I united our wardrobes together, and wore one another's clothes indiscriminately. Our wardrobe thus united, was by no means badly stocked; and it enabled us to dress, not merely in respectable style, but even to exhibit a degree of ele-

gance, when occasion called for it. Among our best articles of dress were two pairs of inexpressibles, the one of black cloth, the other of black silk; and we entered into a mutual agreement, that the most elegant of the two pairs, viz., that of the black silk, should be worn by each of us alternately. Paulin adhered to the compact with the strictest fidelity, but my honour yielded to the promptings of vanity. I violated the treaty, and sported the silk inexpressibles three times in succession. Paulin took no notice of this, but having received an invitation to dine out, he very civilly asked me to surrender up the visiting suit. He fixed upon a most unfortunate day for making his request. I had learned that Mdlle. Clermonde, a provincial actress of great celebrity, was that day expected to pass through Troyes, on her way to Amiens. Her beauty was not less highly extolled than her talents. A feeling which I cannot define, a sort of presentiment prompted me with the idea of going to meet Mdlle. Clermonde, and I determined to station myself at the door of the Inn, at which she was to stop to change horses. On such an occasion, I was of course fully alive to the importance of being elegantly dressed, and accordingly I resolved once more to usurp the black silk shorts. Paulin asked me to surrender them to him, but I met the request with a blank refusal. He reproached me with the violation of our compact and declared that thenceforward there must be an end of all friendship between us.

"One angry remark led to another, until at length we both placed our hands on our swords, and sallied forth into the high-road, which was but a few yards distant from the house in which we resided. This was the very spot on which I had proposed, a few hours afterwards, to present myself to the beautiful Clermonde. I heaved a deep sigh as this reflection crossed my mind. My antagonist and I withdrew to a meadow, which lay a little to the right, and there, burning with impatience, we drew our swords. We were on the point of advancing upon each other, when we were suddenly arrested by a piercing shriek. We looked round and beheld a lady advancing hurriedly towards us. She was pale and terrified, yet at the first glance her beauty made a profound impression on me. 'Stay,' she exclaimed, 'stay, I conjure you! Is this like gentlemen? (Paulin and I it must be confessed, succeeded admirably in giving ourselves the air of young men of fashion). What, fighting without seconds! Is it for a woman to remind you of the laws of honor? Recollect, gentlemen, that if one of you had been killed, it would have been nothing less than murder!'

The tones of that voice, the beauty of the speaker, a certain air of dignity, of authority in her deportment and manner, overawed us, and we instantly sheathed our swords. I was captivated by the beauty of the lady, and stood gazing at her in an ecstasy of admiration. But Paulin soon recovered from the surprise caused by this unexpected interruption, and assuming his usual lively and jocular tone, he said, 'Truly, my dear Fleury, there never was a more ridiculous affair than this quarrel of ours. To fight for a petticoat might be perfectly natural, but who ever heard of a duel for a pair of black silk shorts? Ah, Madame, could you have believed it?' There was

something so irresistibly droll in Paulin's manner of uttering these words, that I could not repress a hearty fit of laughter. Next moment we cordially embraced each other. Our conciliatrix seemed quite at a loss to comprehend this extraordinary scene. We were about to explain it, when some one came to tell her that the post-chaise was waiting, and all was in readiness for her departure. She smiled, curtsied, and bade us adieu. A thought, a presentiment, suddenly occurred to my mind—

'Can it be,' I exclaimed, 'Mademoiselle Clermonde?' 'The same,' she replied. And while she waved to us a most gracious salute, her glove dropped from her hand. I darted forward and picked it up.

'Take it, take it, my lad,' said Paulin. 'If the lady's eyes speak truth, the challenge was not thrown to me.'

"I will bring it to you, madame, exclaimed I." Whether or not she heard me, I cannot say. In another moment she was seated in her post-chaise, and a few minutes more, out of sight."

This is very nearly as absurd a scene as can be found in the pages of Sterne. This Mdlle. Clermonde afterwards brought Fleury into another scrape, which resulted in a duel with one of her admirers, the Comte de la Touche-Treville; and, finally, she abandoned the poor actor for another rival, Desforges. This occurred in consequence of her jealousy of Mdlle. Montansier, a lady of forty years of age, the female manager of the theatre at Versailles, attached to the court of Louis XV., then near the end of his luxurious reign, and under the influence of the famous Dubarry.

The first acquaintance which Fleury got of the principal actors of French comedy of the day, was at a dinner given to celebrate the birth-day of Mdlle. Danguerville, a celebrated actress, then about sixty years of age. Here he met St. Foix, Dorat, Mdlle. Drouin, Mdlle. La Mothe, Lekain, and Preville, all famous names on the French stage. These friends enabled him to go to the Theatre Français to improve himself in acting, and to make himself fit to enter as a sociétaire in that distinguished company. Mdlle. Dumesnil and Mdlle. Clairon were, at this time, as always, rival actresses in the great *roles* of Racine's tragedies. The former had been supported at court by Madame Dubarry, and the latter by Madame de Villeroi, who obtained for her protégée the part of Athalie, at the court fêtes. Marie-Antoinette, the young Dauphiness, appeared at the fêtes of Versailles, and produced a marked impression on all beholders, by her beauty, exceeding youth, dignified manner

and amiability. Mdlle. Dumesnil at one time threw so much fiery energy into her acting of Cleopatra, that the front rank of the pit drew back, and an empty space was left between the spectators and the orchestra. In the fifth act of that play, she delivered several dreadful imprecations which so roused an old soldier, stationed at the side-scene, that he gave her a blow in the back, crying out at the same time, "Vas-t'en, chienne, vas-t'en à tous les diables." Being principally a tragic actress, any further mention of her would be out of our subject. She died at Boulogne in 1803, having nearly completed her 90th year.

Mdlle. Clairon, her rival, was born at Condé, in Flanders, the native country of Mdlle. Dumesnil, and having acted for several years in the provinces and at the Opera Comique, obtained at length the privilege of *double* to Mdlle. Danguenville, in the parts of servant maids and such like characters. It was, and still is, customary at the Theatre Français that each first-rate actor or actress should have a *personnaire*, who could play his or her part in the absence of the principal player, and was thence called the *double*. The play-bills were made out only with the names of the characters, and not of the performers, at this period, so that it was impossible on any particular night to discover who were the actors. Mdlle. Clairon afterwards insisted on taking up several of the parts played by Mdlle. Dumesnil, and although she never attained the same eminence yet she obtained great celebrity. She was once put in the prison of Fort l'Eveque, for refusing to act along with Dubois, retired immediately after from the theatre, went to live at the court of Margrave of Anspach, and published memoirs, in which she attacked Mdlle. Dumesnil, who answered her. They both died in the same year.

Mdlle. Danguenville, of whom we have spoken above, was celebrated for her acting of *petits rôles*, *soubrettes*, and such like characters. Her manner has been very well described by Dorat in the following lines :—

" Il me semble la voir, l'œil brillant de gâité,
Parler, agir, marcher avec légèreté ;
Piquante sans apprêt, et vive sans grimace,
A chaque mouvement decouvrir une grace,
Sourir, s'exprimer, se taire avec esprit,
Joindre le jeu muet à l'éclair du débit,

pletely adverse parties in the capital. The former had some intimacy with the Duke de Duras, who wrote her some letters privately, supporting her claims. She was injudicious enough to publish those; the Duke de Duras became so indignant at the disclosures that he used his influence at court, and had the fair offender sent into exile at Clermont in Beauvoisin, a species of punishment reserved for disgraced ministers. She was degraded from her place as *sociétaire* and forbidden to act in the provinces. Her sister having been appointed to play in her stead, when she appeared in the piece of "Tancrède" the audience became so enthusiastic, that she was borne off the stage in a state of insensibility. The pit raised a shout for "Les deux Sainval," which the guards could not quell.

Marie Antoinette conceived the project of getting a wife for Fleury. She proposed M^{lle}. Racecourt, to whom the actor politely objected. This lady, when seventeen years of age, had been so aspersed in her character by a letter of Voltaire, that she fell into a life of great expense, and, getting into debt to the extent of 100,000 crowns, was obliged to fly into the Netherlands. Subsequently the queen insisted on her being received again into the theatre, paid her debts, and wished her to marry Fleury; she, however, relieved him, by running away with the Prince d'Héuin. At this time Bellecour died, and Fleury succeeded to his position in the company.

Private theatricals now became very much in fashion at the court, without the knowledge or approval of the king. The Comte de Provence, and the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Louis XVIII., and Charles X., used to perform at them, but privately, and behind a screen, so that if any person not initiated happened to come in, the scene was closed by a sliding panel, and the company began to play at battle-door and shuttlecock. Marie Antoinette at length obtained the consent of the king to these representations. He even attended the rehearsals, but objected to the kissing scenes, and coughed loudly to prevent any repetition of them. The queen's appearance is very well described as follows:—

"Her eyes, though not large, had a power of expression which rendered them a perfect index of her mind. Her skin was delicately fair, and the contour of her neck and shoulders exquisitely formed. Her mouth, though stamped with that peculiarity which has been

termed the Austrian lip, was exceedingly pretty, and had that pouting expression which was peculiarly appropriate in many of the characters she personated. In "*Blaise et Babet*," for example, nothing could be more charming than her manner of half-reciting, half-singing, the following lines :—

' Le soir on dansa sur l'herbette,
Blaise et moi nous dansions tous deux ;
Mais il me quitta pour Lisette
Qui vint se mêler à nos jeux.' "

The Comédie Italienne now became a rival of the Comédie Française, throwing overboard its own language, and bringing forward farces in the vernacular. This caused a counteracting influence by the latter company, in which Fleury was ably assisted by Mdlle. Contat, a pupil of Préville. She had been received into the Theatre Français at a very early age, and played Suzanne in Beaumarchais' "Marriage of Figaro" with great effect. Marivaux's plays, to which she gave some vogue, suited her exceedingly well until her person attained too much enbonpoint for the *petit jeu* of these pieces. Marie Antoinette ordered suddenly the comedy of "*La Gouvernante*," of which the actress knew not one single line ; she was obliged to learn off 500 verses in the short space of twenty-four hours, and performed her part in first-rate style. The occasion suggested to her the following witty saying, "*J'ignorais où était le siège de la mémoire, je sais à présent qu'il est dans le cœur.*" She died in 1813, of cancer, having become a perfect saint at the end of her life.

It might be well to notice here the different migrations which the French comedy underwent from the time of Molière. His troupe was at first stationed in 1658, by a grant of Louis XIV., at the Petit Bourbon, near the Louvre, and, two years after, went to the theatre of the Palais Royal, which had been erected by Richelieu in 1634, for the use of Rotrou and Pierre Corneille. The death of the great dramatist sent his company to wander, first to the Rue Guénégaud, next to the Rue des Fossés St. Germain, and to the Tuilleries, where they were in 1770. Twelve years afterwards the "Odéon" began to be built, and they established themselves in it, under the name of the Theatre Français. Again they changed to the Theatre de la Nation in 1790, and finally the present Theatre Français, built in 1787, was ceded to them in 1799, where they have remained

since, sometimes under the appellation of "Theatre de la Republique," and sometimes simply called, "la Comédie Française." An allowance for its support has been made by the state of 200,000 francs a year, under the superintendence of a royal or imperial commissioner. We have before noticed the difference of *sociétaires* and *pensionnaires*, besides which it would seem that there are now *élèves*, or pupils, who bind themselves to the theatre, which has a right to their services, to the exclusion of any other stage within the confines of France. Mdlle. Rachel, who, it is believed, became a pupil of the institution, at one time resisted this ordinance very strenuously, but was obliged to fly to England or America, in order to make use of her talent outside the theatre.

When the company transferred themselves to the new theatre of the "Odéon" in 1782, it was considered a great innovation to provide seats in the pit. La Harpe, the famous critic, shewed himself one of the most strenuous advocates for these, on the ground that no first performance had a chance with a standing pit, liable to cabal at any moment, and enough to mar the success of any piece. He brought out at the new theatre, with unexampled success, a piece entitled, "Molière à la nouvelle salle," and fell in love with a young lady, Mdlle. Cléophile, a third-rate dancer at the opera, because she applauded it. La Harpe was, however, generally disliked; his egregious vanity rendered him generally ridiculous. A witty writer of the day made the following epigram upon him:—

"Si vous voudrez faire bientôt,
Une fortune immense autant que légitime,
Il faut acheter La Harpe ce qu'il vaut,
Et le vendre ce qu'il s'estime."

Dugazon endeavoured now to negotiate a marriage for his friend. The object was a Mdlle. Luzi, who had retired from the stage at fifty years of age, with a moderate fortune of 18,000 francs per annum, and turned devotee. Fleury, however, after a few visits, broke off the connexion, saying "that it was infinitely easier to become a martyr than a saint." He afterwards gained further promotion as a senior associate in the company by the departure of Monvel for Stockholm, at the instance of the court of Sweden.

In the year 1784, Beaumarchais first produced his "Marriage of Figaro." The success of the "Barber of Seville" prompted him to go on with the piece, notwithstanding that it had been forbidden by the court. This remarkable man, born in 1732, was the son of a watch-maker, in which trade he invented a peculiar species of escapement, which was disputed with him. He pleaded his own cause before the Academy of Sciences, and gained his first laurels. He obtained an intimate acquaintance with the daughters of Louis XV., by whose means he was able to influence the king to many benevolent actions, among the rest that of visiting and approving the Ecole Militaire, which had been founded by Paris Duverney, the patron of the future dramatist. Beaumarchais entered into several large speculations as a merchant, one of which, the supplying the North American colonies, at that time in revolt, with arms and provisions, brought to him a considerable fortune. His first essay in the dramatic art was crowned with success. Up to his time, from that of Molière, there had been no author, as we said before, of more than mediocre talent. It would be useless to repeat the list of those who essayed French comedy during that period; their names are too numerous, and their works too little worth noticing. Suffice it to say that the taste of the public had become completely degenerate, as were their manners. Absurdity and extravagance had possession of the stage, as well as of the salons, in which a witty word with a *double entendre* was never to be heard. Beaumarchais undertook to do away with the false customs and the servile spirit of the age. He commenced with the piece of "Eugénie," which, however, must be said to be somewhat improper in its plot, wherein a young lady, who believes that she is yielding herself to a legitimate husband, finds that she has fallen into the snares of an artful seducer.

Of a different character was his second piece, "Les Amis," in which he depicts the mutual affection of a happy pair who had been brought up together from their infancy; and the joy of the parents of each at the marriage of their children. Neither of these plays, however, were calculated to produce any great effect, being more of a serious and afflicting kind. He was engaged in some lawsuits, which brought out his talent more

public, and showed his power of comedy. This induced him to turn his attention to the laughable side of the drama, and he prepared the "Barber of Seville," at first a comic opera, in which several pretty Spanish and Italian airs were introduced. The Comédie Italienne, to which it was offered, refused to bring it out, so that he found himself obliged to retrench the arias, cut it down to four, instead of five, acts, and hand it over to the Comédie Française, where it obtained very considerable success. It has been pretended that Beaumarchais intended, by the character of Figaro, to depict much of his own manner, and some of the incidents of his life, yet it can scarcely be supposed that he would personify himself by a personage so gross and full of effrontery.

As we said before, Beaumarchais brought out his comedy of the "Marriage of Figaro," in the year 1784. The manners and fashions of this age, in Paris, were monstrously ridiculous. "Young girls in hoops, married ladies in frocks, fashions à la Marlborough, scarlet coats with black buttons, little hats, enormous masses of frizzled hair, and pictorial waistcoats (*gilet de grands hommes* covered with the portraits of Destaing, Broglie, Condé, and La Fayette)." The curés even turned *marchands de modes*, and established bazaars to sell millinery. All these things were fair objects of satire; while the taste of the public in comedy became completely effeminate; incapable of appreciating the manly plays of Molière, or even Regnard. The "Marriage of Figaro" was first read at the house of the Duchesse de Villeroi, but the king refused his consent to its performance. It had been, however, attempted to produce it at the Theatre of the Menus Plaisirs; Mdlle. Contat was consulted on the cast of the characters, when the king's order again arrived, prohibiting its being played. Five or six hundred carriages were turned away from the door of the Theatre, and Beaumarchais was obliged to pay the expenses, 10, or 12,000 livres, out of his own pocket. M. de Vaudreuil obtained permission to have it acted at his country residence at Genevilliers, after a revision by M. Gaillard, of the French Academy. The Queen, the Comte d'Artois, and other court personages, were present. The Baron de Breteuil, Minister of the Interior, had been the great opponent of the piece, but Beaumarchais managed to get round him, by reading the play to him, adopting some of his *bon mots*,

and taking the colour of a page's ribbon from *Mine. de Matignon*. It was announced at length in the bills, the 27th of February, 1734, and half Paris flocked to obtain tickets. Titled ladies descended from their carriages, and begged the crowd to allow them to pass. Many dined in the boxes they had hired; the house being nearly transformed into a restaurant. Preville, Mdlle. Sainval, Molé, Dagincourt, and Mdlle. Olivier, supported the acting ably, but the great success was due to Mdlle. Contat, who played Suzanne, the *soubrette*, and so enchanted Preville, that when the play ended, he ran up and embraced her, crying: "This is my first infidelity to Mdlle. Danguerville." The first twenty nights of the run brought into the treasury of the *Comédie Française*, 100,000 francs, and the rage for it scarcely abated during eighty more representations.

The reason of the success of this piece, is that which gave éclat to Molière's and others, that it lashed the morals of the time, and spoke in unrestrained freedom of the government, bastille, press, police, and censorship. It was subsequently performed privately before the king, by the queen and the Comte d'Artois, who acted Figaro with considerable talent. Reaumarchais has been since considered the precursor of the great French revolution. He afterwards produced "*La Mère Coupable*," a continuation of the former Spanish subjects, and an imitation of "*Tartuffe*;" also "*Tarare*," a comic opera of very little note. He lost his fortune by an endeavour to publish a magnificent edition of Voltaire's works, and by other speculations during the Revolution, which all but took away his life, with that of many other remarkable men. He died suddenly in 1799, without any previous illness.

François de Neufchateau, the author of the celebrated comedy "*Pamela*," had been originally brought up to the law. He was, however, so unfortunate as to marry the niece of an actor, and consequently being obliged to give up his profession, contented himself with an appointment of *ballage* in the provinces, which he purchased. His wife relieved him shortly after of her sinister influence by dying; on which he went to Paris to seek his fortune. This came to him very soon in the shape of a young lady, for whom he proposed and was accepted. On the day of his marriage, when the bridal feast was ready, his father brought him

into the garden for a short stroll, and, producing a pistol, gravely announced that that should be the last day of his own life, as he had fallen in love with the young lady to whom François was about to be married. This so horrified the young man, that he fled from the scene, and could not to be heard of for many years. He was supposed dead, and an edition of his works about being brought out by the Abbé Geoffroy, when he reappeared, and offered himself as a member of the Legislative Assembly, for which he was elected. He shared the imprisonment of the French comedians in the Luxembourg, and being afterwards raised to the Imperial Senate by Napoleon, became one of the principal persons who assisted in reviving the French drama, after it had been crushed and disgraced by the barbarities and terrors of the Revolution.

Prévile and his wife, Brizard, and Mdlle. Fanier, all retired from the Theatre together. The first two removed to a small estate near Senlis, and had a box in the private Theatre of the Prince de Condé. Here they once received the royal honors of an obeisance from the actors in a piece, with the prince at their head, in the same manner as if the king were present. Brizard set himself about collecting a large library, binding the books with his own hand. He invented a curious system of paying himself every Saturday evening, for his labour during the week, and handing over the proceeds to the poor.

At this time a very good moral comedy, "l'Ecole des Pères," by M. Peyre, was brought out by the company, and so pleased the court, that it was ordered to be played at the private royal Theatre, a magnificent sword presented to the author, and a splendid dress coat sent to Fleury, to be used in his part. Unfortunately this required a plain one, but the king expressed a wish that some play should be performed, in which it might be shown to advantage. Fleury chose "Turcaret," in which he performed the Marquis, a drunken character, and so much to the life, that the Count d'Artois exclaimed: "I have seen Molé in the Marquis de Lauret, but he seemed to have got drunk only on piquette; Fleury's drunkenness was the drunkenness of champagne."

A strange incident occurred to Mdlle. Contat one day. She was driving over the Pont Neuf in her whisky, a species

of gig then the rage, and ran against a gentleman, who endeavoured to apologise for being in the way. She, however, resisted the apology, saying that she had cried out "*gare*" and he had never looked round. He retorted "Truly, Madame, you have more need to say *gare* now, when I do look round. The danger is in looking at you." This compliment produced some curiosity in the actress to find out her admirer, who sent her a note a few days afterwards, signed "Henry," and requesting her to attend a rehearsal of a small piece at the Comédie Italienne. She discovered subsequently that the personage was no less than Prince Henry of Prussia. The piece, afterwards brought out under the auspices of Mdle. Contat and Fleury, was entitled "*Les Deux Pages*," founded on an incident in the life of Frederick the Great, where he placed a rouleau of ducats in the pocket of a page, while sleeping, who had been in the habit of sending his pension home to his aged mother. It produced a very favourable impression in Paris at the time, notwithstanding the publication of a book, by Mirabeau, containing many scandalous and libellous matters concerning the court at Berlin. Prince Henry caused a gold snuff-box to be presented to Fleury on the occasion, surmounted with the portrait of the great Frederick, surrounded by brilliants; assuring him at the same time, that he had completely fulfilled a saying of the illustrious captain; "feeling is the mainspring of every great effort."

During the severe winter of 1783-4 the Comédie Française brought out "*Coriolanus*," by La Harpe, for the benefit of the poor. There was a full house, although the play met but a very cold reception, and gave rise to a witty epigram by M. de Champcenetz:—

" Pour les pauvres, la comédie
Joue une pauvre Tragédie ;
C'est bien le cas en vérité,
De l'applaudir en charité."

A fête was also got up for the same benevolent purpose at the winter Vauxhall, where all Paris, and all grades of society evinced great liberality. La Harpe met his enemy, M. de Champcenetz, there, when a laughable incident occurred. At one of the lottery tables the Marquis de Malseigne, an officer of carabiniers, won a small china

figure, which represented an old shivering man trying to warm himself. He held it up to the company, and asked aloud, "What do you call this?" "A Coriolanus," replied a voice from the crowd. La Harpe, who was standing near, immediately fastened on M. de Champcenetz as his reviler, and a lively altercation occurred between them, much to the amusement of the company. The sum of money collected at the different theatres for the relief of the poor amounted to 36,679 livres; but the curés of the different parishes would not receive it from the hands of the actors. They were obliged to hand it over to the lieutenant of police.

We have now arrived at the period when the revolutionary spirit appeared in Paris, and the clubs began to be held in all parts of the city. The tone of society became completely changed; every one talked of constitutions, laws, the rights of the people, &c., even the green-room of the Comédie was invaded by the mania. It was then that Chénier's famous tragedy of "Charles IX." appeared on the scene. Like the "Marriage of Figaro" of Beaumarchais, it may be said to be the precursor of the revolution. The play, however, produced a species of earthquake in the theatre; Fleury, Dazincourt, Contat, and Rancourt, at one side, demanded a certain cast of characters; Talma, Dugazon, and Madame Vestris, insisted on another. In fact Chénier had given over to Talma the principal part in the play, as some said, merely because Saint-Fal had refused it. It was looked upon by some of the sociétaires as a feudal assertion of right on the part of the elder members of the company, and as such resisted. The subject of "Charles IX." was the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and introduced a cardinal on the stage, an unheard-of novelty. Its other name, "l'Ecole des Rois," and many incidents in the drama, caused it to be displeasing to the court, which forbade the performance. The company fell into disrepute with the public, and were accused of keeping back Talma in order to bring forward Larive, who reappeared at this time on the stage, for, as Fleury says, "Larive was a theatrical Montmorency—an actor for the aristocracy; Talma was the actor of a revolutionized people."

Talma, whose father was a dentist, was born in the year 1763. He resided for a considerable time in London, and

evinced so much talent that Lord Harcourt shewed a great desire to have him brought up for the English stage. He removed, however, to Paris, and being very much struck with the playing of the most popular actors of the day there, took lessons in declamation from Molé, and held Dugazon as a model in acting before his eyes. He made his debut as "Seide" in the tragedy of "Mahomet," in 1787, producing only a very ordinary impression on the public. What brought him first prominently forward, and made him exceedingly popular, were his extreme republican opinions, and the affair of the play of "Charles IX.," which we shall now relate.

Mirabeau, the famous orator, visited the foyer of the Theatre Français, and endeavoured to obtain the performance of "Charles IX." for the fête of the Fédération, when the Provencal Deputies were to be present in Paris. Molé tried to support Mirabeau's proposition, as he admired the man extremely, but the whole company decided on refusing the request of the orator. The deputies themselves wrote to demand the representation, but it was again politely declined. The Fédéralists took umbrage, and threatened to call the actors to account. On the evening of the 21st February, 1790, the Deputies were at their posts in the theatre, and when Naudet appeared in the play of "Epiménide," loud cries were raised for "Charles IX." Naudet stated that it could not be played, as two of the principal actors, Madame Vestris and St. Prix, were ill. Talma, however, came forward, and said the audience should have "Charles IX." performed, as Madame Vestris was in the theatre and willing to play her part, while that of St. Prix might be easily read. It became absolutely necessary now for the corps dramatique to yield to the popular voice and bring out the forbidden tragedy.

It went off as was expected, in first-rate style, Talma surpassing himself in the representation of his *rôle*. A curious incident, however, occurred at it. It had been customary for all persons in the pit to take off their hats. One athletic figure appeared with his head covered, and was saluted with a tremendous roar from the house. He fixed his *couvre chef*, however, only the more stoutly on his head, declaring it to be as "firm as the hat of Servandony," (a *soubriquet* for one of the towers of St. Sulpice), and defied

the audience, who dragged him out to the Hotel-de-Ville. This individual's name was Danton, one of the most terrible stains on that dark page of history. Talma, not content with his triumph over the other *sociétaires*, engaged in a paper warfare on the subject, and so mishandled Chénier, Naudet, and others, that they judged it necessary to dismiss him from the company. Fleury was the man who proposed the measure, notwithstanding the great danger from the republican party. The actors were treated as *aristocrats* and *inciviques*, and threatened with denunciation at the Legislative Assembly. On the 16th September an enormous crowd invaded the theatre and demanded Talma; Fleury endeavoured to brave the storm, and explain that Talma had broken the regulations of the company. Dugazon came forward to support the dismissed actor, and the stage would have been pulled down by the mob, but for the interference of the military. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, caused the whole company to be brought before him, and insisted on their receiving back their associate, which they were obliged to do. Some of the actresses retired under protest, and resigned their appointments.

In November, 1790, La Harpe came before the Legislative Assembly with a petition that several companies of comedians should be licensed to act the plays of all authors, living or dead. His propositions produced a revolution in the theatrical world. Fleury fell suddenly into a violent fit of sickness; Talma, with Dugazon and Madame Vestris, renounced their rights as associates, and went to the Rue de Richelieu. The Comédie Italienne joined the Comédie Française, and every species of performance was brought out at either theatres; a complete *bouleversement* occurred. It may be easily remembered, by any one who has studied the history of these times, what an amount of license was granted to the populace in their places of amusement, and what infamous pieces replaced on the various stages the productions of the best dramatic writers. In fact these were the dark ages of classical comedy, which could only be revived under the strong hand of the Empire.

Préville, the comedian, had retired a very considerable time before, and lived at Senlis. During one of the revolutionary scenes in that town, a ball, which killed a man at his side, grazed the eye of the actor and took away his sight

completely. He lost, besides, his pension, on account of the embarrassments of the public treasury, and bethought himself to re-appear at the Comédie Française. He was received with open arms, came out in "*Le Mercure Galant*," one of his best parts, but his age and infirmities were too great and he found himself obliged to resign. He went then to live with his daughter, Madame Guesdon, who possessed a beautiful country seat near Beauvais. A short period of mental aberration preceded his death. This man was of a most benevolent and kindly disposition, even to weakness, harbouring the unfortunate, and spending his means on former associates. A provincial actor named St. Arnaud, in distressed circumstances, came into him once in the middle of the night, when M. and Madame Prévile were in bed together, and asked for hospitality; it was granted to him; a fine bed-room up stairs being made ready for his use. He remained there, however, nineteen years, on the most free and easy terms with his host.

One of the play-bills of the Revolutionary period may be considered to form a portion of the history of the time. They usually ran in this form:

BY ORDER OF THE PEOPLE!

The Comedians of the National Theatre

Will this day perform,

For the Benefit of the Widows and Children

Of our brethren who fell on the 10th August,

GUILLAUME TELL.

&c., &c.

Every play should bear the stamp of Republicanism, and the commune were the censors.

The Theatres were infested by three sorts of critics, the *Beaux*, who were the dramatic commentators, and affected the elegance of revolution, and afterwards degenerated into the *muscadins*, an effeminate offspring; while the *Tape-durs* (hard hitters) were the janissaries of the stage, singing, roaring, and shouting their boisterous patriotic songs, to the annoyance of every person. They had a strange costume;

wide trousers, a short waistcoat, a cap covered with fox-skin, and falling on the shoulders, and a large knotted stick, appropriately termed a "constitution." Such was the audience, which for the most part constituted the supporters of the Theatre. A change, however, for the better came about after the terrific days of September, and the struggles of the Girondists bound families together and revived a feeling of security. A young author named Laya, had the hardihood to produce a comedy, "*l'Ami des Lois*;" which being approved of by the reading committee of the company, they determined to bring it out. The Jacobins, afraid that it might produce a strong impression against them, applied to the Commune to have it prohibited. It was not, however, until the house became crowded to suffocation, that the order of the municipality for its suppression arrived. The audience shouted for its performance, and paid no attention to the Commandant of the National Guard, or Chambon, the mayor of Paris, who presented himself. They told him to go to the convention, to which body, then sitting on the trial of Louis XVI., Laya sent a vigorous address, stating his wrongs and those of the actors. It was of Chambon that Madame de Stael said: "he is like a rainbow; he never makes his appearance until the storm is over." On this occasion he got into the very midst of the storm; the convention, repelling the statement of the Jacobins, that the minister Roland had commissioned Laya to write "*l'Ami des Lois*," ordered the play to proceed, as the Commune had no authority to violate the liberty of the Theatres.

Another play which produced great excitement at this time was "*Painela; ou, la Vertu Récompensée*," evidently taken from Richardson's novel, by François de Neufchateau, whom we have already noticed. An order came to suspend its representation, on the ground that it favoured the re-establishment of titles of nobility. The author refused to withdraw the piece, and only changed a few of its scenes. He had it announced again for the 2nd of September, but the following notice was put at the end of the bill: "In conformity with the orders of the municipality, the public is informed that no canes, sticks, swords, or other offensive weapons, are to be brought into the theatre." This looked like a challenge to a row, yet, when the curtain rose, a most respectable audience in powdered wigs appeared

through the house. One sinister looking man alone was seen in the boxes. Middle. Lange played Pamela very gracefully; Fleury, the part of Lord Bonfil. The sinister person, however, interrupted him in the middle of a sentence, declared he declaimed prohibited passages, condemned the play as anti-revolutionary, and when the audience turned him out, he went to the Jacobin club, and denounced the Theatre François as a den of aristocrats. The military surrounded the theatre; Fleury managed to get home, to embrace his sister Felicité and his infant daughter; on the next evening he and several of his comrades were arrested by the order of the Commune, and sent to the prison of the Magdelonnettes. Thus was the Comédie Française, the creation of the great Molière, made the victim of revolutionary barbarity.

In prison the comedy met many of the celebrated characters of the day, and enlivened their dull time by the relation of anecdotes, the hazards and escapes of their friends, and their own projects for the future. The celebrated Malesherbes was, for a short time, a partner of their confinement. Disease got into the prison in the shape of small-pox, and prevented the authorities from meddling with it for some time. The doctor, Dupontet, adopted very good sanitary measures, thorough ventilation, and obtaining liberty for exercise for those confined, who marched and counter-marched through the corridors, under the direction of an old general and St. Prix. M. de Crosne, an inculpated Lieutenant-General of Police, happened to be there; and while playing one day at Tric-trac with M. la Tour-du-Pin, his name was called out for execution. Everyone shuddered: he rose calmly and said; "Well, I am ready; farewell gentlemen; I thank you for your kind attention. You have soothed the last moments of my existence." And he walked forth coolly to the guillotine. Subscriptions were got up within the gaol for the poor prisoners, amongst themselves, and a regular organised relief set on foot.

The comedians were shortly removed to a more comfortable place of confinement, and many efforts made for their release. Fleury's sister, Felicité, had at one time aided Collot d'Herbois in a perilous situation, and conceived that he might in turn assist her brother. When she applied to him, his short answer was: "Your brother is an aristocrat,

he must suffer like the others." Danton, being also solicited, refused to interfere, and Fouquier-Tainville, the famous attorney-general-butcher, was written to by Collet to have judgment passed quickly on six of the actors. The names of Dazincourt, Fleury, Louise Contat, Emilie Contat, Raucourt, and Mdle. Lange, were marked with the ominous G (guillotine), and the following postscript appended:

"The committee sends you, citizen, the documents relating to the actors of the *Comédie Française*. You know, as all patriots do, that their conduct has been anti-revolutionary in the extreme. You must bring them to trial on the 13th Messidor. With regard to the others, there are some among them who may be punished with banishment. But we will see what can be done with them after the others have been tried.

"Signed,

"Collet d'Herbois."

The actors owed their safety to the interference of M. Charles de Labussière, who held a post under the Committee of Public Safety. He had been himself at first suspected, but his friends, in order to shield him, procured him first a place in the Bureau de la Correspondance, and then in the Bureau des Pièces Accusations. Through his hands passed many of the documents in which the denunciations and arrests were founded, as also the justifications of prisoners. He found that many persons were condemned without papers, others liberated on sound accusations, and others brought to trial on unfounded charges. The confusion of the office in which he was became so great, that no record or list of documents was kept, no inspection attempted. He managed, therefore, cleverly to abstract many important papers, which saved the lives of several heads of families. These documents he soaked in water, until they were converted into paste, when he rolled them into balls, and carrying them off, threw them into one of the baths in the Seine. Fouquier-Tainville found that many of his victims escaped him, and made a complaint to the Committee. The cases of the *Comédie Français* were to be brought forward on the 13th Messidor. Labussière managed to abstract the acts of accusation on the 9th, and destroy them on the 11th, but ran great risk in doing so. He came out of the Tuilleries late at night, with the papers in his pocket, and was arrested by a revolutionary agent named Aillaume, on

the Boulevards, because he refused to give his name. But for his address in the corps-de-garde, showing his official card, and the names of some of the committee on the papers he wished to destroy, he would inevitably have been himself brought to the guillotine. Among others saved by this man were Latour du Pin, Florian, and Madame de Beauharnois, afterwards the Empress Josephine.

After their liberation the comedians endeavoured to recommence business in their old theatre in the Faubourg St. Germain, which had been successively honoured with the titles of *de la Republique* and *de l'Egalité*. The plays of Marivaux, Gresset, Dorat, &c., were revived; Mdlle. Contat shone in the exquisite finesse of these pieces, but the benches were empty. They were obliged to transfer their services to Sageret, the director of the Salle Feydeau, Molé, Raucourt, Devienne, and others, being separated on three other principal stages. Sageret divided the company into two sections, and made them work in two houses at the same time, often in the same piece at both. His speculations, however, caused him to break, and the old company of the Comédie Française at length joined together, and was revived.

Charles Maurice, whose name is subscribed to one of the books at the head of this article, had been the editor of the *Journal, le Courier des Theatres*, for many years. He was himself a dramatic author, having composed, as he relates in one place, eighteen comedies, of which "Les Consolateurs," "La Partie d'Echecs," "Le Parleur Eternel," and a fragment by Regnard, finished by Maurice, called "Le Bailly d'Asnières," may leave some remembrance of him on the French stage. His book is made up of a mass of anecdotes, the greater part of them trivial, from the year 1782 to its date, mixed up with a great number of autograph letters from some of the most celebrated men of the day, literary, theatrical, and otherwise. The whole forms such a mass of confusion, and the subjects so different, that no one could collect from it any connected narrative. In fact it is a made-up book, though called in high-flown French phrase, "Histoire Anecdotique," fit only to while away an hour. The incidents of the author's own life, which he runs over in small separate chapters dispersed through the two volumes, amid a chaos of facts of different dates, cannot be

said to be very interesting, excepting this one, that he was imprisoned by Louis Philippe, in 1844, for rather too bold a letter which he wrote to the head of the state on the subject of the liberty of the press.

It would be impossible to trace the history of the French comedy from the time when Fleury's memoirs end until the establishment of the empire, as all facts on the subject are so confused, scattered, and partake so much of the nature of the times, that all connexion between them is lost. We have, to be sure, the lives of many of the chief actors of the day, Talma, Dugazon, La Rive, Molé, Mdlle. Bangouin, Mdlle. Rancourt, Mdlle. Contat, Devienne, &c., but the details of biography are not suited to these pages. The first of these very nearly fell a victim to the Reign of Terror and the enmity of Marat. At his house, Rue Chanteraine, which afterwards became the property of Buonaparte, he gave a fête to Dumouriez, who had just come back victorious from the army of the north, at which were present Chénier, Méhul, Ducis, Chamfort, and all the deputies of the Gironde. Marat came there suddenly, attacked Dumouriez, and continued to dispute with him in a low voice, while Dugazon commenced to throw incense on a brazier in the room, as he said "to purify the air from the infection of the monster." These words, heard by Marat, rankled in his bosom; he denounced Talma and his guests the next day as conspirators; they were all placed on the list of proscriptions, and in constant expectation of being arrested. Talma was also accused of causing the arrest of his brother comedians, mentioned above, and became for some time very unpopular. He obtained, with great difficulty, from the curé of St. Sulpice, leave to marry a lady who went by the name of Julie, and in whose salons he met the most celebrated men of the day. They were separated afterwards, by divorce, in 1801, when he married Charlotte Vanhove, a distinguished actress of the Theatre Française. An absurd rumour was at one time spread about him—that Buonaparte took lessons from Talma in declamation, and even that he practised with him to play his part of emperor. On this subject Talma says, "he played it well enough without me! surely he did not require a teacher." When Buonaparte was coming back from Egypt, after his conquest of that country, a scene occurred

at the theatre at Lyons, of an amusing kind, which is thus described by Ch. Maurice :—

"I was at Lyons, attending to my duties in a solicitor's office, when the general, Bonaparte, arrived from Egypt, and stopped in the town. He put up at the hotel just next the Theatre des Celestins, on the square of that name. When the news spread, the whole town crowded thither, and demanded to see the hero so perseveringly, that he appeared on the balcony, although it was very late in the evening. Without mentioning everything I saw, and passing over the official demonstrations, Bonneville, the manager of the theatre just named, went at once to look for Martainville, who was vegetating in that climate, in order to induce him to compose a piece *à propos*, which should be played on the morrow. The time for delay was very short, but this did not frighten the adventurous mind of the author, who at once set his wits to work. On his side, Bonneville paid a visit to the General, to make a request that he would be present at the performance, which was granted.

"Great was the haste in getting up the piece. A large table, laid out with a supper, at the same time simple and abundant, was prepared upon the stage. Martainville was seated there, scribbling away what two copiers could snatch from him, and then distribute piecemeal to the actors, who devoured with avidity their double food. At five o'clock in the morning, the various portions of this labour, approved of, rejected, mangled, scratched out, learned, forgotten, and finally pasted into the memory, were finally dignified with the title, 'The Hero Returned; or, Bonaparte at Lyons;' and each person went off to his bed. Martainville kept a part for himself. As soon as he got up, he went to search in the store-room for something with which to dress up, in any way, his characters.

"The hour is come; the theatre is choked with spectators. The General and his staff occupy the range of boxes, to the left of the audience, at a slight elevation over the stage. The actors come together and endeavour to remember, to recall to their recollection how in the piece, one is a father, another a young officer returning from the army, a third the rival, and such a lady the betrothed of the officer. But terror paralyses them, they can no longer remember what they thought they knew before. Too great a desire of succeeding, that powerful reason for acting worse than usually, caused a dreadful confusion in their minds. What is to happen? The bell rings three times; the curtain is raised.

"In his character of father of a family, born the day before, Bonneville opens the play. He tries to go through his part, but he forgets it; he articulates all he can think of, thinks of what he can, and run out in his invention, approaches the side scene to beg of Martainville to relieve him by coming forward. 'Keep up the glib,' answers the latter, always joking; 'I'll be with you in a moment.' At last he enters. For him the improvisation was easier; besides he acted the part of the officer, whose couplets, crammed with warriors, laurels, glory, and victory, only required a slight efforts of mnemonics. He stops suddenly and cries out, 'Behold my intended.' The actress

understands him, and appears completely confused, she mixes up what she has to say, with something which occurs to her out of one of her old parts. Her companion, happy at invention, suggests some expressions which recall her character; while Bonneville, who had some time to recover himself, assists both with some useful commonplace phrases. When the father and daughter are run out, the officer speaks and sings, and in order to annoy perfectly his odious rival, it suffices for him to interrupt the monosyllables, which the poor actor has scarcely strength to pronounce. So far everything went on beautifully, the piece might have been said to be a regular hit. The *apropos* succeeded one another rapidly, applause resounded through the house. At each *encore* which was called for, Martainville responded by a different couplet, which passed for a premeditated compliment, and the transports of the audience only burst forth still more madly. It was necessary, however, to make an end of it. How were they to come, without too sudden a finish, and always under the auspices of the hero, to the marriage, which was to relieve so many persons from embarrassment? No one could tell. The poetry was becoming languid, the music had lost its charm; the General, for whom the fête was given, had his thoughts bent on the Directoire; the actors cast furtive glances at each other with the greatest anxiety; but happily the audience still remained enthusiastic, when a great noise is suddenly heard. It comes from the side-scenes. Is it a part of the play; an unexpected incident?

"Suddenly a woman appears, her hair flying about, her dress deranged; it is evident that some one endeavored to restrain her. She holds in her hand a paper, which, running beneath the box, she throws to General Bonaparte, who stoops and takes it up. Then she falls down almost insensible, and is assisted by the actors and a crowd of persons who followed her on the stage. Martainville discovers in a few words what is the matter, and explains it to the audience. This woman's husband, condemned to death for uttering base coin, is to be executed on the morrow, and she profits by the unhopèd-for presence of the great captain, in order to save him.

"It may be well conceived with what a powerful degree of interest the scene is at once animated. The General casts his eyes over the petition, gives his assent to it by a nod, accompanied by a gesture of the hand, which leaves no doubt as to the issue; and while a fearful burst of shouts, applause, and *vivats* resounds even out to the square, the play is either finished or not, but every one weeps, sings, or blesses the conqueror of Egypt, and from a foolish undertaking, unexpectedly arises one of the most *piquante* historical scenes, which no premeditation could have at all produced.

"The next morning Bonaparte received Bonneville and his troupe, in which was a young girl, now Mme. Hervey, commissioned to recite to him a piece of poetry, with which he appeared very much pleased, although completely taken up with more important business."

Every one knows how much the theatres in France owe to Talma, in the improvement of costumes, especially in

subjects taken from ancient history. He studied in the most minute form ancient statues and other sources, the dresses of different ages, and adapted them to his parts. Vanhove, the father of his second wife, could not understand the sense of this improvement; "A fine step, indeed," said he, "they don't even put a pocket outside the thigh, in which one might keep the key of his box." Talma walked every evening to the comedy, with his wife leaning on his arm, from the Faubourg St. Germain, where he lived, a cotton cap pulled down on his ears to prevent himself from catching cold. In advanced age, when obliged to take a siacre, he thought that he was going altogether too fast. During his great intimacy with the First Consul, he often went to the Tuilleries to breakfast, and discussed political affairs, as well as theatrical, with the head of the nation.

One of the most remarkable writers of French comedy at the end of the last century, and even to nearly our own day, has been Nepomucene Lemercier, whom many have thought to be a madman or fool. He began by a piece, styled "Meleager," under the auspices of Mme. de Lamballe, and Marie Antoinette. This was never printed, and died a natural death. His second, "Clarisse Harlowe," in 1792, had some success; he became a thorough Revolutionist, attended the sittings of the convention, and from his sunken eyes, stupidity of expression, and the cries of anguish which the horrors of that assembly wrenched from his bosom, caused the women who attended the sittings to nickname him *L'Idiot*. This soubriquet is said to have saved him his life. He produced in 1795 the "*Tartuffe Revolutionnaire*," a good imitation of the original, and afterwards several tragedies, one of which, "*Agamemnon*," was crowned by the Directory in the Champs de Mars. In 1795, he became very intimate with Bonaparte, and afterwards often made use of that acquaintanceship, to speak out his mind pretty clearly. His knowledge of Beaumarchais led him to undertake a new species of Comedy, named "*Pinto*," under the Directory, in which he placed the Revolution and Republic in a most ridiculous point of view. It was forbidden, but the first consul demanded to have it read, and ordered its performance. Lemercier afterwards set about writing several poetical pieces, some of which he dedicated to Mme. Bonaparte.

When the Legion of Honor was created, the first consul ordered a brevet of it to be sent to the dramatist, who received it with pleasure and took the prescribed oath, but when the Empire was proclaimed in 1804, he sent back his brevet to Lacépède, with a letter to the citizen Bonaparte, first consul, to whom he had said three days before; "you are amusing yourself in making the bed of the Bourbons; well! I predict that you will not sleep in it during ten years." At another discussion between them, Lemer cier became quite red from irritation, when Bonaparte asked, "what is the matter with you, you have become quite red?" "And you are perfectly pale," answered Lemer cier, "each of us has a peculiar manner, when anything irritates either of us two, I become red, and you grow pale." Bonaparte always designated him afterwards as a fanatic.

He produced in 1808, "*Plaute, ou la Comédie Latine*," in which he introduced the Latin dramatist, conducting a piece, and introducing the personages. It had not much success, notwithstanding the efforts of Talma. When Napoleon returned from his disastrous campaign in Russia, he met Lemer cier, and asked him, when he was to give them another fine tragedy. The reply; "*Bientôt j'attends*," (soon, I am waiting,) was strange, when coupled with the odd species of prediction given before respecting the bed of the Bourbons. Several other comedies were brought out by him, one "*La Panhypocrisiade*," in which M. Victor Hugo says, "man is given by God as a spectacle to the devils." His last piece, "*la Heroine de Montpellier*," in which he depicts in a faithful and animated style, the manners of France at the commencement of the 18th century, was performed at Paris, in 1836, and at first not duly appreciated. He had been long a member of the French Academy, and put himself up for the representation of one of the *arrondissement* of Paris in 1831. Since his birth almost he had been subject to attacks of that frightful disease, paralysis, which carried him off at length in 1840. To it has been ascribed by many, some of the most striking defects in his plays, as well as several singular actions of his life.

Bonaparte was the first to appoint a commissary from government, to inspect the affairs of the Theatre Français. It was he also who united the two companies after the Revolution, in the Rue de Richelieu, and not perceiving the name of St. Prix, whom he had seen playing in the *Mort d'Abel*,

on the list, he cried out for him "Cain, ! Cain, !" and insisted that he should be of the troupe. It may be remembered by every one how he commanded the attendance of the Comédie Française, at Dresden, to drive away *ennui* from his army, and astonish two emperors and empresses and innumerable German princes. He caused Talma and Mlle. Mars to play at Erfurth in "*la mort de César*," a rather ominous piece, before the Emperor of all the Russias. The members of the Theatre Français, who went to Dresden, had lodgings provided for them before hand, and 1,500 francs, each, for general expenses. They played three times a-week, were well received, and courted every where, and Fleury says :—that he, Talma, Mlle. Mars, and a few others, received 10,000 francs each, afterwards for their services.

When Mlle. Mars was going into Dresden, her carriage was overturned, and she suffered some slight injury. Napoleon at once sent his physician, Desgenettes, to her assistance. This man, being very polite, after doing his medical office, entered into conversation with the actress, and displayed all the gallantry he was possessed of, accompanied by a peculiar manner, and gestures, for which he was remarkable. Fleury, who perceived this, studied the Doctor's style, and at a party in the evening, reproduced the gestures and manner so faithfully, that the guests cried out it was Desgenettes, to the life. The Doctor, hearing of it, insisted on seeing his own portrait acted, invited Fleury, and had the whole scene with Mlle. Mars done over again, to his own infinite delight, and that of the party present.

Dugazon, whose name appears so often in Fleury's memoirs, was celebrated for his playing characters in private.

He was once invited to dine with Barras, but at the time appointed, in his stead appeared an old peasant woman, who spoke a villainous *patois*, and bursting through the servants, went up to the Director, and gave a long history of her only *feu* (*fil*s, son,) who had been taken for the proscription, and begged that he would allow her to get him back. Barras, who wished to proceed with his dinner, at length granted her request, on which she went out, and shortly afterwards Dugazon came in, and addressed the host in the same pathos which the old woman had spoken. Another time he presented himself before Napoleon, as a *curé*, but the Emperor recognized him, and though he did not show any anger at

the time, yet he never forgot it. Dugazon's description of Mlle. Georges, was rather odd; he always designated her from one of her principal characters, as "the Queen of Carthage eating salad with a tin fork."

The names of celebrated actors and actresses of the time of the Empire are so numerous, and the remarkable traits and stories concerning them so minute and varied, that it would be impossible to hint at even a tithe of what is related. Notwithstanding the great rivalry existing among them a strong esprit de corps bound them together; they were ever ready to assist one another, or any of their friends. Among the latter was one much respected, the celebrated Delille, author of the *Dithyranibe*, at the time of the *Deesse de la Raison*. He had earned the title of *Abbé*, by his age, good qualities, and general pleasing manners. His friends, the actors, got up the following scene for his amusement.

"In the quiet of his last years, the Abbé Delille ranked among his old culinary pleasures, the dinners which he had consumed at the *Cadran Bleu*, on the Boulevard du Temple, near the Rue Charlot. At St. Prix's house, where I have seen him often enough, he showed one day, so lively a desire to try them again, that a party was arranged at once for the following week. But afterwards, fearing that he might not enjoy himself there so much as in his youth, an idea was hit upon and carried out in the following manner. It must be remembered that M. Delille was almost completely blind.

"On the day fixed, a fiacre brought the Abbé, his wife, and Tissot, the *suppléant* of Delille at the French college, to the house, Rue du Cherchemidi, belonging to M. and Mme. St. Prix, which had been prepared on purpose. Scarcely had the Abbé alighted from the vehicle under the gateway, than he was delighted by the odour of 'the kitchen, whose perfume only exists among the restaurateurs.' This was the smell of a boiled cutlet, which the porter was told to have, on his passing by, while the woman cried out, 'Fine oysters all fresh, my fine gentleman.' 'Yes, yes,' answered Delille, 'open some of them, my good woman.' They ascended to the first floor, the suite of apartments was all open. Tables of two, three, or four persons were ranged along, occupied by the actors of this comedy, which might have been called, 'Delille in the Tavern.' Each one had his part allotted to him, from which it was agreed not to deviate, in order that the illusion might be carried as far as possible. Picard was a captain of a vessel, crying out starboard, larboard, &c., and dining by chance at the *Cadran Bleu*. Barré, Radet, and Desfontaines were good citizens, who understood nothing of theatrical affairs, but great lovers of the pleasures of the table. Chambon, the treasurer of the Vaudeville, had come to Paris to learn arithmetic, and was going away afterwards to keep the books of a grocer at Quimper-Corentin. Etienne Jourdan, the ballad singer, was a misanthrope, who was annoyed at fun, and thought that there was too

much noise continually made in the room. I, myself, was called Guibert de Pixérécourt, and I roared at the slowness of the waiters, who would prevent me from being present, when the curtain was raised at the performance of one of my melo-dramas at the Ambigu. So on with the other guests, eating, drinking, speaking loud, and clinking their glasses, bottles, and plates, in order to produce a general impression of reality in the scene. But it may be easily supposed, that the best of these accidental comedians was Baptiste, junior, in whom nature was personified. He had taken on himself, accordingly, several characters and even the most difficult of those in our *scenario*. The first was that of the tavern waiter, whose duty it was to attend the principal table, where St. Prix, Mme St. Prix, Delille, his wife, and Tissot were sitting. He sustained his part so well, varying it with changes of voice and manner, that not only did the Abbé Delille believe that there were several persons, but even we ourselves did not recognise him.

"From an apparently neighbouring room, there resounded sharp, broken words, sometimes ireful, sometimes respectful, in two different accents, one English, the other French. The first was that of a young lady, trembling, uneasy, and irritated; the second seemed like that of a son of Albion, amorous, beseeching, begging for silence in a low voice; both most agreeable in their tones. Everyone is silent and listens. Delille is the first to perceive the existence of this Britannico-Gallic tête-à-tête, in which the feminine portion is exposed to the rash attack of a merciless assailant. The Abbé, on his side, begs that no one should speak, in order that they might the better hear, 'what only occurs in taverns.' The dispute is renewed in the room; milord perseveres, Lodoiska resists; she is about to cry out; curses, tears, oaths succeed one another. The sound of golden pieces is followed by an evident treaty of peace. Then the bell rings and the waiter comes in, appearing not to perceive the disturbance of the furniture. Baptiste had played all that, and in such a comic, true style, that without having lost sight of him, we thought that something similar had happened in the side-room. Our suppressed laughter was only the more ticklesome; Delille participated in it with complete confidence, felicitating himself on his idea of revisiting his dear *Cudraz Bleu*.

"A hurdy-gurdy is heard in the court-yard, which itself acts the part of boulevard. A singer accompanies it, playing on the violin. It is proposed that the latter should come up by himself. He arrives, and Delille asks him to give us a specimen of his best collection. Off goes Baptiste, junior, a Stradivarius with a maimed hand, scraping, grinding out impossible sounds, and chaunting the lay of the 'Little Collet and the post-donkey.' This is the story of a poor young man, belated on his journey, and obliged, for want of the diligence, which passed while he was asleep, to try and follow up his road by riding. But, alas! he is a seminariste; how is he to get along? The cursed ass, who perhaps feels the inexperience of his rider, hoises, rears, only advances a few paces, and always goes back to his stable. As each couplet is sung with a most comical voice, the Abbé Delille cocks his ear, expresses his surprise in monosyllables, remembers the

occurrence, and at length cries out: 'That's mine—'tis to me that happened—between Beaucaire and Tarascon, in 17—,' and he could not understand either what had led to the telling of the story, or who the person was who had chaunted it so exactly. Radet, Desfontaines, and Barré made a sign to us that they wished to keep it secret. The singer, handsomely rewarded by the whole company, goes away with many demonstrations of gratitude, and making us burst laughing by his drollery.

"When the dinner was over, Tissot asked Delille if he would like to go and take his coffee at the *Jardin Turc*, which he knows the Abbé has heard much about. 'That will be so much the more easy,' said he, 'because we can go thither on this floor.' Delille accepts the proposal. After bringing him through the same rooms, they come to the last of the suite, in which Mme. St. Prix, sitting at something which passes for a counter, and changing the tone of her voice, plays admirably the character of the handsome lemonade-woman, in the midst of us, who continue to act our parts, suiting them to the pretended locality. Mine had become easy, and full of invention, on account of the supposed holiday which had been given at the Ambigu, and which put off my melo-drama for a week.

"When going away the Abbé Delille declared, that he amused himself more than he had expected, and that he would never forget it. He never found out of what elements his pleasure was compounded; he was too great a favorite to be told it; it was a mark of respect towards him to keep it a secret."

We have before spoken of the rule at the Comédie Française to have two actors or actresses for each rôle, the *premier sujet*, and the *double*. This caused a vast deal of rivalry and often ill feeling in the theatre. Mlles. Dumesnil and Clairon were rivals, as we have seen; so were Mlles. Mars and Bourgoïn, Bourgoïn and Volnois, and numbers of others. The *premier sujet* had a right to play, if she liked, though her *double* was appointed to appear in the piece. This occurred once between Mlles. Bourgoïn and Volnois; the latter was announced for *Zaire*, but the former, thinking herself slighted, dressed for the part, and came on the stage before her *double*, who was obliged to retire. This kept back often for a long while, very good actors behind older ones of little merit, and has led to a great falling off in the performances. Talma and Fleury were thus put out of sight for a considerable time by Molé, Dugazon, and others; in fact, the age of love had almost past for the latter, before he was able to attain standing sufficient to entitle him to play the part of a lover. There were, and are still, certain recognized general characters, such as *jeunes-premierès*, *jeunes-princesses*, *ingénuités*, *soubrettes*, *amoureuses*,

valet, &c., some one of which each actor and actress was supposed to do better than others, and to fulfil which, he or she was assigned. This limited very much the talent of each, though perhaps it occasioned a greater perfection in the particular part, on the principle of the division of labor.

Notwithstanding Napoleon's great expression of friendship for Talma, the latter did not seem to regret him much; he was the first actor of the Theatre Français to read on the stage the verses of Briffaut against the fallen conqueror. At the end of the recital, he waved his hand and cried "Vive le Roi." On the 8th April, 1814, when the Emperor of Russia went to the theatre, Talma and Fleury were deputed to present an address. They were both dressed in black coats, *à la Française*, but the first appeared to be very anxious to be remarked and taken notice of by the great sovereign, while Fleury handed the play-bill to the prince, with a noble, respectful, and sad air, with which the whole house appeared to be struck.

A great peculiarity has been observed in the manner of several actors, in studying their parts. The ordinary comedians learned them off quite glibly, and while the play was going on, chatted at the side scenes, and strolled about while awaiting their moment for entering on the stage. Not so with Talma, Fleury, Molé, Dugazon, and other great actors, who were never visible for two days before they acted any important character, no matter how often it had been produced. Even during the performance Talma had the book always in his hand, and putting it now and then close to his eyes, on account of his short sight, exercised his memory continually; made himself master of his rôle, and then strode on the stage thoroughly imbued with it. Once, when just about to enter in the tragedy of Hamlet, he seized his own valet by the collar, shook him violently, and pitching him away from him, rushed upon the scene, with all the marks of madness which were required to fulfil his part. "That gives me," said he to Maurice, "the nervous irritation required to commence with."

This great performer played, for the last time, in Lemercier's "Charles VI.," on the 18th June, 1826, and died the October following, rather suddenly, of some internal malady, after thirty-six years of continued success in his profession. His body was transferred to Père la Chaise,

amid all the honors which the literary men of Paris could bestow upon it. His bust, by David d'Angers, occupies a very prominent position in the foyer of the Theatre Français. Though a good actor of comedy, yet his forte lay in tragic parts, like his contemporaries, Mdlles. Duchesnois and Georges, both of whom made their debut in 1802, and were almost exclusively confined to tragedy. Once only did either of these actresses attempt a comic character, and though neither failed, it was evident that their talent lay principally in the serious drama.

Our short space will not allow us to give any lengthened sketch of the state of French comedy, from the period of the first empire. Anyone, who is at all familiar with the French stage of the last half century, must easily recognise the names and works of the principal dramatic authors. If we run our eye over the rôles which Mdlle. Mars played since 1803, we shall find the chief contributors to comedy, within that period, to be Collin d'Harleville, Duval, Lermcier, Andrieux, Roger, de Lesser, Désaugiers, Arnault, Mme. Gay, Scribe, Casimir de la Vigne, Picard, Alfred de Vigny, Frederic Soulié, Victor Hugo, &c., in fact their name may be called legion, and their pieces reckoned by hundreds. Scribe alone has written some 300 plays, besides vaudevilles, eighty of which have been brought out at the Theatre Français. Mediocrity is the only general characteristic of these productions, coupled with this, that many of them outrage all decency and morality, and take too great an advantage of the liberties of the *Romantique*, to destroy all unity of time, place, or action. The answer of the presiding judge of one of the criminal courts in Paris, to Alex. Dumas, who was produced as a witness in a trial for murder, will serve to show the estimation in which some of these writers are held in France. When asked what was his profession, Dumas replied bombastically: "*Monsieur, je dirais auteur dramatique, si je n'étais dans la patrie de Corneille.*" "*Mais, Monsieur,*" replied the witty president, "*il ya des degrés.*" Victor Hugo's play, "*Le Roi d'amuse,*" produced in 1832, is a burlesque on the historical heroes of France, and rejected by the public, was prohibited by the government.

Of the comedians who have appeared during the last half century many of them are celebrated names, such as

St. Prix, the two Baptistes, Laffon, Jouy, Arnault, Devigny, St. Phal, &c., fit to rival Molé, Monvel, or Fleury. Our space will not, however, allow us to notice more than two, and these actresses, Mdles. Mars and Rachel. The former, daughter of the famous Monvel, made her debut in 1793, at the Theatre Montansier, and shortly afterwards became a pupil of Mdle. Contat. The latter found her rather extravagant in gesture, and tied up her right arm with a small cord, but as the young actress became excited with her part, the bond was burst and full liberty given to her action; "Bravo," cried Mdle. Contat, "that is the full expression of good comedy—little or no gesture until passion breaks the bond of appearances." She became a *pensionnaire* of the Theatre Française in 1799, and two years afterwards a *sociétaire* for the character of *ingénues*, which the famous critic, Geoffroy, declares she performed to perfection. The retirement of Mdle. Contat in 1810 gave free scope for her talent in the parts of the *grandes coquettes*, and the roles *habillés*. Her great talent consisted in her perfectly natural style, although she studied thoroughly every portion of her play, left nothing to chance, and yet concealed completely the effect of preparation. Many historiettes have been told about this great comedian, her frequent attempts at marriage, her liaisons with Napoleon, and in particular that she always wore violets on the 20th March, the day of her death, and the saying attributed to her, "Il n'y a rien de commun entre Mars et les Gardes-du-corps." These are generally unfounded inventions of the *feuilletonists*. One anecdote is, however, recorded by Maurice: Louis XVIII. sent her a magnificent pair of earrings after one of her best performances, on which she remarked, "l'autre (meaning Napoleon) n'aurait pas fait autant," at which one of the actresses present remarked, "mais il vous a souvent donné plus qu'il ne fallait pour avoir de meilleurs." She died in 1847, having long before retired from the stage.

Mdle. Rachel's death has been so recently before the public, with many different accounts of her life, that it is completely unnecessary to do more than allude to her position. She was principally remarkable for her performance of tragic pieces, although her first tastes were directed towards the most piquante female characters of Molière

M. de St. Aulaire, her instructor, perceived her greater adaptability for the former class of characters, and endeavoured to confine her to them in vain. Her debut was made in 1837, in the "Vendéenne." She appeared, for the first time, at the Theatre Français, in "Les Horaces," in 1838. Her peculiarity consisted in not declaiming, but speaking her part in the most natural and unaffected manner, at the same time often with tremendous energy. Her income, at first only 4000 francs a year, mounted in two years to 20,000, and has since attained the figure of 300 or 400,000 francs, chiefly earned during the congés allowed to her of six months out of twelve by the Theatre Française. Her father, who was originally a Jew hawker in Switzerland, has been for several years living magnificently on her bounty at Montmorency.

This subject has been already drawn out to too great a length, although the matter with which it might be amply filled, is sufficiently abundant to afford several successive papers. The difficulty of dealing with it lies more in the necessity for compressing and putting it into a connected form, in which a writer might be very materially aided by any book in our language which would treat of the French drama historically as a whole: no such work exists in English, or at least is not easily discoverable by any one who may have need thereof; and those which have appeared in France, are either out of print or very difficult to be got at. This, however, is a subject which would well repay the labours of any eminent literary man.

A word more as to the present position of the French drama. The revolution has caused such a change in public opinion, and has emancipated so much the ideas of the habitués, that authors must run along with the age, and endeavour to find out something novel and striking in every piece they produce. Utility and morality are thrown overboard, scenic representation, and strange positions and characters have obtained a mastery over everything rational and natural: hence arise the curious incongruities and absurdities which encumber the Theatre Français at the present day, the outré style of drama, which is produced to agree with the corrupt taste of the times. Our own stage is becoming infected with this species of malady, through the numerous translations which come across the

channel; the French have the merit of invention, and the English are fools enough to choose the most deleterious of their compounds to minister to the British nation. It is true that now and then a spark of national taste is revived, and the French comedy brings out the master-pieces of her best dramatists, but there is no excitement attendant on them, the house does not fill—the public would prefer a good vaudeville or the nonsense of an opera comique. Everything human must decline, but it is hoped that when this age of novel-writing, bloody-drama-concocting, extravagant revolutionizers, has passed away, there may dawn another era, when the classical comedy in France will become worthy of its great founder, Molière.

ART. V.—PATRIOTS AND PROSELYTIZERS.

A Letter to Lord St. Leonards on the Management of the Patriotic Fund, and the Application of Public Moneys to Proselytizing Purposes. By the Most Rev Dr. Cullen, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Third edition, enlarged. Dublin: James Duffy, 7, Wellington quay, Publisher to his Grace, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. 1857.

Scarcely had the festivities attendant upon the proclamation of peace with Russia concluded, when England was again disturbed from the repose she had just begun to enjoy by intelligence of a mutiny amongst her native troops in India. At first it was supposed to be only the disaffection of a few companies, which the authority of their officers, backed by the vicinity of the European soldiers, would suffice to quell. But on receipt of more precise information, it was discovered that the insubordination was more extensive than the people of these countries could have imagined. Every mail brought accounts of some fresh outbreak. The mutineers murdered their officers, took possession of the military stations, expelled the royal forces, and committed the most frightful ravages. Neither age nor sex afforded any protection from their unbridled fury. Tender babes, feeble old men, and delicate females, were alike the victims of their brutal violence; and those who escaped with life from their ruthless persecutors, carried with them painful reminiscences of the appalling scenes through which they had passed. So serious did the danger appear to many, that it was at one time feared the power of England in India was at an end. But the vigour of the government at home, and the good feeling manifested by the native population in India, combined to extinguish the flame of insurrection, which otherwise might have been attended with most disastrous consequences. For it is to be observed that the native population, except in Oude, refrained from taking part in this revolt, and that whatever atrocities have been committed, are attributable solely to the savage cruelty of the Sepoys. But although this attempt has been repressed, and order partially re-established, the

sufferers, from the excesses of these military rebels, were found to be reduced to almost utter destitution. To alleviate the misery of their condition, and to compensate, as far as possible, the losses they had sustained, it was determined that a national subscription should be organised to provide a fund for the relief of our fellow-countrymen in the East. Accordingly a committee was appointed and authorised to receive contributions, from those who desired to participate in so praiseworthy a project. This was the origin of the "Indian Relief Fund," which, benevolent in its inception, may, if judiciously and impartially administered, achieve the most beneficial results. To this fund the people of England contributed with their characteristic generosity. Nor were they alone in this good work. Foreigners, emulating the bright example, hastened to contribute, desirous thereby to testify their detestation of the cruelties which had been practised, and their sympathy with those who had endured such hardship through the inhumanity of the Sepoys. One class of the community, however, kept aloof, and refrained from co-operating in this great undertaking. The Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom, but chiefly the Roman Catholics of Ireland, refused to contribute to this fund. Such conduct naturally excited considerable comment, and a portion of the press did not hesitate to brand us as "Sepoys" in feeling, wanting only an opportunity to re-enact, in these countries, the frightful scenes by which the revolt in India had been characterised. No doubt they hoped, by aspersing our motives, to weaken the effect and detract from the value of any representations we might make, as to the causes which had induced us to act in this manner. Undeterred, however, by any such disheartening anticipations, the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, addressed from Rome, whither he had gone on business connected with his diocese, a letter to the Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, than whom there is not a more liberal-minded, generous, saintly priest in the Irish Church, intimating his Grace's satisfaction at learning that a subscription was about being made, for the relief of our fellow-countrymen who had been reduced to destitution by the revolt in India. Having expressed his Grace's abhorrence of the outrages perpetrated by the Sepoys, his sincere sympathy with the

sufferers from these excesses, and his hope that the efforts made to relieve them might be attended with success, the Archbishop thus proceeds :—

However, before we take any step in the matter, or call on our flocks to do so, perhaps it would be well to inquire how the fund about to be raised is to be managed, and whether there is any danger that it may be applied by bigots to proselytizing purposes. The recollection of late transactions excites doubts in my mind on this head. In the year 1854 you subscribed to the Patriotic Fund, and you were kind enough to hand in my contribution for the same object. I think, also, that on the same occasion the Catholics of Dublin subscribed very generously according to their means. Now, how was that fund managed? You recollect, and Canon Grimley recollects, that Catholic clergymen of Dublin applied to the managers of the fund in favour of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea; yet, as far as I could learn, not one shilling was then obtained by such applications. When relief was granted in Dublin, a parson was always employed to administer it; and I have heard that he generally selected a Protestant church or vestry as the place for doling it out, thus compelling poor Catholic widows to undergo the mortification of visiting a house of worship which it is against their feelings and conscience ever to enter, and perhaps of waiting for him there before they could see the agent from whom they were to receive assistance. You will also recollect that the good Sisters of Mercy, and of St. Clare, and other religious communities, offered their services to the managers of the Patriotic Fund, for the education, at a very trifling expense, of the female orphans of the Catholic soldiers. Answers were sent to their proposals, but I believe there was not one single orphan committed to their care in Dublin, and I suppose the same may be said of the rest of Ireland. Nor is it to be imagined that the proposals of the good sisters were rejected for want of funds. There was an abundance of money in the hands of the committee; but in the impartial exercise of their powers, they thought fit to apply it to the erection or endowment of Protestant institutions. The *Times* of the 9th of June, 1856 (if I well recollect) informed us that the committee assigned £140,000 or £ 5,000 per annum, for the education of 300 daughters of sailors and soldiers, together with £20,000 for a house and grounds. As nearly one-half of the army consist of Catholics, very probably one-half of the orphans to be received in the projected house will be of the same religion. Now, let me ask, how many Catholics will be employed in superintending the education of these Catholic children? Most probably there will not be even one; and, under such circumstances, what chance will the poor children have of retaining the religion of their fathers?

“ Besides the grant of £160,000, just mentioned, the *Times* of the same date informs us that an endowment of £25,000 was granted to the Wellington College; £3,000 to the Cambridge Asylum for widows; to the naval school at New Cross; £5,000 to the female school at Richmond; and £3,000 to the naval and military schools at Plymouth and Portsmouth.—These seem to be all grants to Protestant institutions and for Protestant education.

Not a shilling voted, it would appear, to give a Catholic education to Catholic orphans!

I am most anxious that everything possible should be done to relieve the sufferers in India; let us, however, have some security that the funds collected will not be applied to the foundation of Protestant asylums for the perversion of poor Catholic orphans. The management of the Patriotic Fund shows how necessary it is for us to be cautious. The continual complaints of Catholic bishops and missionaries in India about the attempts made by the East India Company to proselytize, should increase our alarm. Read Doctor Fennelly's late pamphlet, and you will see to what an extent that Company has attempted to promote Protestantism by perverting the orphans of Irish Catholic soldiers. It appears to me that the proper time for coming to a fair understanding about these matters is before any fund is collected.

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

The Canon Grimley here referred to, is a highly respectable and most estimable clergyman, who officiates as Roman Catholic chaplain to the Dublin garrison, we may say without remuneration, for there is, we believe, no specific sum allotted for his services, and the paltry pittance annually paid by government to the parish priest for the use of his church, is by him, with Canon Grimley's assent, handed over, minus the income tax, which the authorities deduct, to an institution devoted to the education of deaf and dumb children. This letter of the Archbishop created not a little sensation. The press ransacked its vocabulary of vituperation for insulting epithets to heap upon him. "The Ultramontane Sepoy," was too mild a term to be applied to one who had presumed to question the management of a fund administered under a Royal Commission. His style was criticised, but his facts could not be disproved. There they are, challenging denial, yet remaining uncontradicted. If his Grace's statistics, extracted from the authorised report of the Royal Patriotic Commissioners, published in the *Times* of the 9th of June, 1856, be true, his accusation is well-founded; if false, they can be easily shown to be so, not, however, by a vague assertion of his being ill-informed upon a subject with which every reader of the *Times* must have been acquainted, but by the production of the correct report, stating the manner in which the various sums, at the disposal of the Royal Commissioners, were allocated. The latter course has not, and could not, have been pursued, and, therefore, we are justified in regarding his Grace's

statement as true. If so how do the Commissioners stand in relation to the public? The Commissioners were appointed by her Majesty, as the head of the state, trustees, to administer a fund, subscribed by the nation, for certain specified purposes. How has that trust been carried out? Was it the intention of the contributors to that fund, that it should be allocated to Protestant institutions and to Protestant purposes *solely*, or was it not rather intended to provide for the education or maintenance of those who had been deprived of their parents or husbands by death in battle, or while on active service in the field? Surely the latter. And if so then the Commissioners were thereby placed in the position of those protectors whom death had taken away, and were bound to see that the survivors, the objects of national bounty, should not be prejudiced by the loss they had sustained, which loss the Commissioners were appointed in some measure to supply. If then the Commissioners in the discharge of their duty, considered it competent to them to allot nearly a quarter of a million to institutions confessedly Protestant, surely it was within the scope of their authority to allot a proportionate sum for the maintenance or education of the Catholic widows and orphans of Catholic soldiers who fell in the Crimea. This they did not do, and what appears as the result? Out of seven hundred orphans, dependant upon the charity of the country, six hundred and eighty-six have been sent to these schools endowed by the Commissioners, while but fourteen have been permitted to be educated in Catholic institutions and this not without a struggle.

Such is the report up to November last; since then a few more children have been rescued from these patriotic proselytizers. Now estimating at the lowest calculation the relative numbers of Irish Catholics in the English army (say one third) and certainly it will appear that the number of children educated as Catholics shows a startling disproportion, a disproportion not borne out by the statistics of any other class of her majesty's subjects in which a similar relativeness exists. We would not object to the course adopted by the commissioners had we any guarantee that Catholic teachers would be appointed in proportion to the Catholic pupils. But even this poor consolation is denied us. And what, let us ask, will be the character of the reli-

gious education, without which all secular teaching is worse than useless, given by Protestants to Catholics? How can the former conscientiously teach the latter doctrines they believe to be erroneous? Can it be supposed that the deportment of these Protestant teachers while discharging this, to them irksome duty, will be such as to impress their hearers with a proper respect for those sacred mysteries which Catholics hold in such deep reverence, but which they have been taught to scoff at and ridicule? How will these teachers be able to define "Faith," which Catholics look upon as a gift from heaven, a divine virtue which can come only from God, whereas one of the great luminaries of the church of England,* an archbishop, has declared it to be merely a "*fairness in listening to evidence, and judging accordingly without being carried away by prejudice and inclination?*" How could they explain to their class that tremendous mystery in which Catholics believe the living God to be offered up, in an unbloody manner, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, when their principles compel them to regard the "Sacrament of the Lord's Supper" as but a memorial of that great sacrifice consummated on Calvary? The effect of Baptism, the efficacy of penance, the authority of the church, the necessity of good works, the number of the sacraments, devotion to the ever Blessed Virgin, &c.—these being matters in regard to which both parties are at issue, sound views according to Catholic theology could not be infused into the minds of Catholic pupils by Protestant professors. And then what influence would such teaching, even supposing it to be given with accuracy, from such lips have upon the moral sense of the pupils? Would it not be calculated to infect their youthful minds with indifferentism or infidelity when they heard doctrines opposed to the principles of their masters, promulgated for money? And further will it not occur to the most shallow thinker that Catholics would not be justified in permitting their children to be taught by such masters? It may be said that Protestants, believing their religion to be the true one, are bound to make every effort to induce those not belonging to their communion, to renounce the errors in which they have been brought up, and enter within that fold wherein is safety. But the answer to this is plain and

* Dr. Whately.

simple. In the first place, Protestants hold that salvation is attainable outside their church. In the second place, Catholics believe as firmly as do Protestants, that *their* church is the true church, "the pillar and the ground of truth," and are therefore as anxious to preserve their children in that faith as the Protestants can be to induce them to depart from it; and finally, the patriotic commission was placed by the country *in loco parentis*, and therefore it was the business of this body to enquire into the religious belief of the parent whose paternal care and duty they were elected to discharge, and it was one of the obligations contracted by the committee on accepting the appointment, to see that the children who had been made a charge for them should be placed in such institutions as those in which, had the father survived, they would have been placed; that they should receive such an education as their fathers would have desired, and that such a sum should be allocated as would be sufficient to carry out these objects.

The commissioners should never have allowed the authority with which they were invested, and the influence which the power of the purse too often, unhappily, confers, to be wrested from the legitimate purpose for which they were intended, to the accomplishment of the aims of a bigoted faction. But we fear that the characteristics of political ambition which the dramatist describes when he says

"Comprendi
Che l'uomo ambizioso é uom crudele
Tra le sue mire di grandezza e lui
Metti il capo del padre e del fratello
Calcherà l'uno e l'altro : e farà d'ambo
Sgabello ai piedi per salir sublime,"

may with equal truth be attributed to religious fanaticism. For that, too, tramples under foot all the relations which society considers binding, disregards the obligation of the most sacred trust, and perverts man's noblest tendencies to the accomplishment of its nefarious projects.

The question of the truth or falsehood of particular religions was not intended, and should not be permitted, to be an element in the allotment of the patriotic fund. Had these children been the offspring of Mahomedan parents, we conceive the committee were bound to have them reared in those particular principles.

If, on the other hand, the Commissioners, in a spirit of compromise, order that there shall be no religious teaching in those schools, but that each may pursue his own course without let or hindrance, what an awful responsibility do they not contract. "Train up a child," says the wise man. Yes, like a tender sapling he must be trained. The evil excrescences which a nature prone to sin necessarily produces must be pruned, the wayward tendencies of childhood must be checked, in his weakness he must be propped up : the irregularities incident to youth must be corrected, and the emotions, the feelings, the talents, the aspirations, must be watched, cherished, directed to just purposes, and limited within proper bounds, to the end that a well-ordered and healthy maturity may be developed. This desirable result can be attained only by a religious and literary education combined. So necessary indeed has this combination been, considered, that some of our ablest statesmen have not hesitated to declare religion an *essential* part of everything worthy of the name of education. In a debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of separate grants to the schools of each religious denomination, Lord Morpeth (now Earl of Carlisle), is reported to have said : " We might have taken a uniform scheme, in which we might have prescribed the same course to all alike without adverting to the existing methods, and without adopting any special method of religious teaching ; but I believe, in my conscience, that such a plan would not have met with the consent either of parliament or of the people." The religious education here mentioned and alluded to by those to whom we shall immediately refer, does not consist in merely telling children " to be good," they must be taught how. Strong principles of virtue must be inculcated ; the temptations and difficulties which beset the path of life should be pointed out ; courage to resist and fortitude to bear with those besetting evils of their career, should be carefully instilled into their youthful hearts. In the same debate Lord Mahon said : " For his own part he considered that if the state should confine itself to secular education, without associating it with religion, it would be doing absolutely worse than nothing." Lord John Russell said : " I do not think that the future minister, contemplated by the honorable member (Mr. Roebuck), is likely to have a very long tenure of power, if

'vote for education without religion' should be placed on his banner, and that schools entirely secular should be established by the state." Sir Robert Peel thus spoke: "I am for a religious, as opposed to a secular, education. I do not think that a secular education would be acceptable to the people of this country. I believe, as the noble Lord (John Russell) has said, that such an education is only half an education, but with the most important half neglected."

Need we add anything to these observations. Surely nothing can be more conclusive. And the necessity of a religious education being admitted, the question arises, does the term "religious education" apply to every other sect, and exclude only the members of the Catholic persuasion. We apprehend that such a distinction was never contemplated by the legislature, for in the measure which gave rise to the above quoted speeches, the rights of the Catholics are fully recognised. The teaching in their schools, endowed by this act, is Catholic, and everything connected with the system Catholic. Yet in this great public body, acting under the sanction of a royal commission, the rights of the Catholic children of Catholic soldiers are disregarded. It is a principle of the constitution that the child should be brought up in the religion of the father, but notwithstanding this well-established rule, the children of poor Catholic soldiers are seized upon by the proselytizing agents of the commissioners, and compelled either to forfeit all chance of protection or abandon their faith. Such is the fate which England has ordained for the children of those brave soldiers who have shed their blood in copious streams to defend her empire, increase her dominion, and exalt her power.

The letter of his Grace the Archbishop, above quoted, drew forth from Lord St. Leonards a statement, in the form of a note, addressed to the Editor of the *Times*, and published in that influential and authoritative journal. This statement attributes to the Archbishop, notwithstanding his Grace's express declaration to the contrary, a desire to "induce Roman Catholics to withhold their aid from the Relief Fund for the sufferers in India." Lest we might inadvertently omit any material part of this statement, we give his lordship's letter in extenso:—

To the Editor of the Times.

"SIR,

I have just read with much surprise and regret the contents of a letter in your journal of this morning, written by Archbishop Cullen, dated from Rome, and addressed to one of his vicars-general, with the object, as it seems, of inducing Roman Catholics to withhold their aid from the Relief Fund for the sufferers in India. If he really believes that there is danger that the fund may be applied 'by bigots to proselytizing purposes,' his better course would be to raise by the subscriptions of Roman Catholics a separate fund for the relief of the sufferers of their own persuasion, in that respect following apparently the example of a higher authority in the Roman Catholic Church. But could anything be more unwise? Is this a moment to add a drop to the cup of bitterness between the two churches? The heart of every man beats warmly in favour of our suffering and brave soldiers and fellow-subjects in India, without reference to creed. I cannot believe that any subscriber has considered whether his donation will relieve a Protestant or a Roman Catholic. The Sultan of Turkey has set us an example in his munificent subscription which may make us Christians ashamed of insisting upon differences between our churches as a ground for not subscribing to the general fund. Roman Catholic equally with Protestant blood has been freely shed with a noble daring in defence of our sovereignty in the East. Christians of all denominations have suffered torture and death in their most savage forms, and the object of the subscribers is to alleviate the suffering of those who survive. It is treason to humanity to suppose that the fund will not be honestly dedicated to the sacred purposes for which it is designed. Still, I should not have felt it my duty to make any remark on Dr. Cullen's letter, had he abstained from attacking the management of the Patriotic Fund as regards the widows and orphans of Roman Catholic soldiers during the period I had the honor of being chairman of the executive and finance committee. According to his statement, applications were made by Catholic clergymen of Dublin to the manager of the fund, in favor of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea, yet, as far as he could learn, not one shilling was then obtained by such applications. Now, I assert that no application for the relief of any widow or orphan of a soldier killed in the Crimea was ever rejected or neglected, although I think it probable that applications by Roman Catholic clergymen of Dublin for money to be remitted to them for distribution by them among claimants of their own creed were not complied with. But I say, without fear of contradiction, that in distributing relief no question ever arose as to the religious persuasion of the claimant, except so far as to make the mode of payment as agreeable as it might be to the recipient. Archbishop Cullen then states that when relief was granted in Dublin, a parson was always employed to administer it, and he had heard that he generally selected a Protestant church or vestry as the place of doing it out. I never heard, during the many months of my attendance on the duties of my office as chairman of the committee, any complaint of the manner

of the distribution, and the payments were made by the paymasters of pensions wherever their services could be obtained, and always so as to meet the convenience of the claimants as far as might be. Dr. Cullen then refers to the manner in which the funds were ultimately allotted, and he says that they seem to be all grants to Protestant institutions and Protestant purposes. This only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland, in regard to which he is ill-informed. At every step care has been taken to extend the same relief to the widows and children of Roman Catholics as to those of Protestants. But while religious belief forms no element in the claim to relief, due regard has been paid to the religious feelings and education of the Roman Catholics. Some attempt was made to obtain a separate allotment out of the fund, to be managed by a committee of Roman Catholic gentlemen, for the relief of Roman Catholic objects in Ireland; but this was resisted, and I certainly understood that the arrangements as they now stand satisfied all classes and every denomination of Christians. If the charge of unfair conduct in regard to relief from the Patriotic Fund should be persisted in, it may be found necessary to enter more particularly into facts, in order to vindicate the conduct of the committee, which, up to this moment has never been impeached.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ST. LEONARDS.

"Boyle Farm, October 5."

This letter it will be apparent does not touch the real point at issue, it keeps wide of the question, it indulges in imputations for which there is no ground, and proposes that a course should be adopted which the writer immediately scouts as most unwise. His lordship charges the Archbishop with "treason to humanity" in supposing that the fund will not be properly applied, and asks, "is this a moment to add a drop to the cup of bitterness between the two churches?" The insinuation contained in this question is most unfair, for it assumes that the Archbishop intended to produce, by his letter, such an effect. To us, who have attentively read his Grace's communication to the Very Reverend Monsignor Yore, it seems that his Grace's intention was quite the contrary, and that his desire, as manifested by his letter, was, that in the removal of the doubts entertained by his flock as to the proper administration of the patriotic fund, such an explanation of the course pursued by the commissioners and their agents might be afforded as would extinguish that "bitterness" which his lordship affirms to exist between the churches, and dispose the Roman Catholics to contribute to the Indian relief fund. His lordship proceeds, writing at random, upon this subject. The

manner in which he tries to evade the statistics of his Grace is really unworthy of a person occupying the high position of his lordship. He says, "Dr Cullen then refers to the manner in which the funds were ultimately allotted, and he says, 'that they seem to be all grants to Protestant institutions and Protestant purposes.' This only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland, in regard to which he is ill-informed." Any unprejudiced person can see the drift of this observation: it is a base attempt to pander to the anti-Roman passions of Englishmen. How locality can affect the existence or non-existence of a fact we are really at a loss to determine. But his lordship, seeing he could not deny the statement made by the Archbishop, and knowing the antipathy that exists in the minds of most Englishmen towards any person or anything connected with Rome, hoped to escape from the difficulty in which he found himself by an appeal to the fanaticism of English bigots. Such a subterfuge will not avail; for, though at particular periods opposition to Romanism may cloud the judgment and obscure for a time the reason of the English people, still their sense of justice and love for impartiality is too deeply rooted to permit any mere feeling of antagonism to impede the due course of unbiassed opinion. The English people value too highly the privilege of free utterance which they possess to allow themselves to be induced to yield up that right by the cajoleries of the most skilful charlatan. The Archbishop, confident in the correctness of his figures, tries to convince their judgments and their reason. Lord St. Leonards, conscious of the weakness of the cause he has undertaken to advocate, appeals to their prejudices and their passions. Let us not be supposed to question the right of the English people to indulge feelings of dislike towards Rome as the city of the Pontiffs; we consider the feeling as the result of a groundless prejudice, but they no doubt think themselves justified in fostering that sentiment; we do, however, most strongly object to public men endeavouring to excite those feelings by inconsequential reasoning, seeking to import partizanship into a case from which it should be sedulously excluded. To prove that we were justified in attributing to his lordship a desire to enlist the popular prejudice in his favour, it will be sufficient for us to point out the character of his argument. The Most Reverend Dr. Cullen made a certain

statement which his lordship does not attempt to displace, but contents himself with saying, "this only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from *Rome* upon a subject dear to *England and Ireland*, in regard to which he is ill-informed." How such a deduction can be drawn we cannot conceive. What proves that "Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome?" The statement? If so it would follow that a fact, which is admitted to be a fact by the Report of the Patriotic Commissioners, ceases to be such when the person who reiterates the fact dates his letter from "Rome." If his lordship mean this it is absurd; if he do not mean this, he means nothing. But his lordship, we are sure, never contemplated any such fallacy; the predominant idea in his mind was, to create against the writer such a sentiment in the minds of his readers as would discline them to lend a favourable ear to any future representations. This was the reason why his lordship placed in antithetical proximity Rome and England. Then comes the appendix "in regard to which he is ill-informed." This is only filling stuff, for his lordship knew very well that his Grace, in common with others, her Majesty's subjects at least, was in full possession of the facts disclosed by the report, perhaps signed by his lordship, and it would be rather too much to expect an intelligent reader to believe that his Grace was ignorant of the contents of a report in which so many of his flock were concerned, published in the newspapers fifteen months previous to the date of his Grace's letter. It was a nasty little trick, natural enough, perhaps, in a petty fogging attorney of the Old Bailey, but most unbecoming in a distinguished member of the House of Peers.

With regard to his lordship's understanding that the arrangements satisfied all classes and every denomination of christians, "we fear *he* was ill-informed;" if indeed his lordship includes Roman Catholics in any denomination of Christians. Any delusion under which his lordship may have laboured on this subject must have been removed by the letter of the Duke of Norfolk, which we subjoin:

"Norfolk house,

Wednesday, October 7, 1837.

"MY LORD,

"I have just read your lordship's letter to the *Evening Mail* animadverting upon a pastoral issued by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen. I do not write for the purpose of commenting upon the general merits

of the Archbishop's pastoral, or of your lordship's letter ; but I cannot allow your lordship to continue in the belief that the arrangements of the Patriotic Fund, as they now stand, satisfy all classes and every denomination of Christians. To the Roman Catholics those arrangements are exceedingly unsatisfactory, and I shall feel much obliged to your lordship if you will in the ensuing session of Parliament move for returns upon the subject, so as to lay before the public the manner in which the large sums intrusted to the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund have been dealt with, and thus to show how far Catholic feelings have been respected in their distribution. I feel it my duty to make this statement with reference to your lordship's letter, and to give it similar publicity.

"I have the honor to be, my lord, faithfully yours,

" NORFOLK.

"The Lord St. Leonards, etc."

The returns recommended in this letter, and afterwards in Lord St. Leonards' reply, partially promised, we believe have been prepared, but as they are not yet before the public, we cannot comment upon them. To the above letter of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord St. Leonards sent the following answer :—

"Boyle Farm, October 10.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter. I believe that the manner in which the sums intrusted to the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund have been dealt with, as far as they have been finally appropriated, is already before the public ; but the Royal Commissioners will, no doubt, reassemble before the meeting of parliament, when your Grace's letter to me can be brought under their consideration.

"I have the honor to be, my lord, your Grace's faithful servant,

" ST. LEONARDS.

"The Duke of Norfolk."

We give this correspondence at large, in order that the public may understand the condition of the question, at the time the Archbishop addressed to Lord St. Leonards the letter which we have placed at the head of this paper.

Such, then, was the position in which matters stood at the time, when the Archbishop, having returned from Rome, published an answer to the observations of Lord St. Leonards. His Grace's long absence in the Eternal City, and the time required to collect, and arrange the documents upon which his allegations were founded, prevented his Grace

from replying to the statements of his Lordship as speedily as was desirable. This delay led those journals hostile to his Grace to indulge in many a sneer at his Grace's want of prudence in preferring charges he was not able to substantiate, and many of them declared he had abandoned the contest: boldly asserted that his accusations were groundless, and vauntingly dared him to the proof. Had his Grace allowed the letter of Lord St. Leonards to remain unanswered, abandoned things to their natural course and left the vindication of his first letter to time and the progress of events, he would have been justified in so doing. For his Grace's statements had not been denied, nor his allegations disproved. But his Grace considered that he might be thought wanting in courtesy to the Commissioners, did he not proclaim the circumstances which had induced him to make so serious a charge against a public body. Little did those newspapers which prematurely proclaimed a victory understand the character of him over whom they rashly triumphed. Fear he knows not. His Grace is not one to stultify himself, by statements unadvisedly put forward and hastily withdrawn. He never complains without cause; never makes a statement, the accuracy of which can be questioned, nor prefers a charge, the validity of which can be impugned. He thoroughly sifts the circumstances of every case upon which he is required to form a judgment, and convinces himself, beyond the moral possibility of doubt, that the representations made to him are true, before he endorses with the sanction of his name assertions liable to be controverted. And it is meet it should be so. For there are so many ever on the watch, for opportunities to criticise, nay not unfrequently to distort, expressions for the furtherance of their malignant hostility, that it behoves one in his Grace's position to be wary lest by an incautious phrase or an indiscreet assertion he may give a topic to his opponents upon which they may descant to the prejudice of that authority with which every averment emanating from his Grace should be attended. And well does the Archbishop observe this caution. To him we may look with confidence, in him we may repose with safety, well assured that his authorities have been collated, his facts certified and his opinions formed upon data, that cannot be controverted. The Archbishop's letter appeared on the 21st November, 1857. Great was the dismay felt by that portion of the

press, which with profligate mendacity, had not scrupled to designate his Grace's statements as false, and with characteristic prescience had predicted that he would not dare to confirm by proof, what he had so rashly volunteered to assert. Sad was the reverse which those writers experienced when "the reply to Lord St. Leonards" which publicly they boasted they so much desired, but which in reality they anticipated with great apprehension, appeared; and it should prove a warning, to those who indulge so freely in nocturnal vaticinations not to permit a personal hostility to lead them beyond the bounds which prudence prescribes. Thus it was in this case:—Imbued with the greatest animosity towards the person and the profession of the Archbishop, these writers hoped that his Grace would pursue that course which would have been most pleasing to their party, and as it not unfrequently happens that individuals who wish a certain course to be adopted become so engrossed by the desire, that they imagine what they wished for has been done. Besides, there is another reason, and even a stronger one, to account for the conduct of these journals. Most people are apt to fashion the conduct of others upon the model of their own under similar circumstances. And from a recent occurrence we have every reason to believe, that the manner of proceeding pointed at as that which the Archbishop was about to adopt, would be the very manner in which these newspapers would act, even were their charges as false as his Grace's have been proved to be true. As we before said, his Grace's letter appeared, and certainly we may say without any danger of been called a flatterer, that a more calm, dispassionate, impartial statement, it has rarely been our lot to hear or read. It displays an honest wish to have a fair investigation of the various circumstances he therein details. His Grace does not condescend to indulge in empty threats, fruitless warnings, or claptrap appeals to passion and prejudice; his sole object is to arrive at the truth, and he declares his willingness to correct any error into which through inadvertence or prepossession he may be betrayed. With a moderation that cannot be too highly commended, particularly as his subject might have justified some warmth of expression, involving as it does, interests of vast and vital importance to the members of his Grace's flock, the Archbishop has laid before the public the case upon

relief fund, all the blame must be laid at the door of that short-sighted bigotry, which, for the attainment of an ephemeral triumph, risks the success of every scheme of national benevolence, destroys the faith of a large portion of her majesty's subjects, in the existence of any security for a due regard being had to their religious feelings, in the distribution of public funds, and widens that gulf between the churches which good men deplore, and into which those who desire to promote the prosperity of the country would gladly pour their richest treasures, could they hope thereby to close it for ever. Now let us be clearly understood, and we are most anxious about this matter; we arraign not the management of the Indian relief fund, with which, as yet, we have had no reason to quarrel, but we do arraign the Patriotic Fund for using, or permitting to be used, the public money for proselytizing purposes, and for having allotted a large surplus of that money without regard to Catholic wants or Catholic wishes, to Protestant institutions and Protestant purposes.

These preliminaries being settled, we shall enter upon the consideration of the Archbishop's letter to Lord St. Leonards. After referring to the unfortunate condition of things in this country, where, on the one hand, the grossest abuse is daily heaped upon the religious creed and the religious observances of the Catholics, the former stigmatised as a fable, the latter ridiculed as a mummary; and on the other, the greatest inducements held out to tempt the poor to desert the faith of their fathers and adopt a form in which they cannot believe. We say cannot believe, for it is Dr. Johnson, we think, who says, that the sincerity of a conversion from Protestantism to Catholicity can be easily credited, for in this case it is only believing what has been already taught, and something more; but how a change from Catholicity to Protestantism can be the effect of conviction, he cannot understand; as, in the latter case, the convert has to disbelieve everything, which, up to the period of his change, he has been taught to believe, and adopt a new system opposed to all his preconceived ideas. Having related how, at the time when our Catholic soldiers were fighting side by side with their Protestant companions, and shedding their blood freely on the burning sands of India, to sustain the glory of England, and avert the fate which was supposed to impend, those apostles of intole-

rance did not hesitate to denounce the religion of these brave men as idolatrous, and themselves as little, if at all, better than those infidel Mahommedans against whom they were contending. Having deplored the existence of this unchristian warfare waged with such violence by persons claiming to be ministers of a gospel of peace, on the members of the Catholic church, and having shewn that he, on his part, has done all in his power to lessen the hostility between the churches, his Grace goes on to say :—

Now, having a knowledge of the party and the feelings which I have described, was I not, my Lord, justified in inquiring by whom the funds about to be collected, were to be managed,—whether by men of honour and character, or by men who on other occasions had not hesitated to traffic on human misery? Had I not a right to ask, without incurring the guilt of treason to human nature, what protection was to be given to poor Catholic orphans, in whose souls a traffic, worse than the slave trade, is sought to be established?

I perceive that an inquiry almost similar was considered expedient by a colleague of your Lordship in the management of the Patriotic Fund—Sir John Pakington. “There exists,” so we read in a letter of his to the *Times*, “in the public mind, in combination with a desire to subscribe, a feeling that no adequate security has yet been offered with respect either to the responsibility under which the fund is to be administered, or the principles, regulations, or conditions under which it is to be applied.” When such an uneasiness about the fund existed in England, where fair play is the general rule, and where no attempt is ever made to injure the religion of the great mass of the people, could it be considered strange that doubts of a similar nature should be raised in Ireland, where bigotry and intolerance have left indelible traces on the soil?

Nor, my Lord, was the management of the various funds, collected for the relief of the sufferers in the late Russian war, calculated to make us place unbounded confidence in every future collection. In many cases, the sums raised were openly applied to the purposes of proselytism. A respectable lady living in Ireland, the widow of an officer, assured me some time ago, that, having applied to one of the societies established for relieving sufferers in the army, she was promised the means of educating her son and daughter, but was informed, at the same time, that they would be obliged to attend Protestant service at the school in which they were to be placed. I believe some of the public committees, and the founders of Hampstead School, did not attempt to conceal their proselytizing tendencies.

Greater regard to justice and charity was certainly displayed in the management of the Patriotic Fund, and undoubtedly your Lordship and your colleagues undertook that work of benevolence in a most impartial spirit. That, however, in carrying it out, grounds for complaint have been given, and arrangements attributed to your body or your agents, have been looked on justly with dissatisfaction, I trust I shall give you convincing proof. Far be it from me, how-

ever, to charge you or your colleagues, with a desire to do anything unfair, though I cannot but condemn some of the proceedings for which you are held responsible. Probably, whatever was defective or reprehensible in your administration, is to be attributed to under-agents of biased minds, whilst all the good that was done is to be referred to the direct agency of the Commissioners themselves.

It may be true, and no doubt it is, that the commissioners entered upon their duties with the very best possible intentions of acting with impartiality, but, it is clearly manifest that these intentions were not, in the sequel, carried out. It may be that the functions of this commission were, like those of other similar public bodies, in reality discharged by one or two working members, the others merely assenting to their acts, quite satisfied with the representations made to them, and it may be that these representations were not always in strict accordance with truth. It may be that the Commissioners, relying on the statements made to them of the favor and approval with which the conduct of their agents in Ireland had been regarded by all parties, considered that these officials had in every matter acted with fairness and impartiality towards the applicants for assistance, and were therefore entitled to the support of the Commissioners against the groundless clamour which discontented and ill conditioned persons sought to excite. The idea prevalent amongst English people, that Irishmen, but particularly Irish Catholics, so love grievances that they cannot live without them, and oftentimes themselves create the evils of which they complain, may have induced the Commissioners to pass unnoticed the many demands for redress. But this is no apology, for the commissioners were bound to see that the money was properly distributed, and should not have allowed their names to be used without the strictest investigation. We set a high value upon the honour of English gentlemen, and cannot believe that they would be, knowingly, parties to what, in the mildest terms, must be called a fraud upon the public; but, if they desire that their high reputation for probity should continue unimpeachable, they must themselves be careful not to allow their characters to be trifled with, nor permit their names to be associated with proceedings more than suspicious. Spotless reputation is the highest boast of man, the purest treasure mortal times afford; as the poet says:—

“ Mine honour is my life, both grow in one,
Take honour from me and my life is done.”

A fair name, without which, "men are but gilded loam and painted clay," should not causelessly or unheedingly be endangered by a rash adoption of statements open to contradiction. This is even more needed in public men; occupying, as they generally do, positions challenging public confidence, any failure on their parts tends to throw discredit upon every enterprise undertaken under their auspices. Besides being brought prominently before the country, their conduct is open to such severe scrutiny and their motives so often canvassed, that it is incumbent upon them to be careful so to regulate their lives that no imputation can be cast upon the integrity of their motives and the uprightness of their acts. The evil which results to the middle and lower classes from the corruption of those in high places, has been, in every age and in every country, too plainly exhibited to require notice. There is such a spirit of imitation in man, and such an absorbing sentiment of adulation for the aristocracy, in these countries, that the follies, the eccentricities, nay, the very vices of the great, are, by the little, aped, copied and exaggerated.

There is also this to be noted, that every evidence of the absence of those high principles, which should be the rule of all, afforded by the exalted and the noble of the land, weakens the prestige by which rank is hedged round: and every gap thus created presents an opening for the encroachment of those levelling doctrines which are dangerous even to democracies, and would be destructive of that mixed government under which we live. It behoves, then, those entrusted with public duties to perform them with honesty and fidelity. The neglect of this precaution, which is so necessary, even in our private relations, has involved the commissioners of the patriotic fund in a very serious difficulty, from which they will find it no easy task to extricate themselves with personal credit and public approbation. There must be no shuffling, no quibbling, no shifting of blame from one to the other, from principal to agent, from agent to principal. The public will not be trifled with. A great question is at issue. Did the commissioners faithfully administer the trust on which the public money was confided to them, or suffer it to be diverted to dark dishonour's use? Was it treated as a memorial of a nation's gratitude towards those who fell in defence of that nation's honour, or regarded only as a testi-

mony of partizan zeal for the promotion of sectarian purposes. Let the facts speak. Here is one :—

Among the many brave soldiers who lost their lives in the service of their country during the late Russian war, we find the name of Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards. Kirley was a native of Louth, and a Catholic. When dying, he left behind him in this country, a wife and three children. Unhappily, her afflictions preyed upon his wife's mind, and after some time she was placed in a lunatic asylum in this city. In the mean while, the report having gone abroad that the children were about to be sent to Protestant schools, at the expense of the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, the Rev. Canon Grimley, a clergyman who had devoted many years to the religious instruction of the Catholic soldiers in Dublin, wrote to Major Harris of the Royal Hospital of this City, agent to the Commissioners, informing him that the young Kirleys were Catholics, and protesting against any unjust interference with their religion. Major Harris did not give a decisive answer to Canon Grimley's letter, but stated that he would refer the case to the consideration of the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund.

The question of the education of three Catholic children was thus fairly brought before the Commissioners, or those who were acting in their name. What their decision was, we learn from a letter of Major Harris, in reply to Canon Grimley, who, having waited for several weeks without hearing anything further about the fate of the young Kirleys, begged of the major, in a second communication, to let him know what was the decision of the Commissioners. Here is Major Harris's letter, of which I hold the original :—

“Royal Hospital, Dublin,

“Sir,

“April 26, 1857.

“I have the honour to acknowledge your note of the 19th inst. It does not appear that the children of Serjeant Kirley were ever, at any time, brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith, and therefore they have been sent to a Protestant school where they will be well taken care of by the Royal Patriotic Commission. Had these children been Roman Catholics, they would have been sent to a Roman Catholic school, and the same care would be taken of them.

“Should any further correspondence on this subject appear to you to be necessary, I beg you will be so good as to address it to the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Patriotic Commission.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) “R. R. HARRIS,

“Major and District Officer.

“Rev. Thomas Grimley, etc.,

“St. Paul's Church, Dublin.”

Here let us pause to direct the attention of our readers to the letter of the gallant major.

The Reverend Canon Grimley, is a most estimable clergyman, universally respected by all parties for his zeal and piety; he has devoted much of his time to the religious instruction of Catholic soldiers, and in the discharge of the many duties incident to his position must have had some official intercourse with the major. This Reverend gentleman, hearing that the young Kirleys had been sent to a Protestant school, wrote to the major, as the agent of the Patriotic Commissioners, informing him that these children were Catholics. To this letter an evasive answer was returned. After some time, Canon Grimley wrote again, and in reply, received the note to which we wish to draw the *particular* attention of the reader. The major knew Canon Grimley to be a Priest, a gentleman of high honour and of unimpeachable veracity, yet with a want of courtesy difficult to understand, the usual style of address adopted towards clergymen is departed from, probably through inadvertence; but it is strange that a tone so different from that which was exhibited in Major Harris' former letter should be so suddenly manifested. It suggests the idea that the Commissioners may have had a wish to snub any intermeddling Catholic Priest whose troublesome enquiries might disturb the even tenor of the course they had resolved to pursue.

This officer then proceeds with his letter in these words: "It does not appear that the children of Serjeant Kirley were ever at any time brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith, and *therefore* they have been sent to a Protestant school where they will be well (!) taken care of by the Royal Patriotic Commission". This is another of those little courtesies which abound in the major's "complete letter writer" under the heading of "reply to a letter from a popish priest." Civilians usually indulge in the habit of softening down the asperities of a correspondence in regard to a matter in which there may exist a difference of opinion, and when they wish to intimate a doubt of the truth of any statement made by the writer to whom they are replying, generally convey their disbelief, in that well understood, but still inoffensive phrase, "we fear you are ill informed." But the major, with that military frankness and soldierlike disregard for the amenities of social life, goes straight to the point, and on the principle of when you mean a thing, say it in the plainest way, and in the fewest

possible words, he tells Canon Grimley plumply, "he lies." "Sir, you lie." Nothing is simpler, nothing more daring, and like other simple and daring things, nothing more dangerous. The major is now "in position," he cannot retreat. Oh yes he can. He is too clever a tactician to be trapped so easily. He only wrote as agent of the Patriotic Commissioners, and acted on "instructions from head quarters." Very well, major, we are content, every latitude will be given to you. It will answer our purpose as well to have it so. No doubt you conveyed to the Commissioners, all that Canon Grimley wrote to you. We should like to see that letter, and the answer the Hon. Sec. sent to it. The Commissioners then were in full possession of all the facts of the case, and they directed their Secretary to direct you to write the letter of "April 26, 1857." Every enquiry was, of course, made to discover in what religion the Kirleys had been brought up. The authorities in Dundalk were written to; the Rev. Mr. Hort, Chaplain of the Dublin garrison, was consulted; the records of the penitentiary were searched to discover the religion of the surviving parent; and all concurred to shew that the parents were not Catholics, and that the children were never at any time brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith. Had they been, "they would have been sent to a Roman Catholic school, and the same care would be taken of them." Major, previous to your writing this letter, had you been at the Grange Gorman Penitentiary? If you had been, you knew that Mrs. Kirley was entered there as a "Roman Catholic." Did you ask the Chaplain, in what faith the children had been brought up? If you did you would have been informed "in the Roman Catholic faith." If you did make these enquiries, and still wrote what you did write, you acted very improperly. If you did not make these enquiries, and wrote the letter of the 26, of April, of your own mere motion, in contradiction of Canon Grimley's statement, you have placed yourself in a most unenviable position. Should it so happen that you continue in that ignorance which to you, under the circumstances would be bliss, we regret that duty obliges us to deprive you of your enjoyment. It is a fact that Serjeant Kirley was a Catholic, his father and mother, now dead, were Catholics, his brother and sister still living are Catholics. Kirley attended mass in Dundalk, and performed the other duties required of him by his Church. This you might have learned from the

Chaplain at that station. Whilst stationed there he placed his children in the school attached to the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy in that town, as proved by a letter of the superioress, which we insert.

"St. Malachi's,

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—

"October 26, 1857.

"In reply to your Grace's kind letter, which I received this morning, I beg to say that Margaret, Patrick, and Alice Kirley, attended our schools during the months of June, July, and August, 1854. The father, a soldier, brought them himself, and was most anxious they should be instructed in the Catholic religion. . . .

(Signed) "SR. M. DE SALES VIGNE."

Had you consulted the Rev. Mr. Hort, he would have told you that when he proposed to Kirley sending one of his girls to England to a Protestant lady, the Serjeant stipulated that the girl should be brought up a Catholic.

Now for Mrs. Kirley. Some of our good friends of the press made great fun of this poor woman. They referred with great glee to the number of times she had been in prison. But now she is on the high road to respectability, she has become a Protestant. But what was she at the time the children were about being sent to school? Here are the letters of the governor and of the chaplain of the Penitentiary.

"Grangegorman Prison, Dublin,

"REVEREND SIR,

"November 4, 1757.

"With reference to your letter just received, I beg to state that you shall have the same information as that given to Major Harris, concerning the prisoner Kirley.

"Major Harris called here early in the summer of this year, and told me that the object of his visit was, if possible, to ascertain the religion of the children of the woman Kirley, who was then in my custody as a lunatic; that he was anxious to do something for them on the part of the Patrotic Fund Committee. I at once complied, and in the Major's presence directed Mr. Warren, the chief clerk, who has charge of the registries, and who is a most correct officer, to refer to them, which he did, and I think he traced herself and children back, in the Beggar's Registry, for four, but I am quite certain for three times or committals, and in each of these they were entered 'Roman Catholics,' and, if I mistake not, Major Harris did not consider it necessary to trace them farther back. I then sent for Kirley, who made some rambling remarks. I, however, told the Major that I would get a certificate from the medical officer, to say whether she was capable of making any statement which could be relied upon; this I did, and forwarded it to him; but the doctor's opinion was that she was a mere lunatic.

"On her last committal as a lunatic, she was also entered as a Roman Catholic.

"I have the honor to be, Reverend Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"Rev. Canon Grimley."

"THOMAS L. SYNNOTT.

" 19 Cabra Parade, Dublin,

" November 4, 1857.

" DEAR MR. GRIMLEY,

" In answer to your queries I have to state that Mrs. Kirley and her children were in the penitentiary of which I am chaplain. They were Catholics. I instructed the eldest child in her religious duties, and she went several times to confession.

" Believe me to be

" Your faithful servant,

" THOMAS WHYTE,

" Roman Catholic Chaplain to Grangegorman
Penitentiary.

" Very Rev. Canon Grimley,

" etc., etc."

Lest there might be any doubt of the religion which Mrs. Kirley professed, we subjoin a set of affidavits sworn before M. Kelly, Esq., J. P. for the county Louth, testifying to the fact of the religion of parents and children being the same.

" I, Elizabeth Quinn, of Lisdoe, county Louth, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I am sister of the late Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards; that Margaret McCormick, my brother John's wife, lived with me for four months; that she and her children attended Mass while stopping with me, and that said Margaret McCormick, my brother John's wife, told me she was at confession with Father Kieran of Dundalk. My brother John Kirley expressed in my presence that he wished his children to be educated in the Convent School of Dundalk."

" I, Patrick Kiernan, C.C. of Dundalk, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that Mrs. Kirley, wife of the late Serjeant Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards, presented herself for the reception of Sacraments in the Catholic Church at Dundalk."

" I, Mary Macken, of Dundalk, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I lived in the same house with Mrs. Kirley, wife of the late Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards, about three months; that I heard her frequently say she was a Roman Catholic; that she could have got her eldest child provided for by a Protestant lady in England, but she would not consent to have her child brought up a Protestant."

" I, Rose Martin, of Seatown, county Louth, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that Mrs. Kirley, wife of the late Serjeant John Kirley, of the Fourth Dragoon Guards, lived in my house in Seatown; that I saw her and her children at Mass; that I heard her say she was a Roman Catholic; that I heard Serjeant Kirley state he wished above all things his children would be educated by the nuns."

Now what becomes of the major's, "It does not appear that the young Kirleys were ever at any time brought up in the Roman Catholic faith." Had one of the parents been a Protestant, there might have been some colour for the supposition that they had got no religious education at all, for mixed marriages oftentimes produce indifferentism in both parents, or matters are arranged between the parties by a compromise. But when both parents were Roman Catholics, married by a Roman Catholic Priest, it does appear rather absurd, to suppose that the children of such a marriage should be brought up not in the Roman Catholic faith. But we have shown by the strongest evidence, that these children were Catholics, and therefore the major's assertion is proved false. Now these matters have been known to the major for some time, yet he has neither withdrawn or explained his statement, but like a true hero is resolved to die at his post. As soon as these facts came to light, the Patriotic Commissioners immediately sent the children to a Catholic school, in accordance with the major's promise? Nothing of the sort. They have the children, and they have the mother, and they declare the mother wishes the children to be brought up Protestants. The wishes of a lunatic are certainly sure guides, and safe ones, to indicate how the children should be reared. Should her madness assume a different form, what will be the fate of the children? Thus these "Patriots and Proselytizers" take advantage of the position in which the country has placed them to defeat the purpose for which they were appointed. Hitherto it had been but too apparent, how the most awful calamity which had ever afflicted a country could be used as a means to rob the poor of that religion, to which through ages of persecution they had clung with wonderful tenacity, and that under the guise of private benevolence, individuals could avail themselves of the destitution of many to tamper with the faith of a few. But it remained to be proved, that a great national body organised for a noble purpose could degrade its high mission to accomplish the base ends of misguided zealots. It had been hoped that the blood so freely shed for England's glory, would have put an end to the distinctions which party feeling had created, and that the companionship of labour, of suffering, and of victory, abroad would have been the forerunner of union at home: that

henceforth all differences of creed, should merge in the undivided effort to promote the prosperity of the country, and that the time, ingenuity, and energy previously expended in fostering religious rancour, and sectarian bigotry, would be for the future employed to maintain and increase the acknowledged interests of the community, and the ancient power of these realms. But vain were such expectations, for the conduct of the Commissioners has revived the old enmities, which were fast disappearing, and has added to these feelings the consciousness, that not even the sacred name of Royalty can ensure to the Catholic that even-handed justice to which long-tried fidelity to the sovereign ought to have entitled him, nor preserve him from a persecution more odious than the most bloody enactments, which penal legislation devised. The love of the Irish people for learning is well known, and universally admitted. In the olden time, this country produced many great scholars, who carried to foreign climes, a knowledge of those sciences and that literature which else had perished, amid the darkness which overhung the then known world. In the eighth century, indeed, the high reputation of the Irish for scholarship, had become established throughout Europe. England herself owes to the piety and learning of Irishmen, her preservation from that total ignorance, which the convulsions, caused by internal dissensions and foreign invasions, were calculated to engender.

When more recently, the unjust and abominable enactments of a penal code inflicted the greatest hardships upon the native population, the denial of the privilege to obtain an education at home was felt most galling. Many who possessed the means to do so, sent their children to foreign seminaries, and thus enabled them to receive that instruction which, at home, it was forbidden to afford. Even the mass of the population, though unable thus to gain knowledge for their children, sent them to some obscure scholar, who, under the guise of far different avocations, evaded the vigilance of the officers of the law; and many a man who, with the last generation has passed from amongst us, could recall the spot where beneath the hedgerow that skirted some lonely roadway, he imbibed the first rudiments of those ancient languages in which the leading spirits of Greece and Rome were wont to ridicule the follies, denounce the

vices, or arouse the enthusiasm of their countrymen. When, however, a milder tone, more in accordance with the advancing spirit of the age, pervaded our laws, and those restrictions, which before, had repressed the tendency of our race, were removed, the genius of the youth of Ireland asserted its pre-eminence, and proved that centuries of penal laws had not dimmed the lustre of its hereditary glories. Now, this brave old land presents a picture unparalleled in the history of any country on the face of God's earth, of a people long enslaved, proscribed, nearly exterminated, springing into new life and vigour, overcoming by the mere force of its talent, its integrity, its perseverance, every obstacle which jealousy and power could oppose, and wresting from the hands of a long dominant, and still hostile faction, those rights from which it had been so long excluded. Still hostile do we say? Yes! for, finding repression unavailing, knowing that penal laws cannot now be reinforced, they seek to render ineffectual the rights they have been forced to concede; by jibes and jeers they seek to lessen the authority of our ministers; by insidious schemes of mixed education they try to sap the foundation of our religious belief; and to cap the climax of their iniquity, they divert the pure stream of national benevolence into the foul and fetid sink of sectarian proselytism. Is there no law to touch these men? Shall private speculation and personal dishonesty be amenable to justice, and those who have violated the most solemn obligations of a public trust escape with impunity? Shall these be permitted to carry on a trade in souls, more heinous than that accursed traffic, which erewhile excited the indignant vengeance of the English nation? That trade in human blood which enlisted the principles and feelings of our common nature against it, was less cruel, less unnatural than the system authorised by the commissioners, which deals in the souls of men. The former affected only the body, and influenced only the temporal condition of the sufferers; the latter affects the very soul, and will influence the eternal destiny of its victims. It behoves, therefore, those who are members of the Catholic Church, and who are placed, by Providence, beyond the reach of these ravening wolves, to help their weaker and poorer brethren, by every means within their reach; and as the law has been invoked to protect those evil-doers, let us, too, put that

law in motion to discover how far such misconduct will be permitted. Let us meet them on their own ground; let us seize every opportunity to trace and bring to light their deeds of darkness; let us not be discouraged by one failure or twenty failures, but persevere, confident in the conviction that "God will defend the right."

We have a little above asked this question—should Mrs. Kirley's madness take a different course, what would be the fate of her children? And to this we had intended to reply by analogy, judging from the conduct of a certain institution in England with regard to the children of corporal Guilfoyle. Whilst writing this paper, any necessity for a hypothetical answer has been removed by the occurrence of a case, the particulars of which we have just read, and to the circumstances of which, we shall venture to call the attention of our readers. We extract from the "Weekly Register."

We do not certify the facts, but we have every reason to believe they are true; for we cannot imagine that a respectable newspaper would, knowingly, state a falsehood. And this recital is so circumstantial, that, until there be an official contradiction of the statement, we must give it credence. In stating that a matter did *not* occur, which has happened, the party may not be guilty of any wish to misrepresent, and if the occurrence have taken place at any considerable distance of time, a justification may be found in that defectiveness of memory, to which we are all, in a greater or less degree, liable; and this is the view commonly taken by juries when deciding upon testimony of a contradictory character, as to events which may or may not have happened; but when a person states a fact to exist, which does not exist at all, he renders himself obnoxious to the charge of grossly and wilfully perverting the truth. Now, this journal is either telling a lie, or asserting a fact; if the former, why has it not been contradicted? if the latter, then we are bound to give the narrative our entire belief. We give it for what it is worth, let the reader judge of its value.

As we before stated, the commissioners bound themselves to educate the children in the religion of their fathers, having regard to the rights of the surviving mother; and they have also admitted that they were *in loco parentis*, and bound to enquire what was the father's religion,

not to take it on trust. Now, let us see how this principle is acted on when a Catholic is the subject of their jurisdiction. We give the facts in our own language :—

Private Nelson of the 95th regiment, a Catholic, had four children, aged respectively (in 1855), nine years and a half, six years and a half, five years, and three years. He died in the Crimea ; his widow is a Catholic ; the four children were sent to a Protestant school. Recently, several Catholic children have been removed from Protestant to Catholic schools, on the demand of their mothers. There was some chance that Mrs. Nelson might do the same. How was this to be avoided ? It seems there was some rule made by the commissioners, according to which every application for the placing of a child at a Catholic school, is rigidly refused, if the child want a day of being seven years old ; but if the Catholic mother permitted her child to be sent to a Protestant school, this rule was relaxed. One of Mrs. Nelson's children is still under the prescribed age ; she was therefore told at the office, some months ago, that she must remove it from this school, in which it had been placed, and keep it at home. She perfectly understood, that if she left her children at the Protestant school this notice would be allowed to remain a dead letter. For many months it continued so ; this poor woman applied to have her four children sent to a Catholic school ; the request was refused. " There is yet another remarkable fact," says the writer, and we shall now let him speak for himself :—

" There is yet another remarkable fact in the case of those poor children. When the mother went down in person into Hampshire to remove them, all the children, including the youngest (only five years old), refused to go with her, and she was compelled to return to London without them. This, we doubt not, will be represented by the agents of the Patriotic Fund as a signal triumph : they are heartily welcome to it. It shows what sort of training Catholic children receive at the schools to which they are consigned by Captain Fishbourne—how much more carefully they are instructed in theological controversy than in filial duty. The poor widow ascertained that notice had been sent to the managers of the school, some days before she came with Captain Fishbourne's order for their removal. The time thus gained had been carefully made use of. To speak on the representation of children is never safe ; their account may materially differ from the representation which the managers of the school would give of the same facts. Their account, true or false, is, that they were sent for by the lady who keeps it, and alarmed by being told of the treatment they would receive if they went. They even go into particulars, and say they were warned that they would be shut up, and not let to get

out, with other details of cruelty so strange as to sound like a child's misunderstanding. That it was suggested by any ill-will towards their teachers is unlikely, as they give the highest account of their good and kind treatment by them. In the end, after a second journey from London, the poor widow, not without considerable difficulty, recovered her children. On all this we would make only one comment. It explains Captain Fishbourne's obstinate refusal of any clue to the particulars of his proceedings; the names, ages, &c., of the children whom he has placed in different schools, how long they remained there, and where they now are, &c. If our parliament or her Majesty's ministers are really desirous of fair play, it will lead them to compel him to give that information. But, be this as it may, the Catholics of the Empire have much in their own hands. Somewhere around us are the mothers of the poor children whom he has kidnapped. They feel more than any one else, the sin against God, and the cruelty towards their children, which they have reluctantly been induced to commit. All that is necessary is to find them out; to explain to them their rights, and to assure them of influential support in demanding them, and they will only be too glad to remove their children."

Here is another example of how the public funds are disposed of. Every inducement is held out to poor Catholics, to cause them to allow their children to be brought up Protestants, and every impediment thrown in the way of their rearing them in their own religion. How is it reconcileable with a due execution of the trust reposed in the commissioners, that they should have one rule for those who wish to have their children educated in Catholic schools, and another for those who are willing to sacrifice them to the tender mercy of zealots. Many a poor woman overcome by her afflictions, and worn out by her poverty, may have been terrified by the prospect of having to charge herself with the maintenance of a child whom probably her means were inadequate to support. The want of courage, to view without flinching, such a prospect, might have induced weak mothers to neglect their offspring. The children would, in this way, have been left at the school, reared Protestants, and the reply to any indignant demand on the part of the members of her creed, would have been, the children were here by their mother's wish. The scene which took place on the demand of Mrs. Nelson for her children, is only one out of the many instances which might be adduced to prove how the managers of the Patriotic Fund have been able to sustain their statement with regard to the paucity of Catholics in the British army. But their triumph will be short lived. The country is at length awake; the indignation of the people

is enkindled, it will descend in thunder, and scatter this guilty traffic to the winds.

We shall just mention one other case, and then revert to the Archbishop's letter on the allotment of the surplus funds.

William Norris of the 90th Regiment, was a Catholic. He married a girl named Margaret Donovan, also a Catholic. They had children, and when Norris was leaving this country with his regiment, under orders for the East, he begged of Canon Grimley, who acted as Chaplain to the Catholic soldiers in the Dublin garrison, to take care of them, to look after their education, and see that they were religiously reared in the old faith. Poor fellow: he died in the Crimea. His widow, anxious that her children should be well taken care of, applied to have them placed in Catholic schools. No attention was paid to her request. She repeated her application again and again, specifying that she desired Mary-Ann Norris to be placed either at St. Clare's Orphan school, Harold's Cross, or in the school attached to the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, Baggot-street.

Still her demand was neglected. Worn out by these reiterated refusals and reduced to extreme poverty, she again waited on the agent of the Commissioners, and stated her wish to leave the selection of a school to him. Immediately the agent wrote, and by return of post, an answer was received from Captain Fishbourne stating that the girl should be at once sent to London, and a sufficient sum of money placed at the disposal of the mother to enable her to come up to London with her child, and to pay her expenses back to this country. They went to London. The child was placed at a Protestant school; the mother returned, and heart broken at the fate to which the pressure of want had induced her to commit her child, died in a short period. She is no more. May her poverty plead an excuse for this her grave dereliction of duty. But it affords no excuse to the Commissioners. The agent here can offer no apology for such conduct. He well knew the religion of the father. There was no stain on the moral conduct of the mother; her wishes upon the subject were known; they were in accordance with those long before expressed by the father, and her wishes being in such perfect harmony with his

desire, his religion was the religion in which, according to the express declaration of Captain Fishbourne, the children should be educated. What now becomes of the assertion of Major Harris in the case of the Kirleys? "Were they known to be Roman Catholics they would be sent by the Commissioners to Roman Catholic schools and well taken care of." It just occurs to us to ask who is this Fishbourne? There was a Fishbourne in Carlow of whom we in our youth heard much, who, with four other Magistrates, was struck off the roll on a representation to the Lord Chancellor for having interfered with the civil rights of one or two hundred Catholics. We wonder is the gallant Captain any relation of this ex-Magistrate. It would be well to know this, for we might then be able to estimate the justice of the Commissioners, and be enabled to understand much which is at present incomprehensible. If he be a relative we cannot congratulate the public upon the selection of such a man to administer a fund in which Catholics are interested. Out of this case of Mrs. Norris arose an amusing correspondence which we shall insert, in order to relieve the tedium of this matter of fact paper. The Archbishop interested himself in this poor Mrs. Norris, and referred to her case in his letter to Lord St. Leonards. The reference attracted the attention of a gallant Major, not the Kirley's Major, but another Major, Mrs. Norris's Major: and he wrote an indignant letter to the Archbishop in the following terms.

Royal Hospital, Dublin, December 10, 1857.

MY LORD—I have the honour to state for your information, that, as I was the only person in Dublin acting for the royal commissioners' Patriotic Fund that had any right to forward any application for Mrs. Norris, the woman alluded to by you at page 38, in your letter to Lord St. Leonards, I therefore consider I have a right to demand from your Lordship to state whether or not I am the official alluded to at page 38 who treated Mrs. Norris so uncivilly, as described by your Lordship? I have the honour to be, my lord, your most obedient servant,

OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY.

Major, and O.S. 2nd Dublin District.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop,
&c., &c., 55, Eccles-street, Dublin.

To this note his Grace returned a very proper and becoming answer, informing Major Ormsby that his knowledge was derived from two gentlemen who had the facts

from the lips of Mrs. Norris herself. Here is the Archbishop's letter.

55, Eccles-street, 14th December, 1857.

SIR—In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, with which I have been honoured, I beg to state that I have given all the information of which, when writing, I was possessed regarding Mrs. Norris, at page 40 of the third edition of the letter to Lord St. Leonards, published a day or two before your letter reached me. By referring to that page, you will perceive that my information was derived from a gentleman who, in company with another, had received it from the lips of Mrs. Norris herself. My informant, in his letter, does not mention the name of the official who treated with Mrs. Norris about sending her child to a Protestant school; but he declared that he and his friend are ready to verify this statement, of which I gave a condensed account, before any tribunal or commission deputed to examine the case. Since my letter to Lord St. Leonards was published, another gentleman has informed me that he had also a conversation with Mrs. Norris, and that in course of it she referred to a letter addressed by herself to the commissioners, and to an answer she received from them early in November, 1856; also, to another letter addressed to the commissioners about the middle of said month, and to an answer received to the same letter. If these four documents, and all the correspondence that passed between Mrs. Norris and the commissioners be produced, perhaps the name of the official she mentioned may be discovered, and her own feelings more fully understood. It appears that Mrs. Norris is dead. The high character and unbending integrity of my informant leave no room to doubt that she made the statement given in my letter. If she brought an unfounded charge against an official of the commissioners, she has already rendered a dreadful account for having done so; if, on the contrary, her statement be correct, the official will, in his turn, have to answer before a just Judge, who is no respecter of persons, for having induced a poor woman to act against her conscience, and to sacrifice the faith of her child, which should have been dearer to her than life itself. As I am only anxious that the full truth should be known, I have waived all controversy about the right which you assume of putting me questions, whilst these whom you represent have given no answer to a plain statement of facts sent to them. I have the honour to be your obedient servant.

(Signed)

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

Major Owen Lloyd Ormsby, O.S. 2nd Dublin District.

The Major grew pugnacious, and like most persons who lose their temper lost his head, for we cannot believe that "an officer and a gentleman" having full possession of his faculties could have penned such an effusion as the following.

Royal Hospital, Dublin, Dec. 21, 1857.

MR LORD—In reply to letter of the 14th inst, have the honour to acquaint you, as you decline to say whether or not the statement

published by you. relative to a Mrs. Norris, alluded to me, I have now to state in the most positive manner, that the statements referred to are utterly without foundation, if intended for me. I have the honour to be, my lord, your most obedient servant,

OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY,
Major and O.S., 2nd Dublin District.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Archbishop.
55, Eccles-street, Dublin.

We venture to say that the veriest tyro just entering upon a course of "Lindley Murray" would have blushed had such a letter been attributed to him. Leaving out the parenthesis, we are enabled to behold more clearly the beauties of this epistolary gem. It will run thus—"My Lord, In reply to your letter of the 14th instant, I have the honor to acquaint you, I have now to state in the most positive manner &c., &c."

What an extraordinary sample of military letter writing. The manner affords an example of a disregard for the ordinary rules of composition, as the matter does a neglect of those of propriety. Judging from this sample we would advise the Major to give a lecture on the personal pronouns for the benefit of the "Patriotic Fund." He would eclipse Blair, and might become the head of a new school of composition. It is fortunate for the benefit of "the Service" that competitive examinations were not known when Major Ormsby was gazetted, or we fear he should have been to use the technical term, "Spun," and thus the Military branch of "the Service" would have been deprived of a most intelligent officer, and the Patriotic Commissioners would have lost the assistance of this invaluable official.

Notwithstanding this "bit o' writin'," his Grace, not heeding this ungrammatical scribbler, but anxious that the public mind should be satisfied as to the bona fides of his Grace's statements, sent a reply asking for the production of the letters which passed between the Major and his masters in reference to the case of the widow Norris, and calling the Major's attention to some letters which his Grace thought might be within Ormsby's reach.

55, Eccles-street, December 24, 1857.

SIR—I have had the honor of receiving your communication of the

21st instant, in reply to my letter of the 14th. I am happy to perceive that you repudiate any participation in the unworthy proceedings by which Mrs. Norris, according to her own statement, was induced to sacrifice the faith of her child; but I regret that you have not produced the correspondence which passed between her and the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund. She received from their secretary or agent, a letter, dated November 5th, 1856, in reply to a memorial addressed by her some months previously to them. She received another letter, dated 25th of the same month and year, which was a reply to a second letter addressed by her to the Commissioners on the 13th of November. These documents are, I presume, within your reach; and if you produce them in an official form, they will undoubtedly tend to remove all controversy on the matter under examination. I am informed that Mrs. Norris's letters, or memorials, show a decided anxiety on her part to place her child in a Catholic school. This being the case, the question naturally arises, by what agency, and by what official, was the poor woman induced to act against her conscience, and to consent to have her daughter educated in a religion which herself did not believe. It appears to me that gentlemen connected with the management of the Patriotic Fund ought to be anxious to have the fullest light thrown upon the matter, in which they cannot but feel that they may be compromised before the public. If you do not think fit to produce the correspondence, perhaps it may be brought to light in some other way. I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

Major Owen Lloyd Ormsby, O.S. 2nd Dublin District,
Royal Hospital.

The production of these documents was refused, without an order from the Commissioners, and the agent proceeds to charge "Dr. Cullen" with having published, "false and anonymous statements."

Dublin, 29th December, 1857.

MY LORD—In reply to your letter of the 24th instant, I have the honour to state that I have no authority to produce any official correspondence that may be in my office relative to Mrs. Norris, but shall be happy to do so if commanded by the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund. I beg to enclose a copy of a letter addressed by me to the Hon. Secretary, Royal Patriotic Fund, on my attention being called to your letter to Lord St. Leonards, together with a certificate from both my staff serjeants—men of high character and undoubted integrity—which, I have no doubt, will satisfy the public that the false and anonymous statements published by you can in no way allude to me.

O. L. ORMSBY.

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, 55, Eccles-street, Dublin.

We have often read an angry correspondence, but it has never been our lot to peruse communications displaying so much ignorance and its usual concomitant impudence as those of Major Ormsby. The Archbishop calm and col-

lected wounds his adversary at every pass, whilst the Major wildly thrusting in his blind fury injures only himself and leaves his opponent unscathed. Not satisfied, however, with thus smashing (?) "Dr. Cullen," the Major felt it necessary to justify his conduct to his master, and accordingly, addressed a report to Captain Fishbourne on the subject of Mrs. Norris, in which with a rashness totally irreconcilable with that self-possession and imperturbable calmness which should characterise a commanding officer, he distinctly brands "Dr. Cullen" as a *liar*! What a pity this fiery Hotspur was not sent to cool his heels in the Crimea; a little Muscovite phlebotomy might tone down to a healthy flow the impetuous torrent of his ardent blood. What a pity that this o'ermastering energy should have been wasted in a controversy with a Popish priest, which would have been so useful at the Redan, and would doubtless have succeeded in gaining that prize of which the English were so wrongfully deprived. The poor Major—

"Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured—"

has the hardihood to cast upon a clergyman an insult which if offered to one of his most junior subordinates might have had a by no means pleasant result. But

"That in the *Major's* but a choleric word,
Which in the soldier is rank blasphemy."

It is strange to observe that the two Majors shine in the same style of epistolary elegance. Was there not something in our suspicion with regard to the "complete letter writer?" Major number one tells the priest he lies. Major number two tells the Archbishop the same thing. Still we must not criticize, but be content:

"Great men may jest with saints: 'tis wit in them,
But, in the less, foul profanation."

Let us come to this Report. Here it is.

The official report of Major Lloyd Ormsby, addressed to
Captain Fishbourne:—

Royal Hospital, 2nd Dublin District.

SIR—My attention having been called to Dr. Cullen's letter to Lord St. Leonards, page 38, where he alludes to a Mrs. Norris, I have

the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, that the remarks made by Dr. Cullen, relative to the treatment received by Mrs. Norris from an official, are utterly false, if intended for me. It is true Mrs. Norris applied to have her child sent to the Protestant school at Hampstead; and I remarked to Mrs. Norris, at that time, in the presence of my two staff serjeants, both Roman Catholics, that I considered it a most extraordinary proceeding on her part to send her child to a Protestant school, as she stated herself and husband were Roman Catholics, and I advised her not to do so without due consideration. I wish to add that my staff serjeants are ready to certify that this statement is correct, and that no influence whatever was used by me to make Mrs. Norris send her children to a Protestant school; and I beg to suggest that the Royal Commissioners will call upon Dr. Cullen to name the official he alludes to, that treated Mrs. Norris so uncivilly. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY,

Major and S.O. 2nd Dublin District.

Captain Fishbourne, 19, New-street,
Spring Gardens, London.

"Royal Hospital, Dublin, 11th December, 1857.

"We, the undersigned, do certify that we have attentively read the letter addressed by Major O.L. Ormsby to Captain Fishbourne, Hon. Secretary Royal Patriotic Fund, dated 2nd of December, 1857, and hereby testify to the *truths* therein stated,

(Signed)

"JAMES BISSETT, Staff serjeant,

"JAMES JONES, Quartermaster Serjeant."

The Major is caught, he fell into a trap. His triumph was a little premature. "I wish to add that my staff serjeants are ready to certify that my statement is correct." Indeed they are not. They are prepared to "testify to the *truths* therein stated," they will certify that whatever is *true* in your statement is true, but they cannot certify that your statement is correct. It is too bad to see a Major out-manœuvred in this way by staff Serjeants; it is subversive of all discipline, and they should be tried by Court Martial and degraded. But perhaps the Major is cleverer than we thought, and this is only a ruse; that he knew very well, what the serjeants signed and let them sign it, because they would not sign anything more explicit; probably the Major thought it might escape the general run of Newspaper readers, and as to Fishbourne "he is all right."

"Utrum horum mavis accipde."

Take the benefit of the doubt. We are done with you. We shall merely say "we know what we know."

TO MAJOR OWEN LLOYD ORMSBY, O.S., 2ND DUBLIN DISTRICT.

55, Eccles street, 1st January, 1858.

SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, which I perceive you, without giving time for a reply, have published in the *Evening Mail* of this date, and which I therefore answer through the press.

In that letter you have altogether lost sight of the questions really at issue, and you seem only intent on supporting your own veracity by the authority of your two sergeants.

The questions really at issue were :—

1st—Did Mrs. Norris make the statements attributed to her in my letter?

2ndly—If she made those statements, was she worthy of credit?

3rdly—If she were worthy of credit, by what agency, and by what official, was she induced to betray her conscience by allowing her child to be educated a Protestant?

As to the first question, though you assert, with official arrogance, that the statements made in my letter are "false and anonymous," you will be reluctantly obliged, when you read the names and declarations of my informants, who are as well known and as veracious, at least, as you are, to admit that your anxiety to shield your own character has placed you in a position which you cannot sustain. The public will see that my informants are gentlemen of unsullied honour and unimpeachable integrity, that they had not been engaged in schemes to convert public funds to purposes of vile proselytism, and all will admit that I was justified in receiving their statements without the slightest hesitation.

2ndly—As to Mrs. Norris herself, there is no apparent reason why credit should be denied to her. It is certain that she waited several times on Canon Grimley to consult with him on the best means of securing a Catholic education for her child. It is also certain that Canon Grimley read the letter which she had addressed to the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, to their committee, or to their agents, expressing a strong desire to have her child placed in a Catholic school, and that he saw her sign the letter in question in the presence of an alderman of this city, a precaution which she adopted in order to secure authority for her statements. From the letter here appended of Mr. Star it appears that she assured him and Mr. Lynch, the gentleman who accompanied him, that she had been most anxious to have her child placed in a convent school; and she added that it was in consequence of the opposition and annoyance which she met with from an official, that, in her weakness, she consented to abandon her project.

Such are the statements undoubtedly made by Mrs. Norris. Are they in conformity with the letters or petitions which she sent to the Commissioners, or to their committee, or agents? If her letters

are really in contradiction with her statements, then her credibility is affected. But if the statements referred to be confirmed by her letters or petitions, we have a strong ground for giving credence to her narrative of the unworthy proceedings of an official, by which she was induced to sacrifice the religion of her daughter. If you, Sir, wish the truth to be known, publish at once Mrs. Norris's letters, and do not shelter yourself behind official reserve. If that correspondence be not produced, must it not be said that there is something very mysterious in this case which it is not your interest to bring under the public eye?

As to the third question, viz., "by what agency was Mrs. Norris induced to betray her conscience?" it is evident that strong means must have been employed to make her change her mind; it is certain that she consulted Canon Grimley several times about the education of her child; it is certain that she wrote several times to the Commissioners, or those employed by them, on that important matter; it is certain that she went before an alderman to sign her letter, in order to give an authenticity to it; it is certain that she employed every possible means to secure the Catholic education of her daughter. Having acted in this way, it is evident that she was sincere and determined in the wishes which she expressed. Now, Sir, you tell us that a woman thus disposed presented herself to you, and pressed you to allow her to have her child educated a Protestant. Of course, as you are a gentleman, and as your authority is confirmed by that of two sergeants, it would be uncourteous to contradict you. Yet it remains to be explained how a poor woman, previously so determined in acting in accordance with the dictates of her own faith and her own conscience, suddenly changed her mind, and acted in opposition both to faith and conscience. Such changes, Sir, cannot be accounted for without supposing the existence of serious pressure from without. How many private interviews may have passed between this woman and those who were anxious to betray her into a crime against her faith? Perhaps artful insinuations induced her to believe that she would be stripped of the little pension she enjoyed if she did not show herself very pliant to the urgent wishes of officials. A thousand other terrors may have been brought to bear on a mind accustomed to suffer, or to see others suffer, from the despotism of certain authorities. If Mrs. Norris were prepared by some such agency to act the part she did in your presence, and in the presence of two sergeants, her change of mind is quite intelligible. But if no influence was used upon her, that change must be considered most mysterious, and scarcely compatible with human nature. *Credat Judæus apella:*

Our correspondence is now at an end. Let an enlightened public judge how far your part in it has been honourable and candid—I have the honour to be your obedient servant.

✠ PAUL CULLEN.

These two letters, referred to in the letter of his Grace, are from gentlemen of high character and sterling honor. Of Canon Grimley we had occasion to speak in former por-

tions of our paper. With regard to Mr. Star, we can say with perfect truth that he is a most respectable gentleman, whose name stands well with the trading community of this country, and that he possesses what all men must value, integrity of principle, and probity of conduct. We cannot suspect such men of a wilful perversion of facts, even were the case (which it is not) one in which they were personally interested.

THIS IS THE LETTER FROM MR. STAR TO DR. CULLEN.

Ormond-quay, Nov. 15, 1857.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP—In accordance with your Grace's wishes, I give you my recollections of the case of Mrs. Norris. Early this year another gentleman and I called on her to inquire why her daughter had been sent to a Protestant school in England, when she could be placed in a Catholic school, at the expense of the Patriotic Fund? She replied that the difficulties placed in the way of her providing a Catholic education for her daughter had obliged her to give up her own wishes. She said that when she applied, according to instructions received, to an official of the Commissioners, to have her child sent to Harold's-cross, she was told to call again, and could not get a decisive answer. This happened a second time. When, on a subsequent visit, she requested to have her child placed under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, she was told it would be well for her to learn her own mind before she came there. Being thus thwarted she explained her disappointments to a Protestant female acquaintance, who counselled her to suit her own views to the inclinations of the official, and to leave the choice of the school to his selection. Having followed this advice, the official in his next interview became most kind, and the child was immediately sent to Hampstead School, near London. Such are the statements of Mrs. Norris. The gentleman who accompanied me is ready, as well as myself, to testify before any tribunal or commission that he heard them from her own lips. I may add my recollection that Mrs. Norris expressed a fear of losing her pension were she to remove her child from Hampstead.—I have the honour to be, with profoundest respect, your obedient servant,

GEORGE STAR.

To the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen.

WE NOW GIVE THE LETTER FROM CANON GRIMLEY.

St. Paul's Arran-quay, Dec. 12th, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP—I beg to inform your Grace that Mrs. Norris, widow of the late private Norris, of the 90th regiment, frequently called on me and expressed in my presence an anxiety to have her Mary Ann placed in a Catholic school. To my knowledge she applied to have her daughter sent to the convent school, Harold's-cross. After some time she applied again to have her daughter placed in Baggot-street Convent. I recollect on one occasion she told me she heard her veracity was doubted. I then accompanied her to Alderman L. Reynolds, who bore testimony to her written

declaration, that what she stated in her former letter was in strict accordance with truth. She received an answer to this letter from Mr. Mugford, clerk to the Royal Patriotic Commission, and dated 25th of November, 1856. I implore of your Grace to insist on the commissioners producing Mrs. Norris's letters, and in them your Grace will perceive her anxiety to have her little orphan daughter educated in the holy Catholic faith. I could not account for the sudden change in her sentiments in sending her child to a Protestant school, until, besides other means which I heard were resorted to by officials, I was informed by a party residing near her late residence, that when it was known she was about to send her child to a convent school, she could not get employment, and was reduced for some time to great want; but no sooner did she consent to have her child educated in a Protestant school than she got abundance of employment. Some short time after her daughter was sent to the Protestant school, I waited on her, and in presence of others she declared she would co-operate in getting her child removed from that school. In a few hours after this interview Mrs. Norris was summoned before her Great Judge. I remain, my dear Lord Archbishop, your Grace's devoted servant,

THOMAS GRIMLEY.

His Grace the Most Rev. Doctor Cullen,
Archbishop of Dublin.

These letters speak for themselves. We shall offer no comment upon them, and thus we close our remarks on the case of Mrs. Norris.

We have up to this point been endeavouring to shew that the public money entrusted to the Patriotic Commissioners was used, in many instances, for the purpose of proselytism, and that the authority delegated to the Commissioners was made subservient to the same end. We have adduced three cases to sustain our view, and from these it may be fairly inferred that in other similar instances the same means were had recourse to in order to accomplish the desired object. We have shown that every facility was afforded to Catholic mothers in the disposal of their children, if they evinced the smallest carelessness, as to the selection of the institutions to which the education of these little ones was to be entrusted, whilst every impediment was thrown in the way of those who conscientiously wished their children to be reared in the faith of their fathers. We have shown that the agents in this country were in many instances unscrupulous in the mode, by which they compassed the designs of the bigoted zealots who employed them, and that every artifice, even to misrepresentation, was freely adopted to de-

ceive individuals interested in the restoration of those children to the religion in which they had been instructed, and to mislead the public in regard to the manner in which their money was disbursed. We have pointed out to our readers how representations were disregarded, remonstrances unheeded, and statements founded on fact groundlessly denied. We have seen in the case of Mrs. Norris the contemptuous neglect with which her applications were treated, and we have seen too the shameless avidity with which her enforced concession was seized upon to tear her child from her, and place it at a school avowedly Protestant. We have seen how, under the racking tortures of an uneasy conscience, she sunk a victim to the terrors of remorse. We have adverted to the insolence which characterised the communications of the officials acting on behalf of the Patriotic Commissioners in this country, when corresponding with Roman Catholic Clergymen, and a Roman Catholic Archbishop. We have remarked upon the indecorous and indefensible manner in which these agents unwarrantably designated as false statements they knew to be true, and in the case of the Archbishop attributed to his Grace the circulation of "false and anonymous charges," when his assertions were made concerning a fact substantiated by the evidence of most respectable gentlemen. We have proved in Mrs. Nelson's case that a powerful inducement was held out to her to leave her children at the Protestant school, and a penalty very dreadful to one in her reduced circumstances was threatened should she take any steps to reclaim them. We have mentioned that a certain regulation was enforced rigidly when it was sought to place Catholic children in Catholic schools, but suspended when the parents allowed their Catholic children to attend at Protestant schools. We therefore boldly ask, ought the Catholics to have been satisfied with the manner in which the Patriotic Fund was disbursed, and if they ought not to have been satisfied with its disbursement what impartial man will assert that the allotment of the surplus fund afforded them any reason for self-gratulation? To this allocation we shall now direct our attention, and we shall be very brief indeed, as the subject has been already touched upon in a former part of this paper, when treating of Dr. Cullen's first letter with regard

to the allotment of the surplus Funds to Protestant institutions for Protestant purposes. The Archbishop thus writes :—

Having said so much on the danger of proselytism, you will now allow me to examine the allocation of the surplus fund made by the Commissioners. My statements on this point have not and cannot be contradicted, as they were founded on a report of the Commissioners themselves, inserted in the *Times* of the 9th June, 1856. According to that report, the following grants had been made :—

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|----|--|----------|---|---|
| 1. | For endowing a school for 300 girls, children of soldiers or sailors, £160,000; or according to a later statement, | £180,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. | For endowing a school for 100 boys of the same class, £25,000, to be added to allowances already granted. Total amount not given. Probably it may be | 60,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 3. | To the Wellington College, | 25,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 4. | To Cambridge Asylum for widows, | 3,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. | To Naval School, Newcross, | 8,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 6. | To Female School, Richmond, | 5,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. | To Naval and Military School at Plymouth, | 2,500 | 0 | 0 |
| 8. | To similar school, Portsmouth, | 2,500 | 0 | 0 |

Besides the sums here specified, amounting to more than a quarter of million of money, perhaps other grants may have been made, for the report published in the *Times* sanctions "the purchase of pre-arrangements to already existing asylums and schools, for similar objects."

From a memorandum published some time ago in reply to my letter, and which, on the authority of some of the Commissioners, I attribute to that body, we learn the character of the institutions endowed from the Patriotic Fund. Speaking of the naval and military schools at Plymouth and Portsmouth, it says, "THOSE SCHOOLS, NO DOUBT, ARE FOR PROTESTANTS." In reference to some other endowments, the same document adds: "Further sums also were granted for the purpose of purchasing nominations in institutions established by laymen for the benefit of children of officers of the army and navy. These, no doubt, are Protestant in their teaching, but there are no others for this purpose where the religious teaching is different; and it was not competent for the Commissioners to endow, even partially, institutions that were not specially intended for the benefit of these classes." These words of the memorandum do not appear to be either conclusive or consistent. For if it were competent to the Commissioners to assign £180,000 for the erection and endowment of a new school for girls, to be conducted on a plan adopted by themselves, it is difficult to understand by what law or by what necessity they were prevented from establishing another school where the teaching would not be hostile or dangerous to the faith of Catholic children. The only necessity that can be discovered appears

to be, that there was a predetermination not to use the same measure towards one religion as towards the other.

The schools mentioned above, in No. 1 and 2, are what we call mixed schools here in Ireland, which, when under Protestant management, as they will be in England, are quite as dangerous as, or more so than, purely Protestant schools, inasmuch as with positive error, they introduce an indifference to every religion, than which nothing more fatal can be conceived. The memorandum tells us that the schools recently endowed are to be conducted on the principles of the Union Schools in England. What is the character of the teaching in those schools? A gentleman, well acquainted with England, describes them in a few words: "**THE UNION SCHOOLS ARE OPENLY AND ALMOST AVOWEDLY PROSELYTIZING.**"

Whilst all the vast outlay we have mentioned was made in England for the endowment of Protestant establishments, was there a single grant made to any Catholic institution? We have, both in England and Ireland, many excellent orphan asylums, especially for girls, in full operation; they would have afforded a safe place of refuge to Catholic soldiers' children, had any provision been made for their support. But the Commissioners, overlooking those institutions altogether, reserved their grants for a more favoured class. They made grants to institutions which "no doubt are for Protestants," and which "are Protestant in their teaching," as they state in the memorandum, but they did not act in the same spirit towards schools of a Catholic character.

It could not be expected, my Lord, that the Catholics of the empire would be satisfied with such an arrangement, in which we seek in vain for any proof of liberality, generosity, or justice, or any protection for our faith. Were such a thing done in Naples or Spain, it would be attributed to a narrow-minded, illiberal, bigoted policy, unworthy of the age we live in.

It is said that the schools endowed out of the Patriotic Fund will be open to children of every creed, and that, therefore, no one will have just grounds for complaint. Now, what does this mean? Its simple meaning evidently is this, that Catholic children will be received into schools, such as the Union Schools of England, known to be "*openly and almost avowedly proselytizing*," where superiors, masters, books, teaching—everything is Protestant, where their own religion will be looked on as something degrading and dishonorable, and where their faith will be exposed to imminent danger. We cannot consider as a boon the admission of Catholic children into such establishments, in which, if the teaching of the Catholic Church is infallibly true, as it is, they risk for trifling temporal advantages an eternal inheritance, and an imperishable crown.

There are several schools of this mixed kind already existing to which Catholic soldiers' children are admitted, such as the Duke of York's School at Chelsea, and the Hibernian School near Dublin; and, from what we know of their management, we may form an estimate of what Catholics are to expect, and how they are to be treated in the institutions endowed by the Commissioners, with which you think we should be satisfied.

In the Duke of York's School I have learned that there are some fifteen or twenty Catholic boys thrown in amongst three or four hundred Protestant companions. The poor children have been left in ignorance of their catechism, and never prepared to approach the holy sacraments of the church. Perhaps the place is so closed against the Catholic priest, that he has scarcely ever been called to administer the last rites to a dying child. Protestantism is the ruling spirit of the place ; all those bearing authority profess it ; and Catholicity is looked on with contempt. It cannot be expected that poor children of a very tender age, who have never been instructed in the doctrines of their religion, who have had no opportunity of knowing the advantages and the beauties of Catholicity, would be able to resist the spirit of the place they live in, or struggle against the example of those, whom they are obliged to respect. This may be called a very good school for Protestants ; but is it a desirable place for the education of a Catholic child ?

And here we may observe, that besides the Duke of York's school, there is also an asylum at Chelsea for the daughters of the veterans who are received into the hospital at that place. All the children of the asylum, though several are of Catholic parents, receive a Protestant education, and are obliged, if I am correctly informed, to attend Protestant service on Sunday. I leave it to others to say whether this is a proper way to respect the feelings and religion of veterans, who have spent the flower of their lives and exhausted their energies in the service of their country. It would appear that in India the children of the native soldiers were not interfered with in this way, and that more regard was had to the absurd superstitions and prejudices of Hindoos and Mahometans, who are now corresponding to the protection afforded them by sedition and bloodshed, than to the pure Catholic principles of men, whose loyalty and bravery have so largely contributed to add lustre to the British flag.

The Hibernian School has been established principally for the children of Irish soldiers. As we are here in a Catholic country and in a Catholic city, and as a great mass of our Irish soldiers are Catholics, one would expect that in this school the greatest impartiality would be displayed, and Catholic interests and feelings duly respected. Let us see what is really the case. In the first place, the board of government, the commander, and all the officers, are Protestant, if you except, perhaps, one serjeant. Secondly, all the teachers or masters are Protestant. Thirdly, the so-called Chelsea monitors are Protestant. Fourthly, the other monitors are all, with very few, if any exceptions, Protestant. Fifthly, in the school rooms there are Protestant Bibles and prayer books on the desks, and they are also scattered through other parts of the house, so that to whatsoever side a Catholic boy turns himself, there he finds some temptation to Protestantism. Sixthly, the books used for literary instruction, such as the historical compendiums prepared by a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Gleig, are very objectionable, and contain many things contrary to the teaching of our Church and offensive to our ears.

Now his Grace is writing from Dublin ; it cannot therefore be said that he is " writing from Rome." His Grace's statement of the allotment of the surplus funds, is founded

on the report of the Commissioners themselves inserted in the *Times*. Therefore it cannot be insinuated that he is "ill-informed." From the memorandum referred to by the Archbishop, we learn that the schools endowed out of that surplus "ARE FOR PROTESTANTS." Who was ill-informed? "Dr. Cullen writing from Rome" or my Lord St. Leonards writing from "Boyle Farm." Is it fair that so large a sum should have been given to schools intended for Protestants in England, and not a penny given to Catholic institutions for Catholic children, we mean until very lately when the mothers of these children began to require that they should be sent to Catholic schools, and even now it is the individual, not the school that is endowed. But it may be said the contribution of Catholics was very small, that does not touch the question and even did it, we believe that if the sums collected in the colonies, be included in the general Fund, the Catholics will be found to have given a very respectable proportion. Canada alone sent £27,000 subscribed almost entirely by Catholics. Other colonies have subscribed large sums also, made up to a great extent by the Catholics. But as we have said this element should not be introduced into the discussion of this question. The fund was a national one, collected for a national purpose, and should have been applied in a national spirit, to which the distinction of religious belief or political feeling is a stranger. The Fund might as well have been confined to the Whigs, they being then in power, to the exclusion of the Tories, as limited to Protestants, who are always predominant to the exclusion of Catholics who never enjoy ascendancy.

It is a rule acted upon by all upright individuals entrusted with the distribution of money, or money's worth, to different persons in different degrees of relationship, or friendship, to prefer the claims of the more distant rather than those nearer and dearer, supposing always they can do so legally, lest they might incur a suspicion of favouritism or partiality. It would have been well had the Patriotic Commissioners adopted this course, not to the detriment of their own party who were equally with the Catholics entitled to their share, but to such an extent that the feeling which influences private individuals under such circumstances would have operated upon their minds to produce an even-handedness in the distribution of the funds committed to their

custody. Irish institutions, Protestant as well as Catholic we believe, shared the same fate; they have been ignominiously ignored. Even the Hibernian School, a worthy object of the pious care of the Commissioners, has received nothing, or something so trifling as not to be worth mentioning. The argument with regard to the smallness of the Irish contribution is on the same ground as the argument founded on the respective claims of the different religions, and falls with it. Had it been announced that the allotments would be an *ad valorem* on the subscriptions, we might have been prepared for the event; but no such warning was given. But it may be said, why cannot Roman Catholics attend these schools? Presbyterians, Methodists, &c., do so. The answer is plain. For centuries the Roman Catholics were excluded from the exercise of their civil rights; Catholic Noblemen could not sit in the house of Lords; Catholic gentlemen could not appear in the house of Commons; Catholic officers could not attain the higher grades in either Service. Yet all these restrictions could be evaded by simply swearing a certain oath, a perfect formality with all, a nullity with many, and partaking of the Sacrament according to the rules of the Church by law established. But they would not. Dissenters also laboured under political disabilities; the same form had to be gone through by any of them appointed to offices under the Crown. Yet we learn from a life of Lord Aberdeen, with what truth we cannot say, that he on his appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, took the sacrament, and on his appointment as Foreign Secretary took it again, a very short period intervening. Of the hardship of this he subsequently complained to the Peers, but at the time when called upon to acknowledge the practices and doctrines of the Episcopal Church, in which he professed not to believe, he did not hesitate to do so. Besides there is little difference in the teaching of these various denominations, and all unite in denouncing the errors of Romanism. But in the case of a Catholic the differences are material, and on vital points, and exhibit the greatest distinction that can exist between propositions, viz., they are contradictory. Hence it follows that any Catholic child subjected to Protestant teaching, must of necessity have his former belief completely subverted before his mind is prepared to receive the subsequent instruc-

tion. And as the greatest difficulty is found, particularly in the case of children, in removing previous impressions, the chances are that in the confusion created by this clash of doctrine, the mind may become so hebetated that the individual at first grows sceptical, and finally infidelity is the result.

A distinguished writer, one who cannot be suspected of entertaining any great bias in favor of Catholics, Judge Haliburton, says, "Suppose they (the Catholics) do believe too much, it is safer than believing too little. You may make them give up their creed, but they are not always so willing to take yours. IT IS EASIER TO MAKE AN INFIDEL THAN A CONVERT."

But then the number of Catholics is so small that to establish schools for them would be a work of supererogation. We don't require it. Thank God, the charity of our immediate ancestors has given us institutions adequate to the duty of educating our children, and all we require is that a similar allocation of the public funds may be made in the case of individual Catholics, as is made in that of Protestants, and that those institutions already existing shall be so proportionally endowed as to enable them to carry out in relation to the members of their own persuasion the objects for which in the case of Protestants existing establishments have been so largely endowed and new ones are about being erected. If as Lord St. Leonards says, Catholic and Protestant blood has been, with heroic devotion, shed for the glory of England, why have the Catholics been excluded from all participation in the benevolence of the English people? Take out of your armies the Catholic element altogether, and then there may be afforded some colour for such conduct. But so long as you avail yourselves of the services of Catholics, you are bound in common honor and common honesty to be faithful to the brave men who have died for your preservation by scrupulously respecting their religious convictions in the persons of the defenceless widows and orphans they have left behind. Exception has been taken to the proportion, assumed by the Archbishop, of Catholics to Protestants in the "service," and it has been triumphantly stated that in the navy, Catholics do not number more than two per cent. This may or may not be the case, for, English toleration has with unaccountable perversity inhibited to Catholics serving in her marine the observance

of their religious practices. Besides there is a notion prevalent amongst that class from which this branch of the service is chiefly recruited, that they would stand less high in the estimation of their officers if they were known to belong to that proscribed religion. Any one at all acquainted with the minutiae of life on board a ship when at sea—the supreme authority of the commander, the total subservience of the crew, the many opportunities which the officers have of screening those to whom they are partial from blame, and exposing those against whom they have the slightest pique to frequent and severe punishments, the inefficacy of any appeal made by a sailor against his superior, and the little weight the declaration of the former has against the assertion of the latter—can fully appreciate the motives which would operate in the minds of these men to conceal anything which might disparage them in the eyes of such all-powerful officials. But as the navy was little employed during the Crimean War, few casualties occurred in its ranks, and very few widows or orphans of sailors or marines have become chargeable on the funds of the Patriotic Commission, the relative number of Catholics and Protestants affects this question little if at all. Let both services be clubbed, and the Catholic contingent be calculated, then let a fair proportion of the funds be allotted for the maintenance and education of the widows and orphans respectively, and we are satisfied. But it is quite idle to talk of Catholics frequenting Protestant schools without danger to their faith, and such a course is equivalent to a denial of aid from the Patriotic Fund for the education of Catholic orphans.

We shall not discuss the policy of the arrangement by which a very small number of places are reserved for Catholics in the military schools of this empire, nor comment upon the immorality which such a regulation causes by inducing parents to enter their children as Protestants, in default of a vacancy in the list of Catholic nominations, and the premium thus offered to misrepresentation and fraud. Neither shall we speak of the hardship thereby entailed upon those whose conscientious scruples forbid them to endanger for a temporal advantage the eternal welfare of their children. These matters not being pertinent to our subject, nor arising out of the mis-management of the fund with which we charge the commissioners, do not pro-

perly belong to this investigation, and might tend, by the introduction of foreign topics, rather to embarrass than to elucidate our argument. But they are useful as shewing that educational establishments erected under the auspices, and conducted under the supervision of the dominant class, are almost invariably made subservient to that design which has for its object the destruction of the faith of Her Majesty's Catholic subjects.

The Archbishop enters fully into the proselytizing tendencies evinced by the government in India, and refers to the character of the military schools there, the facilities afforded, nay the inducements held out, to the tepid and unscrupulous to sacrifice the faith of their children, and the obstacles opposed by the authorities in every possible shape to the practical observance of the duties of their religion in the case of those who resist their solicitations, and are faithful to the obligations which their church imposes. His Grace further points out the disabilities under which our Catholic soldiers labor, the insufficiency of the accommodation afforded for their religious exercises, the penalties inflicted for non-attendance at Protestant worship, &c., and quotes largely in support of these statements from evidence taken before committees of the House and published in the "Reports on Indian Territories." These we shall not advert to as they may be considered to belong to the same category as the military schools in this country, and not to affect the case of the Patriotic Commissioners. We shall therefore conclude by asking this simple question, were there any guarantees afforded in the case of "The Indian Relief Fund" such as to lead Catholics to believe that their feelings would be consulted, their rights preserved and their claims fairly admitted and impartially conceded by those to whom the administration of that fund was committed? It is all nonsense to say that no person considered when contributing to the fund whether his money would be applied to the relief of Protestant or Catholic, and that it is treason to humanity to suppose that the fund will not be honestly distributed. The same might have been said with regard to the Patriotic Fund, yet we have seen how the vast sums collected in that case have been disbursed. What security is there for Catholics that the same course may not be adopted in the present, as was pursued in the former, instance? The Patriotic Commission, embodied by a royal

warrant, was found not inaccessible to the influence of bigotry and fanaticism, how then can it be supposed that a body not having that high public sanction which the other possessed, a sanction which should have conferred immunity from any just impeachment of its integrity, will be more impeccable in its conduct, more faithful to its professions, and less liable to be swayed by partiality and prejudice? Every safeguard which, humanly speaking, could be afforded against any misappropriation of the fund occurring, or any undue preference for one party over another, for one sect over another being evinced by the Commissioners, was provided. A noble object was proposed, the relief of the loved companions, the dear pledges of those brave heroes who died for their country. Princely generosity responded to the appeal of patriotic benevolence; noblemen and gentlemen of the highest position were associated in this splendid work; and to crown all, the Queen, with that beautifully feminine feeling of compassion for human misery welling in her maternal bosom, gave to this body the sanction of her royal name as assurance that all her majesty's subjects victims to those unforeseen calamities should equally participate in the protection which the national sympathy had afforded. Yet notwithstanding these precautions the fell spirit of religious intolerance gained access to their councils, presided at their discussions, and influenced their decision, to such an extent that the exalted purpose for which they were associated has been lost sight of in the effort to achieve an unhallowed object, illustrious names have been tainted with the breath of suspicion, and the prestige hitherto attaching to the sacred name of royalty has been materially weakened if not wholly destroyed. But the worst result is that the abuse of this trust by the Royal Commissioners, has undermined the confidence of Catholics in every similar association. Nevertheless we are called upon, and accused of "treason to humanity" if we refuse, to contribute to a fund administered by an irresponsible body lacking even that security which in the case of the Patriotic Fund was found insufficient. Can any person in his senses maintain for one instant the proposition that greater security is to be found for a due consideration being shewn to the religious feelings of Catholics, in a body composed of persons belonging to

adverse denominations, deficient in those claims to our confidence and exempt from that responsibility which a royal commission involves, than resides in a body possessing those claims and endued with that responsibility. The latter disappointed our expectations, beguiled our hopes, violated our confidence, and betrayed our trust; will the former be less obnoxious to suspicion? Impossible. Should we then be parties to a scheme more dangerous than that against which we have been warned, and contribute to the perpetuation of an evil more pernicious than that against which we have protested. Assuredly not. Suppose an unreasoning animal allured by a bait into a snare by which he is destroyed. He plainly followed the bent of his nature leading him to gratify his appetite; such an action is natural. But suppose a man foreseeing the danger should rush into it for a present gratification, there would be a manifest disproportion between the nature of man and this action, that is it would be unnatural. How? Because by such a course he would act in opposition to that superior inward principle, conscience. Apply this to the case before us, and it will at once appear that any Catholic who believing that the charges brought against the patriotic fund are true, knowing that no further security has been afforded in the case of the Indian fund against the recurrence of those efforts at proselytism of which we have complained, influenced by a desire to gain the applause and esteem of men, or fearing their censure, subscribes to this fund, is guilty of treason to his faith and a violation of his conscience.

Briefly to sum up. We charge the commissioners and their agents with systematic attempts at proselytism by representing as false statements they knew at the time to be true, by acting upon the declaration of a lunatic, certified to be incompetent to form any judgment upon any matters which might be submitted to her opinion, for the purpose of placing the children at a Protestant school having the character of a proselytising establishment. To sustain this charge we have given the case of Mrs. Kirley, a certified lunatic, upon whose declaration, without any other authority in opposition to the assertions of Canon Grimley and affidavits of Sergeant Kirley's relations, and the positive knowledge of the gentlemen acting here for the Patriotic Fund, the children were sent to school at Kilmeague which long ago

had obtained an unenviable notoriety. We admit that Mrs. Kirley may have been a Protestant, but she conformed *before* her marriage, and went through all the exercises prescribed by the Catholic church as a preparation for the worthy reception of the holysacrament of matrimony; her children were baptised Catholics, brought up Catholics, and entered upon the books of the Grangegorman penitentiary as Catholics, being placed as such in charge of the Catholic chaplain.

Next we charge that by a contemptuous inattention to the applications of those who desired their children to be placed at Catholic schools, they wearied out the patience and "sickened the hearts" of the applicants in order to extract from their poverty a reluctant consent, which might afterwards be paraded as the voluntary expression of a wish, to have the children reared Protestants, unblushingly took credit for impartial advice, and brought forward their own employes to testify to the "truths" contained in their statements. And generally we charge, that by abusing the power with which the public invested them, the Commissioners devoted money intended for a specified end to other and unworthy objects never contemplated by the contributors; and by enforcing in particular cases a regulation they relaxed in others, they defeated the very aim and purpose for which they were organized. Witness the case of Mrs. Norris, who, having been harassed by frequent applications, continually disregarded, finding herself unable longer to withstand the pressure of want, sacrificed her child and shortly afterwards died. Mrs. Preston, who received the warning to take away her child being under the age of seven, in the hope that thereby she might not reclaim her other children, through fear of being compelled to keep the youngest at home.

Lastly, we accuse them of allocating large sums out of the surplus funds to Protestant institutions, for Protestant purposes, not one penny being allotted to Catholic charities for the education of Catholic orphans. In support of this we have given their own report, behind which they cannot go, and the veracity of which they must admit. Now, it is due to the commissioners, and due to the subscribers, that a searching inquiry should be instituted into all the details of the various cases; let *all* the correspondence be laid before the persons

appointed to hold it, (say a committee of the House of Commons, composed of Catholics and Protestants in the proportion of one to three, with power to administer an oath); let the witnesses be examined on oath, and a report drawn up and published, containing the decision of the committee, and the grounds upon which that decision was arrived at. Such an investigation would no doubt, tend to the elucidation of that mystery in which the proceedings of the commissioners have been hitherto enveloped. "NOTHING LESS WILL SATISFY THE PUBLIC."

"The Report" has at length appeared. It purports to reply to, and refute the charges brought against the administration of the Patriotic Fund, by the Duke of Norfolk and Archbishop Cullen. We cannot congratulate the Commissioners or their Secretaries upon the ability with which they have executed their task, or the success with which this vindication of their proceedings is likely to be attended. With the charges brought by the Duke of Norfolk, we do not and did not profess to deal; we must therefore be excused from entering upon them. It is with the Archbishop's letter alone, the statements contained in it, and the manner in which those statements have been answered, that we still mean to concern ourselves. We do most sincerely regret that this Report should afford such a painful confirmation of the startling accusations which his Grace considered it his duty to bring forward against this public body. However gratifying it may be, to know that his Grace is ever watchful of the spiritual interests of his flock, and ever zealous in guarding the faith of those committed to his charge from the insidious attacks of wily and powerful enemies, still it is to be deplored that such constant vigilance should be necessary to protect them from the pernicious influence of a body established ostensibly for their advantage. The Commissioners, in their Report, have not disproved a single one of the Archbishop's allegations; they assert that "these charges were immediately answered, and we think, refuted, in a memorandum drawn up and subsequently made public by our honorary secretary, Captain Fishbourne.

They were also emphatically denied by Lord St. Leonards, in a letter which appeared in the *Times*, of October 7th." With regard to the letter of Lord St. Leonards, we leave our readers to judge of the "refutation" given in it to the Archbishop's statements; the memorandum, which may now be considered part of the Report, contains that puerile argument that because a small sum only was contributed by Catholics, therefore they are not entitled to complain, if they be relieved not in proportion to the number of those of their religion whose services entitled their widows and orphans to receive relief, but in proportion to the amount of the subscriptions they have contributed to the fund. We repeat what we before stated, that if Ireland contributed nothing whatever to the fund, the people of this country would be entitled to demand whatever sums were required to maintain or educate the widows or orphans of the Irish soldiers who fell in the Crimea. "Dr. Cullen" did not "insinuate" anything; what he wrote he wrote openly, fairly, and above board. The "insinuations" came from the other side: Lord St. Leonards "insinuated," and Captain Fishbourne, the son of the Carlow ex-Magistrate, "insinuates," that "Dr. Cullen" stated, with regard to the final allocation, "that the money thus applied was that of Roman Catholics," meaning thereby, that the particular subscription of the Roman Catholic body was separated from the rest of the fund, and distinctly applied to Protestant institutions. This is mere folly, and could result only from the hereditary antipathy which the gallant secretary feels towards Roman Catholic priests in general, and towards "Dr. Cullen" in particular; for it exhibits "Dr. Cullen" in the light of a little child who will insist on having his own toy, and nobody else's will satisfy him. We don't object to the allotment of Catholic money to Protestant institutions, if, in return, Protestant money be given to Catholic institutions. But what "Dr. Cullen" complained of was, that while no money was allotted to our institutions, large sums were allotted for the erection and endowment of Protestant institutions, out of that fund to which Catholics had contributed. To this it is replied in the Report that these institutions are open to all denominations: on the same principle as the Union schools, (which are avowedly proselytizing), and that no institution existed in connexion

with the Military profession for the exclusive reception of Roman Catholic children. So are the Townsend-street School, the Coombe Ragged School, and many others of the same class, open to all denominations, but it does not therefore follow, that they are adapted to afford the means of religious instruction to the Roman Catholics. There are many schools established on the same principle as the Union schools in England, existing in Dublin and other towns of Ireland, the heads of which would seize with avidity upon any opportunity of gaining possession of a Catholic child, and so far from requiring an endowment, would willingly pay a capitation tax on every child thus given up to them; but these schools could hardly be called open to Catholic children, for their aim and object is to eradicate, from the minds of their pupils, every trace of "Romanism." The result of these mixed schools will be, that the Catholics will, in the first place, be admitted only in a certain proportion, founded on Captain Fishbourne's estimate of the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants in the Army and Navy; next, that being established in conformity with the precedent afforded by the Union schools, erected under the 7 and 8 Vic. c. 101, the Catholic children will be exposed to every annoyance that can legally be given to them. They will not be "*obliged*" to attend Protestant worship or listen to Protestant teaching; that would be contrary to "the scrupulous respect which the commissioners feel ought, on every account, to be paid to differences of religious belief;" but the parson will consider that he was put there for all, and that as the children form one community, his right to speak to all without distinction must not be questioned; and that any separation of the children would be very injurious, as tending to make the other children have doubts about religion, seeing the difference of teaching. There will be Protestant prayers every morning, but there will be no one to collect the poor Catholics together for the purpose of performing their morning devotions. If Mass be allowed to be celebrated at all, it will be permitted only at such an hour as to render it almost impossible for the poor little children ever to approach the Holy Communion, as only they can do it—fasting. The refectory must be attended without partaking of food; games must be played without any mental distraction, and the every-day business gone

through by the Catholic pupils, whilst keeping their minds fixed upon the great duty they are about to discharge, and their attention wrapt in the contemplation of the power and goodness of that Divine Visitor they are about to receive.

The class books will be composed by some person whose object it is to misrepresent every thing Catholic, and who, if he had the will has not the intellectual capacity to rise above the influence of prejudice. History, that most powerful engine for good or evil, will be distorted; wrong constructions will be put upon the acts of Catholic sovereigns, and every thing that human ingenuity can devise will be resorted to for the purpose of alienating the minds of these youths from the faith in which they had been born. There will be no Catholic teachers to instruct the Catholic children in the duties of their religion. A particular day and the most inconvenient hours in that day, will be appointed for the Catholic priest to visit and instruct the Catholic children. Most probably it will be a day on which, according to the regulations of the school, the children will be allowed some extra recreation and amusement, and thus the poor little papists, in addition to the taunts of their schoolfellows, will find their little amusement diminished, because they happen to have been born in the Romish persuasion. These restraints may appear trifling to grown men, (though they chafe at less), but to the child they are most dreadful. Now just imagine; a fine March day, the sun shining brilliantly through the frosty air, it is a half holiday, a day for pleasure, the spirits of the pupils, bubbling up from their youthful hearts, are overflowing in the anticipation of the pleasure they will derive from the promised visit to some romantic ruin or historic monument to which they are to be brought on a walk. Meanwhile, until the time for departure comes, every sort of game is going forward, and the merry laugh of the school-boy echoes gaily through the play-ground. But who are these sitting in a comfortless room, the gloomy aspect of which presents a sad contrast with the merry sunshine without? Downcast and listless they receive the admonition of their instructor; ever and anon the joyous shout of their companions recalls the scene of pleasure from which they are excluded, or the silence which reigns around proclaims

the departure of their school-fellows on the excursion they are forbidden to join. What grave offence have they committed, which necessitates such a severe punishment, and who is this man who tries to fix the wandering attention of the poor fellows upon the subject on which he is speaking to them? They have committed no offence, except that they are *Catholics*; that man is a priest, permitted by the guardians to visit the members of his persuasion once a week, during recreation hours, and only once a week, and only during recreation hours. Is it in human nature to look forward to a recurrence of such visits, under such circumstances, with pleasure; or would not a young boy or girl prefer to abandon every prospect of happiness in a far distant, and to them, an incomprehensible future, than endure the wretchedness and misery of this most painful and degrading segregation?

What a frame of mind to receive religious instruction. Is not every recurrence of such a visit from the priest, anticipated with melancholy forbodings. How long do the commissioners suppose a child could withstand such cruelty. We believe in our conscience, that nothing short of the particular interposition of Providence, and the special operation of Grace, would preserve the religion of that child for one year. Is this a fancy sketch? It is not.* Even in respectable Protestant schools, frequent quarrels,

* To show that we have not exaggerated in our supposition of what *will* be, we give an account of what *is*. In a letter on the Union Schools of England, we find the following statement with regard to the instruction of Catholic children. "The decision of the board upon this point, was given me by the superintendent. It was that I might see the children from half-past two to four o'clock on Saturdays, and only then. It was in vain that I represented that hour as most inconvenient. The Board have refused to alter it. It must be observed that Saturday is the half holiday, and the children, I was told, are accustomed often to walk out on that day. One lesson a week, and that rendered obnoxious, by being taken out of their play time, and fixed for an hour when the priest might often be prevented of coming, is what the board considers a sufficient allowance of Catholic instruction for Catholic children, and is all the opportunity we as yet have of counteracting the overwhelming influence of Protestantism, by which they are surrounded." This is the model upon which the rules of the school that is to be "a visible and permanent memorial of national generosity," is to be formed.

terminating in boxing matches, arise out of religious disputes; and as to the effect of the regulation with regard to religious teaching, as acted upon in the district schools, it is found most efficacious in up-rooting all inclination to continue the profession of a religion entailing such hardships.

We do not hesitate to assert, that, had the most inveterate opponent of the Commissioners, ransacked their whole conduct, criticised with hostile minuteness every detail of their management, he could not have produced a more damning proof of their proselytising tendencies, a more perfect justification of "Dr. Cullen's" charges, than the Commissioners themselves furnish in their admitted allocation of a large sum of money towards the erection of an institution, the rules of which should be based on the same principal, as that by which district schools are regulated.

As our space is limited, and our time short, we cannot analyze with all the accuracy we could desire, the various portions of the report. We shall therefore turn to the cases of Mrs. Kirley, and Mrs. Norris. And first of Mrs. Kirley. Appendix 25 of the Report, is a letter from Major Harris, to Captain Fishbourne at the head of which is the following. "Margaret Jane, 10 years old, and Alice 6 years old, children of Margaret Kirley. No. 426, at 8s. 6d., *who is insane, Protestant*, 17th March, 1857.

We must be particular about dates. On the 17th March, 1857, Major Harris writes of Mrs. Kirley as a "Protestant." On the 25th March, 1857, she is committed to Grange Gorman Penitentiary, and entered as a Roman Catholic. She remained there until September of the same year. The Major it would seem was not quite satisfied at having acted so summarily, and called at the Penitentiary sometime in March, we cannot fix the date more exactly, than by referring to the medical certificate of Dr. Banon, written at the desire of Major Harris, intimated to the Governor on the occasion of his interview with him, which is dated 2nd April, 1857, to *ascertain* the religion of the children of the woman Kirley," whom he had described on the 17th inst. as Protestant. The Governor shewed him the entries of her various committals; and there she and her children were set down "Roman Catholic." In the face of this fact the Major wrote to Canon Grimley, on the 20th April, "It does not appear that the children of Sergeant Kirley,

were ever at any time brought up by their parents in the Roman Catholic faith." Perhaps there is some quibble about "by their parents." If so, we can only say, that should the commissioners think to ride off on special pleading technicalities, they will find themselves sadly mistaken, and will contribute more than any accusations, however derogatory, "to undermine confidence in the integrity of public bodies." So much for that. Now observe Alice is not seven years old. According to the Report many Protestant children have been refused presentation to Protestant schools, in consequence of not having attained their seventh year. We know that many Catholics have been refused, when desirous of placing their children at schools of their own persuasion on the same ground. But happy Alice must not be lost. Arthur Preston is waiting for her, and she with the others is packed off to Sallins, on (mark another date,) the *31st March*, 1857.

Strange coincidence;—The Major goes to the Penitentiary, say on the 28th; it is not material so long as it is clear he went *before* the 31st; we cannot suspect him of going on the 1st April—"Fool's day"—and the certificate is dated 2nd April, so we may fairly assume he went before the 31st, learned the religion of the mother and children, and then sends the children off to Kilmeague Colony. This is acting in accordance with the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench.

This explains the delay in answering Canon Grimley's first letter, which at the time appeared so extraordinary. On the 28th March Captain Fishbourne wrote in reference to Canon Grimley's letter. Major Harris sent no reply until the 20th April. Why did not Major Harris forward to Canon Grimley the letter, or an extract from the letter, of Captain Fishbourne which appears a very fair one, and not take upon himself to act with so much discourtesy towards the priest, as flatly to contradict him, and that too, when Major Harris was in possession of the knowledge that Mrs. Kirley and her children had been always described in the books of the Penitentiary as "Roman Catholic," and even on the last occasion when confined on the 25th March, she was described as "Roman Catholic." The indefiniteness of Mr. Synnot's "early in the Summer of this year," left us in doubt as to whether Major Harris was

acquainted with the religion of the Kirleys previous to his writing that letter to Canon Grimley; and actuated by the desire of not imputing any impropriety to those in public positions unless we have good grounds for suspicion, we have treated the subject in the body of the paper as though the Major had been ignorant of it. Now, however, we leave it to our readers to characterise the statement in the letter of 20th April, 1857. On the 17th March Major Harris describes Mrs. Kirley as "*insane*," and "*Protestant*," in italics. On the 25th she is registered Roman Catholic in the Penitentiary, March 23rd. Mr. Preston agrees to take the children. March 25th, Canon Grimley writes protesting against their being proselytized. Between that date and the 2nd April Major Harris visits the Penitentiary, traces the committals, finds Mrs. Kirley and her children entered as Roman Catholics, sends them on the 31st March to a Protestant school, and on the 20th April writes that letter to Canon Grimley, which appears quite at variance with fact. So far as to dates, we think we have shewn that due regard has not been had towards the religion of these children.

The Commissioners make a great fuss about Mrs. Kirley's having been once a Protestant. Mr. Kingston, Vicar of St. James, writes to Lord St. Leonards, that the widow Kirley said "she is, and always has been a Protestant, and never professed herself a Roman Catholic." This is in direct contradiction to Mrs. Colvins's statement as reported by Major Harris, viz.:—"That Margeret Kirley was brought up a Protestant, but as it is contrary to custom to marry two persons of different religion she changed for the purpose of the ceremony." Mary Anne Mills certifies to the effect, that between 1837 and 1840 Mrs. Kirley, then Margaret M'Cormick, was a Protestant. The Rev. Hugh Crawford is also brought forward, and with wonderful egotism certifies to the correctness of an extract made by himself, out of a book which he admits is in his own possession. What weight such testimony may have with those whose judgments are unclouded by prejudice, can easily be estimated. The fact, notwithstanding, is doubtful; however, admitting that she had been a Protestant, her mother declares she changed her religion. The sincerity of that conversion it is not for us to question,

that is between herself and God, who alone "sees the hearts of men:" we can judge only by appearances, and certainly judging by appearances—attendance at Mass, frequentation of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, &c.—she was a Catholic. Mr. Kingston further states on the authority, he says of Mrs. Kirley, that, being taken up by a constable on the charge of being under the influence of liquor, "she and her children were committed to Grange-gorman Penitentiary, &c." The shortest term of imprisonment given on the return is seven days, an unusually long confinement for a woman who was only drunk. Again, "be it observed, it was not pecuniary distress which caused her to be committed to prison, &c." Yet the same return shews that between the 1st January and 31st December, 1856, she was committed twelve times for begging. "When taken to Mass she knelt down with her back to the altar." We were not before aware that when Protestants knelt it was their custom to turn their backs on the "Communion table." However, the statement is false. We refer to these statements merely for the purpose of drawing attention to them as clearly manifesting a mind diseased.

Now for Mrs. Norris. Parson Hare (having some connexion with the "Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics,") writes under date 12th July, 1856-7. (What may be the meaning of 56-7 we don't know.)—"I, some time ago, placed two orphan children of Crimean Soldiers, Mary Norris, and Agnes Arnott, under the care of the guardians of the Orphan Home, Richmond-street, Portobello, &c." By whose authority? Captain Fishbourne stated in his memorandum, that no parson was employed by the Commissioners to distribute relief to individuals who had claims on the Patriotic Fund; yet here we have a parson, aye, worse than a parson, a professed "Souper," one of the heads of the "Irish Church Missions Society" (to which Captain Fishbourne is a subscriber) employed by the Commissioners to place children of Crimean soldiers, of whom one at all events was a Catholic, in a Protestant school at the expense of the fund. This Society of "Irish Church Missions" is founded for the purpose of insulting and annoying the Catholics of Ireland. As a proof of this we subjoin one of ten reasons why Christians should support this Society: "Because the doctrines of the Church of Rome being anti-scriptural and idolatrous, Roman Catholics

are perishing for lack of knowledge." Now this "Souper" may be, in Fishbourne's estimation, a very proper person to consult the religious feelings and provide for the religious wants of the "idolatrous" papists, but we do hope that there will be found very few outside this family party of the same opinion.

It is calculated to excite considerable suspicion, when we see such a lot of those Souper parsons hanging about the fund. It argues badly for the impartial administration of the fund.

The children were placed in this school which is Protestant. On the 1st August Mrs. Norris forwarded a memorial attested by Canon Grimley, requesting her children to be sent to St. Clare's, Harold's Cross. Dates again. On the 4th November Mr. Ball drew attention to the fact that no answer had been sent to her application. On the 5th November, (Guy Fawkes day,) Captain Fishbourne sent an answer to Mr. Ball stating, "Your note did not pass unnoticed. The memorial was sent to Mrs. Norris." For what purpose? A memorial is forwarded to a public body, and the secretary sends it back to the memorialist without note or comment. But it was not sent to Mrs. Norris, it was sent to Mr. Hare, who had it up to the 25th of September, when he returned it to Mr. Fishbourne. Why is not the letter of Captain Fishbourne to Mr. Hare which accompanied the memorial published? Perhaps it might disclose some unpleasant secrets. The material part of it is seen from Hare's.—"In compliance with your wishes I have seen Mrs. Norris on the subject of your last communication." Now what right had Fishbourne to communicate with this Hare at all, on the subject of Mrs. Norris' petition? and what right had he to ask Hare to get from the poor woman an explanation of why she forwarded a petition, and to endeavour to induce her to deny all knowledge of the substance of it? We must confess we do not like to see so many of these Missionaries mixed up with the matter.—Fishbourne, Hare, M'Carthy, &c., &c.—men sworn to overturn the Catholic religion in this country, acting on the part of the public in a matter touching the interests of Catholics, bears on the face of it a very suspicious appearance. The public has a right to the production of every letter that passed between the parties

concerned in these proceedings ; in the absence of any material one we have a right to stigmatise the report as a garbled report, and we do so stigmatise it. It is most unfair in a document purporting to be a vindication, to keep back any evidence which may tend to the condemnation of the parties concerned. It is not astonishing that Mr. Ball refused to sign it. He would not lend himself to such a nasty tricky proceeding. On the 5th November a reply is sent to Mrs. Norris. From August to November—three months—the child being all this time in Miss Shepherd's care. 13th November Mrs. Norris again applies having her signature certified by an Alderman of the city. On the 25th November she gets an answer referring her to Major Ormsby. Why could not Hare still have the management of this neat little case?

December 16th she applied personally to Ormsby, to have her child sent to Baggot-street. December 19th Captain Fishbourne writes, "Two petitions have been received at this office on behalf of Mrs. Norris to place her daughter with the nuns of St. Clare's Orphanage, Harold's Cross ; and a third to have her placed with Miss Shepherd, &c." Where is that third petition ?—Why is it not produced ? Really we fear that the Commissioners have very little regard for their reputation when they append their names to such an incomplete and unsatisfactory report. We do not wish to indulge in any strong language ; but it appears to us that such a vindication (?) tends rather to excite, than allay suspicion. But to return. December 19th Captain Fishbourne wrote ; and on the 22nd December Mrs. Norris was put on HALF ALLOWANCE!!! There is a letter without a date from Captain Mansfield, which is as follows :—

" My dear Sir,

A woman, a widow of a man of the name of Norris, of the 90th Regiment, has contracted a marriage with a man in my company, by name Hoolihan, which marriage is null, owing to the man having being previously married, (was he prosecuted for bigamy ?) At her second marriage she lost her pension from the Patriotic Fund. Now that

she finds her marriage to be invalid, she is anxious to recover her position on the pension list of the Patriotic Fund.

Faithfully yours,

C. E. MANSFIELD,

Captain 33rd Regiment,
Dublin."

No address. No date. We should like to see the date. We may presume, however, that it was before she was put on half allowance, as the Captain says "she *lost* her pension." Could it be possible that this half allowance had anything to do with the petition of the 10th January, 1857, requesting admission for her child to the "London Infant Home?" January 30th, another petition to the same effect, was forwarded by Major Ormsby to Captain Fishbourne, and on the 2nd February, a letter came from Captain Fishbourne, couched in the following terms:—

London, &c.

2nd February, 1857.

"SIR,

In compliance with Mrs. Norris's request, her daughter will be placed in the Soldiers' Infant Home at Hampstead. Will you have the goodness to pay the mother and child's expenses to this office, and also the expense of Mrs Norris in returning to Dublin.

I have the honour, &c. &c.,

E. GARDINER FISHBOURNE.

Major Ormsby,

District Staff Office, Dublin."

No necessity for "presentation forms." Everything is now smooth.

"Facilis, decensus Avernii."

Landed at last. A hard struggle, well and skilfully played, Captain. Oh, what rapture fills your breast. We wish you joy, but for all that, we would not like to be in your place. Mrs. Norris died, and so the matter ends. The letters of Major Ormsby to the Archbishop, are em-

bodied in the Report, but the letter of the Archbishop to Major Ormsby, dated 1st January, 1858, is *omitted*. With reference to the observation made by the Commissioners, that "Dr. Cullen," produced only two cases to sustain his charges, we must say that it was not from a want of instances of proselytism, which are alas too numerous, but through a wish not to cumber his pages with the "old old story." Should the Commissioners desire it, we have no doubt His Grace will give them more examples than they would wish to have known. We have only now to say, that the Report is most satisfactory, affording as it does "confirmation strong" of the charges brought by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen against the Patriotic Commission, and proving beyond question the necessity there existed for obtaining in regard to the "Indian Relief Fund," some further assurance of impartial distribution, than that which had been already found insufficient. We regret we were not able to enter more minutely into the Report: but as far as we went, we have proved that even taking their own one-sided and partial statement, the accusations of the Archbishop have been fully corroborated. It is to be hoped that on an early day, the reasons which induced Mr. Ball to refrain from signing the Report, will be made public. It is somewhat striking, that of the two Catholics on the Commission one withheld his name, and that of two Irishmen one refused to sign.

In the first page of our paper we have attributed to the "Sepoys," outrages which we then believed to have taken place. Information which we have since received, unfortunately too late for insertion in its proper place, has induced us to modify our opinion considerably, and to regard the reports of these atrocities as somewhat exaggerated.

ART. V.—THE SCOTCH HISTORIAN.

History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852, by Sir Archibald Alison, Bart. D.C.L. vol. VII. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1858.

A very strange opinion respecting the merits of historiographers generally has been attributed to Dr. Johnson, by his friend and biographer, Bozzy. The doctor is said to have held, that writers of history are nothing better than mere retailers of facts and events occurring on the surface of the earth during a certain number of years, and that their only merit consisted in making a good compilation. Another opinion of the great lexicographer was of a somewhat similar character; that if the names of all persons of the two sexes in the kingdom were thrown into two separate hats, and drawn out in couples to be mated, the matches so made would prove as happy as any that are made in the usual way, with all the care of parents, or dictated by the impulses of affection. In fact Dr. Johnson did not believe either in those marriages, which are said to be made in heaven, nor in that strange animal a philosophical historian. If he had lived to the present day it is very hard to conceive, what value he would have set upon the labours of Lord Macaulay or Sir Archibald Alison, the characteristics of whose works are so diametrically opposed in point of matter and composition, the one crammed with facts, the other with logic.

It must be admitted, however, that the great lexicographer's opinion in this matter is somewhat extravagant, and at variance with his usual sagacious views. A writer of history should not only properly arrange his events, not merely in chronological order, but also according to their natural connection, otherwise his work will be garbled, split up into fragments of a heterogeneous nature, without consecutiveness upon the face of it. He must shew by a concise and clear chain of reasoning, how certain events followed from particular causes, or produced certain effects, so that the future generations of the human race may profit by the often too dear bought experience of those who went before them. Herein resides the

greatest sagacity of the good historian, herein he shews his knowledge of human policy, and applies the principles of philosophy to the actions of nations, in order to instruct his fellow-men. But all men are not of the same studious habit, nor equally inclined to investigate the dry course of events during a series of years, and in order to draw them on to a perusal of pages, which may lead to their enlightenment, it is necessary that a certain amount of interesting incident should be clothed in harmony of language. To do all these things well without too great a crowding of facts, too tedious an array of argument, or too florid a description of trifling events foreign to the subject, must require a mind well educated in the science of reason, a judgment capable of discriminating the great and the useful in the events of successive years, and a power of expression in writing equal to the deeds he has to pourtray. Let us see how Alison has fulfilled these conditions.

The volume before us is replete with some of the most important events which have occurred in these countries, and in France since the battle of Waterloo. It relates the Temperance movement and Repeal agitation in Ireland—the passing of the Bank Charter Act by Sir Robert Peel in 1844—the Railway Mania—the Anti-Corn Law agitation, and the establishment of free-trade—the Irish famine of 1846-7—the Chartist movement, and the attempt at Rebellion in Ireland during 1848. The occurrences in France and on the continent during the same period are no less interesting, comprising the growth of revolutionary opinions in that country for many years, and the attempts of the Government for their suppression—the revolt of Abdel Kader in Algeria—the celebrated question of the Spanish marriages—the Accession of Pius IX., and the revolution in Rome—and the final catastrophe ending in the expulsion of Louis Philippe from the soil of France. Such are the multifarious subjects which swell the pages of this thick octavo; it is impossible that we can deal with each and all of them, we shall content ourselves, therefore with the consideration of those which have a more especial interest or relation to our own country and people.

Sir Archibald Alison has never been very happy in his allusions to Irish affairs, whether it is that he does not understand the temper of the people of this country, or that the fogs of his own northern land have obfuscated his vision of

affairs at this side of the channel ; at all events he hazards the most unfounded hypothesis respecting their causes and effects. He dedicates to the Temperance movement, and Repeal agitation, which fermented in this island during six years, and well nigh threatened to provoke rebellion, just twelve pages of his verbose letter-press, without giving any intelligible account of its progress or development. According to his first surmise the Temperance movement was "veiled under the guise of philanthropy," in order "to divert the funds hitherto wasted in the public-house, into the coffers of the Repeal Association." Has the most fertile brain of the greatest enemy of O'Connell, even the *Times'* Commissioner himself, ever invented such an absurd origin for the apostolic labours of Father Mathew ? It is very true that the liberator made use of the spread of Teetotalism, to induce the lower orders to contribute their mite to the support of the Repeal question, and even on one occasion stated that "Teetotalism was the sublimest effluence of human reason," and that if he were going into battle, he should wish to be surrounded by the followers of the Apostle of Temperance, but a more absurd invention could not be foisted on posterity as fact, if Sir Archibald wishes to go down to future ages as a truth-telling historian, than that Daniel O'Connell had anything to do with the origin of the Temperance movement. It was all due to the untiring labours, the patient self-sacrifice of that man, whom Alison calls "a monk of ardent disposition, nervous eloquence, and enthusiastic philanthropy." Here also is the narrator at fault ; the spirit of the priest was meek, his language calm and persuasive, and Irishmen should never forget that he immolated himself for his fellow-countrymen, the pension which he received from Government being scarcely sufficient to keep alive the policies on his life to secure debts incurred in carrying out his mission of benevolence.

Another strange passage in this account now meets the eye. It runs thus : "it has been often remarked, that whenever the people give over *fighting at fairs* in Ireland, you may be sure that some serious outbreak is in contemplation, and government will do well to stand on their guard." In other words, that when the people are most orderly and well-behaved, Her Majesty must at once dread a rebellion, and send over an overwhelming force of military. Oh ! wisest of writers on human

affairs, how marvellous are the intricacies of thy reasoning, and how inscrutable the deductions of thy fertile imagination! Is it not evident to any person of common sense, that faction, or as it would be called in Scotland, *Clanship*, was the sole cause of these partial disturbances, which had no connection whatever with political affairs. At this present moment when all this antagonism has died out, and no such faction quarrels are recorded, we enjoy the most benign tranquillity, and absence of all plottings of treason or insurrection.

Before the Repeal agitation commenced in earnest in 1841, serious crime had rapidly diminished to a great extent owing to the spread of temperance, and to the prosperous state of the country. O'Connell laid his plans wisely for a great national effort, which would combine together and interest nearly all classes in the community, and produce a pressure on the government, which could scarcely be resisted. Many doubt at the present day, whether he ever hoped himself to see the fulfilment of his demands, but whether he did or not, his Catholic fellow-subjects laboured under so many disabilities, and were still so little raised from the state of oppression, in which they had been so long retained, that many advantages might be gained by their standing together manfully, even for such a hopeless object as the abrogation of the Act of Union. He rightly saw also, that the Whigs, not the Tories, were the party to keep in power, as the most likely to favour his design; they were not strong in their influence among the landed interest of England, their principles pointed too much towards Reform, towards giving power to the middling classes; they needed to conciliate the body of the people, the Catholics of Ireland, for support. So when in May, 1841, their hold on the reins of power was slackened, and it became evident that Sir Robert Peel should come in at the head of the conservatives, meetings were held in every parish in Ireland, to petition the Queen, "not to receive into her confidence the bitter and malignant enemies of her faithful Irish people." What a contrast to the conduct of the priests and independent oppositionists of the present day, who join the Tory candidates to the exclusion of every person of liberal views in politics.

Then came the monster meetings, to which the farmers and peasants headed by their pastors, with colours flying, often preceded by small bands of music, might be seen wending

their way in tens, twentys, and fifties of thousands across the country in obedience to the call of the master spirit. The hill of Kilnoe in Clare, and Ardsullas, saw the first of these assemblages, which speedily grew to such dimensions as to threaten the continuance of British rule within the Island. The priests gave in their adhesion, 104 in one diocese, one only excepted, having joined the movement. But the government were not yet intimidated, their organ, the *Standard*, announced, "that it was not intended to take any notice of the nonsense going on in Ireland, but that any attempt at a breach of the law would be put down with a high hand." O'Connell accepted now the Lord Mayoralty of Dublin, and made use of that office to further his views. He found that the Tory interest had an exclusive hold upon the representation of Dublin city, on account of the corruption and venality of the greater number of the freemen, a large portion of whom were, and still are, base, worthless, impoverished wretches, trafficking their votes to the highest bidder. He endeavoured to extend the freedom of the city to many of his fellow Catholics, who had been excluded from their rights by the bigotry of former chief magistrates, but his efforts were futile, and the representation of the chief city is still disgraced by the abject state of a portion of the constituency.

During the year 1842, the ardour of the Repealers was somewhat abated; the previous harvest had been scanty, labour was scarce, agrarian outrages and riots occurred in various parts of the country, owing to the dearth among the peasantry; but at the commencement of 1843, O'Connell revived the spirit of agitation, by declaring, that the coming season should be the Repeal year. March saw the enormous meeting at Trim, May that of Mullingar, at each of which not less than 100,000 persons were present. The Catholic bishops formally declared themselves Repealers, and defied the ministers of England to put down the movement. So far all had gone on according to law; the organization of the Repeal Association was so well managed, and so widely spread throughout the country, that it seemed more than probable that the executive should yield to the public clamour. The government began to get alarmed; Sir Edward Sugden, the chancellor of Ireland, in the blindness of his haste, superseded Lord French and several other magistrates, who had taken part in Repeal meetings.

We have had a parallel case in this last year in the plain dealing of Chancellor Brady with the Orange magistrates of the north, after the riots of Belfast.

This measure only produced increased irritation among the people. On the 15th August, the hill of Tara, sacred in Irish history, was covered by a vast encampment, which sent forth multitudes by some estimated at nearly half-a-million of persons. In the exultation of his heart, at the sight of his myriad supporters, O'Connell promised his hearers, that they should see a Parliament in College Green within the next twelve months. It cannot be conceived why a man of such sagacity and stretch of foresight could have made such a rash pledge to the Irish people, unless he had in contemplation some more sudden step for obtaining his avowed object, unless in fact he meditated an insurrection. His open language and demeanour on this occasion misled many of his adherents; he himself was carried away by his enthusiasm; his acts and language, which had been hitherto kept within the bounds of strict prudence, betrayed him into extravagancies, which he could never retract, and he fell into the snare, which put him within the power of the English government. His partizans spoke openly of their "Repeal cavalry," marching and "countermarching," and made use of other terms, which were eagerly caught at by their enemies. The climax of the agitation was reached, and the executive made preparations to put a stop to any further intimidation. An act was passed through Parliament on the 22nd of the same month, requiring the registration of arms, and the Duke of Wellington, as Commander-in-Chief, concentrated his troops, and prepared the barracks throughout the country in the event of an outbreak.

The crisis had at length arrived; O'Connell announced in the Repeal Association that he would hold a meeting at Clontarf to petition the Queen for a re-establishment of the Irish Parliament, and invited the citizens of Dublin to attend. The 8th of October was the day appointed for the demonstration; the loyal Protestants of Dublin took fright at the proximity of such an assemblage, and began secretly to collect means of defence in case of an attack. The metropolis was raised to a state of commotion, agitation was painted in every face, some rejoicing in the prospect of a serious conflict, others dreading the effects of popular fury. Suddenly on the day before the appointed gathering, a proclamation is issued by the Lord Lieu-

tenant, prohibiting the collection of any large body of persons at the place designed, warning all well-disposed persons to remain away, and directing a body of troops to enforce the order. O'Connell yielded, the Repeal Association sent out its emissaries to countermand the arrangements for the meeting, and when the hour arrived, the ground was kept by 6,000 men under arms, and a few dispersed groups of idlers, among whom Tom Steele, the "Head Pacificator," moved about, waving a green bough, as an olive branch, and motioning the people to proceed quietly to their homes.

A great deal of obloquy has been cast upon the Liberator for not persevering in his attempt to hold the monster meeting at Clontarf. It has been said, even by many of his own party, particularly those who afterwards formed the section called the "Young Irelanders," that he had worked up the people to a pitch of excitement, in which they were ready to dare anything which he might have the resolution to propose, and that it was fully expected that he should have led them to decided revolt, if the government persisted in ignoring their claims. They accuse him of want of firmness and constancy in the hour of trial, when the whole population were at hand to back him in any decided course. A moment's consideration will enable us to perceive, that the expectation of any such co-operation was altogether illusory, and that any attempt at insurrection would have been immediately crushed with an overwhelming force. The peasantry through the country were not organized, or did not hold arms in their hands, with which they could hope to struggle successfully against the soldiery; the mob, which should have assembled at Clontarf, would have been completely defenceless, and in any attempt at rising must have been slaughtered mercilessly. The Priests throughout the country, though ready to head their flocks on their way to monster assemblies, would have shrunk back from the responsibility in the hour of peril, and withheld the aid which they had given reason to expect. O'Connell's plans were deeper laid; he foresaw that the executive having gone so far as the issuing of the proclamation, should go farther and prosecute himself and some of his associates; he calculated too much on the unanimous feeling of the people, that such a measure would rouse them into a state of armed resistance, without any preconcert, which nothing could quell. For this he had been preparing their

minds carefully during three years, bringing them on through easy gradations from the idea of petitioning the Queen, to a familiarity with the determination to use coercive measures, and a consciousness of their own strength. If the people had rightly understood the lesson inculcated, and acted upon it, no power which the British crown might have brought to bear, could have resisted the enormous pressure of the popular will. The preparation was altogether imperfect, his followers urged on, in their over-zeal, the crisis of affairs a little too fast, and the whole scheme fell to the ground, the labours of many years were rendered useless and unavailing.

It would be tiresome to relate in detail the circumstances attending the arrest and twenty-two days trial of O'Connell and his co-conspirators. The jury-system was on that occasion perverted to the worst purposes of partizanship, by the meanest of the lowest of hirelings. Sixty-three names of jurors who might have been favourably prejudiced towards the traversers, were, by a sleight of hand trick, lost or obliterated from the panel, and an unconscientious Attorney General crammed the jury-box with twelve men, whom he knew in his heart could not give a fair hearing to the accused. Unfortunately, the ends of justice are too often defeated, in this land, by the prejudices of party on either side, either for or against the crown; this is a stain which can never be wiped out, as long as the body of the people and the government are in antagonism. Furthermore, the dignity of the court of justice was degraded by the pettishness and arrogance of the highest law-officer, who, before the very face of the representative of the Queen, in the Queen's Bench, presumed to send a challenge across the green cloth to one of the counsel for the traversers. These things were matters of notoriety at the day, serving only to turn into ridicule the whole proceedings.

The charge was one of constructive conspiracy, that is to say, a conspiring to be eked out from the words and acts of the parties concerned, without any proof of plot, or contrivance or agreement on a definite plan of action. No such plan or plot could have been proved, the doings and sayings, so called conspirators were open to all, no one was ignorant of the purposes and methods of action, but words had been dropped in public speeches, the people had been roused into a threatening attitude, external pressure had been brought to bear on the go-

vernment and to ward it off a conviction was absolutely necessary. O'Connell alone had woven in his brain the thread of events, which brought about the state of excitement in the public mind, no preconcert existed among the accused, but it was essential for party purposes to convict. The crime imputed was one scarcely known to the law, looked upon with a jealous eye by all its commentators; the nature of the accusation had been hitherto regarded as such a vital blow at the liberty of the subject, that no person had ever been found guilty of it in England; but the circumstances demanded an example, the agitation should be suppressed at all hazards, and a packed jury were the willing instruments of conviction.

The traversers were found guilty; at the moment of the delivery of the verdict Mr. Smith O'Brien, with true nobility of spirit, joined heart in hand with his former opponent in the hour of danger. Four months, however, elapsed before the sentence was pronounced, and O'Connell was allowed to choose his own prison, the Richmond Penitentiary. Then followed the appeal to the lords, where party spirit again shewed itself, the Whigs endeavouring to conciliate, the Tories to crush every independent opinion in the sister country. Alison endeavours to extol the tribunal before which the legal questions were argued, saying, "that never was a more magnificent exhibition of British justice than on this occasion." It is singular, however, that he passes over in silence altogether the true grounds on which the decision was come to, which reversed the sentence on the accused. Six of the eleven counts in the indictment had been declared radically bad in law, yet there was enough remaining to sustain the verdict, although it was acknowledged that the nature of the charge, a constructive conspiracy to coerce government, was scarcely supported by *scintilla juris*. The real point, however, lay behind, and struck at the very inception of the trial, the unfair practices which had been used to obtain a jury predetermined to convict. This ground it was which drew forth the able rebuke of the venerable Denman, when he declared the whole proceedings to have been, "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." Yet would the judgment have stood, the lay-lords were eager to support it, but that a sense of decency compelled them to retire behind the Chancellor's chair, while three Whig law Lords, Denman, Cottenham and Campbell, reversed the former decision of the twelve judges, leaving the Tory lords, Lyndhurst and Brougham, in a minority.

Thus ended this drama of the repeal agitation. O'Connell liberated endeavoured to revive the spirits of his followers, and to set on foot a more perfect organization. He felt soon that he no longer held the reins of power in his hands. During his incarceration the members of Conciliation Hall had learned to act independently, and to question the deeds of their leader. Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and other ardent thinkers, conceived that the time for deliberation was passed, that the moment for determined purpose had arrived. They heeded not the master mind, which had so far conducted the cause safely through the perils of faction warfare, they repudiated the guidance of their political pilot, and even objected to his interference with the funds of the Repeal Association. This disgusted the man, who had sacrificed so much to his country; he found too late that he could not depend on a consistent support from his followers; the enthusiasm which had formerly rung in peals through the land, was stilled, and gave no response to his efforts to reawaken it. His health also began to fail, perhaps owing principally to his short confinement, which must have had a powerful effect on a man of such active habits. A preventative to disease, which had been prescribed by his medical advisers, suddenly ceased to produce its effect; his brain became overloaded with care, anxiety, and sickness; he saw his end approaching, and he turned with an aching heart from the land and people, to whose upraising from the abyss of baseness, into which they had been sunk, he had dedicated the days of his life, and abandoned all prospects of fame and fortune at his profession.

The Scotch Historian asserts that after his death, O'Connell's reputation "sank rapidly, and among none so completely as those who had so long worshipped his footsteps." We are sorry to be obliged to say that this is wholly untrue, and that this sentence alone marks in the most significant manner the degree of prejudice and ignorance, with which the few pages in this volume respecting the career of the great Irish champion have been written. Dear is the memory of O'Connell in the heart of every peasant in this country, who remembers his struggles for freedom; cherished is his image among those in this island, who at any time enjoyed his friendship. Political agitation has died away, the farmer and tiller of the soil may conceive that it is better to attend to their field labour than to

run after what would now be regarded as a chimera, but yet they revere the remembrance of him, who gave them an interest in that soil, and a title to Independence. The Roman Catholics recall to mind, how he was mainly instrumental in freeing their Holy Faith from the oppression of a bigoted minority, and earned for them a right to represent their fellow-countrymen in Parliament. Many, aye even some of the priests of that communion, regard him as already placed among the Just in Heaven, and according to their peculiar tenets would, but for the danger of public scandal, beseech his intercession for the welfare of the people, whom he had so long defended in this world. Such things are not consistent with the neglect of his reputation in Ireland, where it will reign supreme over that of any other man, ancient or modern, as long as the religion of the greater number exists therein.

Some of the foulest calumnies, which the baseness of the heart of man could invent, have been propagated and reiterated by the political opponents of this great leader, in the hopes of lowering him in the estimation of his followers. The *Times*, that mighty engine which leads by the nose, whether for good or evil, more than half the unreasoning English, at one time sent an emissary, ycleped Commissioner, into the wilds of this country to ferret out by underhand practices, and among his deadliest enemies, anything which could be laid hold of to damage the fair fame of the champion of Irish Catholics. This hireling conceived that he had discovered a vulnerable point, and announced that O'Connell was a middleman, who exacted triple rents from his tenants, and this charge Alison supports, merely because it has been put forward by the sworn foes of the man, whose acts he is recounting. Can this be called evenhanded justice, or can the relater dare to assert, that he has searched the records of truth, from which he might arrive at a just conclusion? The contrary of this grievous allegation is well-known to be the fact; in the wild mountainous district of the County Kerry, where the small property of Derrynane is situated, the lowly cottiers held at a mere nominal rent, many of them paid nothing at all; and those tenants, whose land was capable of yielding any remuneration for outlay, were often two or three years in arrears. O'Connell has been also attacked on the subject of the contributions, raised yearly, to enable him to carry on the cause he so ably advocated;

he was called a "big beggarman," a pensioner of the poor, and accused of laying up large sums for his family, and growing fat upon the miseries of the peasant. What is the fact? Every shilling so subscribed as rent was scattered through the country, and returned to the people, in the enormous outlay which his active advocacy demanded. Nearly one quarter of a million sterling is said to have passed in that way through his hands, and at the day of his death not one pound of that vast sum was forthcoming to pay his debts. Even a small amount, for which he had insured his life for the benefit of his family, was considerably reduced by demands made upon it by his creditors. Such was the man, whom this ignorant, unenquiring Scotchman has designated with the name of a "grinding middleman."

Viewing his career as a public man for a period of nearly 40 years, during which he advocated the claims of his fellow-countrymen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, he must be admitted to have exhibited greater power of eloquence, whether at the bar or in the senate, greater tact and address in conducting a perilous agitation, more firmness and courage in the hour of trial, than any man whom Europe produced during that lapse of time. At his profession he shewed a more profound learning in the law, a readier wit in speeches to juries than most of his cotemporaries. He once got his client, a guilty man, acquitted by throwing his brief on the table, and leaving the onus of the trial on the presiding judge, then Serjeant Lefroy, now the chief Justice of Queen's Bench. In the celebrated prosecution of Magee he crushed an unfortunate attorney-general, Saurin, by his withering sarcasm, and bearded the judges on the bench, when other Roman Catholics were almost afraid to act as advocates before these tribunals, then exclusively Protestant. His income as barrister, at one time, reached very nearly £8,000 yearly, business flowed in upon him to such an extent, that he is reported to have had usually three bags, fully laden with briefs, carried after him from court to court in important causes. His advocacy was secured in a suit, in which a large property in the north of Ireland was at stake, by a fee of 1000 guineas, the heaviest which had been ever known at the Irish bar, and his successful client declared, that had he been aware previously of the talents displayed by his counsel, he should not have hesitated to double the retainer.

When he first joined the Catholic committee, at the head of which Lords French and Fingal, in 1807, were in vain struggling to rouse their co-religionists to action, and to coerce government to relieve their disabilities, he found everywhere disunion and apathy, the Tories strong in power, the Orangemen triumphant, no hope of any attention being given by the Imperial Parliament to Catholic claims. During twenty years he laboured perseveringly to arouse a spirit of independence in the country, to create a bond of union among his fellowmen, steering their leaders through the dangerous shoals of agitation, skilfully avoiding the grasp of the law, and yet arraying by degrees against the executive a formidable combination of party and discontent. When his plans were matured and the favourable moment arrived, he threw himself boldly in the gap at the Clare Election, and demanded from the legislature the just right of every British subject to represent his constituency in Parliament. His speech at the bar of the House of Commons on the occasion of supporting his claim to a seat in the house, must be regarded as equalling in nervous eloquence and argument, anything which ever fell from the lips of ancient or modern orator. The statute book was too strong for him; but at his back was seen such a well drilled force of Catholic patriots, that the man of the hour, Sir Robert Peel, thought it very expedient, and the Duke of Wellington deemed it imperative, in order to preserve the integrity of the commonwealth, that Parliament should yield their just rights to an oppressed race.

Emancipation being granted he first mooted the question of the Repeal of the Act of Union. For a long time his most ardent admirers and followers would not rightly comprehend what was his intention in putting forward this question before the public. Many thought that his purpose did not go the full length of his declarations, that he merely brought this debatable point into issue, in order to keep alive the attention of the Roman Catholics and the Irish people in general, and that the agitation so produced might be useful in obtaining other concessions. Be that as it may, he used the opportunity to demand the total abolition of Tithes, roused the peasantry into active resistance to the collection of that impost, and finally had it cast upon the wealthy proprietors of the soil, the greater number of whom were Protestants. Many other small

measures of relief for his fellow-countrymen, he obtained by a harassing system of warfare with the executive, keeping beyond the reach of the law, in some cases evading it, in others openly defying its myrmidons, until at length he perceived that a complete removal of disabilities could never be obtained from a parliament sitting at Westminster. Then he determined on a bold stroke, to endeavour to bring back the representatives of the country to their ancient place of sitting in the Irish metropolis. He failed in this notwithstanding his well organized plan of agitation, for two reasons; the first, because the British Government were determined to lavish countless treasures and the best blood of Englishmen on the soil of Ireland, before they would yield to such a demand; the second, because he had always held as a maxim from his first entrance into political life, that the greatest progress of the human intellect was not worth one drop of human blood spilt in insurrection. Here was the only fault in his character, though it must be admitted to have been a humane one; in 1846, when the young Irishmen called on him to rouse the people to an armed resistance, he shrank from the phantom he himself had evoked. Here at least was inconsistency; the man who had shot D'Esterre should not have recoiled from the sight of the blood of martyrs in the cause of independence. He was fully justified by the dictates of prudence, he foresaw that the struggle would be worse than vain, he saw that his task in this world for his beloved country was at an end; he left her in order that he might not be a witness of the miserable squabbles, which for a time disgraced, and finally caused the dissolution of the Repeal Association.

Let him rest in peace! His memory is dear to all Irishmen, whose social position has been immeasurably raised by his efforts in the cause of freedom during nearly half a century. Those only throw filth upon his tomb, who writhed under the lash of his eloquence while he was alive, and still wince at the recollection of the infliction. It is unworthy of any man, calling himself an impartial historian, as Sir Archibald Alison no doubt does, to blacken the fair fame of the dead, because in his lifetime he happened to be a political foe. Let his deeds be judged by themselves, not by the misrepresentations of party rancour, and O'Connell will be esteemed by posterity as the master mind of his age.

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The Bank Charter Act passed in 1844, which has been the subject of so much discussion, during the commercial crisis of the last autumn, and which was suspended in consequence by an order of council, was introduced by Sir Robert Peel to endeavour to provide against the evils of unwholesome speculation, and the pressure on the money-market consequent thereupon. The former act granting exclusive privileges to the Bank of England, had been in force since 1833, and was to last for a period of 21 years, with a power to the executive after 10 years to alter its provisions, if deemed expedient. Sir Robert, alarmed by the crises of 1836, 1839, and subsequent eras of overtrading, took advantage of the latter proviso, to revise the measure, and endeavour to protect the interests of legitimate commerce. The over-issue of notes by the Bank of England and country banks was considered to be one of the main causes of the over speculation; some conceived that this issue should be limited to the Bank of England alone; others argued that a power of issuing notes should be extended to every bank, as the retention of gold alone would be a sufficient check upon the amount of accommodation afforded.

These opinions were disregarded by Sir Robert Peel; he assumed that the total circulation of the country was about 22 millions, 14 of which was required in home trade, and 8 in foreign commerce. Basing his calculations upon these data he introduced his bill, the principal provisions of which were that there should be two separate departments in the bank, one of issue, the other of banking, to the former of which all the bullion should be transferred—that the 14 millions of notes issued for home trade should have a foundation of securities public and private, and the 8 millions additional should be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion—that no notes should issue on deposits or discounts—that the accounts of the Bank of England should be published periodically—that it should be bound to buy up all the gold brought in below the mint price—that the establishment of new banks should be prohibited, but then the issues of the old ones allowed. The Bank of England was to pay for its privileges a sum of £180,000 to government, and any net profit for any further issues allowed in time of pressure.

Such were the principal provisions of the bill, which passed both houses on the 12th of July; it was followed in the next

year by similar measures for Scotland and Ireland. Any one who looks at this question for a moment will at once perceive on what an erroneous foundation the whole scheme was founded. The extent of the circulation of the United Kingdom was taken to be necessarily permanent, than which nothing could be more fallacious, or more calculated to straiten trade, which requires a large amount of elasticity in the currency. Since this act was passed the transactions of the country have increased both in home and foreign commerce at least one third, requiring a much larger accommodation. The circulation itself is becoming every day more extensive, the proportion of gold to notes greater, and therefore the benefits of paper currency proportionally decreased. The ultimate effect is that no commercial pressure can now occur without causing a very serious crisis, during which it becomes absolutely necessary to do away with the act for a time, at the very point where such an act should protect the public and trading community from loss. Again the currency of the country depends very nearly altogether on the amount of gold held by the Bank of England, and if a time should arrive when this would be entirely run out, the remaining 14 millions would be inconvertible; in the case of disorder in the government, notes would fall enormously in value, like the French assignats, and bring ruin upon a large portion of the community.

Alison, however, is wrong in one proposition, that the effect of free trade, and the Bank Charter Act combined, is to cause a large surplus of imports over exports, and consequently that the gold required in commerce with foreign nations merely passes through this country as a medium. This statement is not correct either in theory or practice. England's riches do not consist in her currency, but in the capital employed in her manufactures, the immense debt secured to private individuals by government, and her monopoly to a great extent of the carrying trade of nations. All these are independent of the laws of export and import, except the first, in which she has an immense superiority over all other countries, so that she can well afford to send abroad some of her surplus revenue, to purchase foreign luxuries.

The first occasion on which this act was put to the test, occurred in 1847, when a succession of commercial embarrassments supervened, in consequence of the Railway mania with-

drawing a large amount from trade, and the famine in Ireland and Scotland, which raised the prices of the necessaries of life, and caused a disastrous speculation in corn and other articles of food. The reserve in the Banking department was reduced to £1,600,000, the 8 millions being locked up, and the Board declined to make any advances on stock or Exchequer Bills. Though the crisis was not near as great as that which occurred in this past autumn, the rate of interest having risen only to 8 per cent., while in November, 1857, it reached 11 per cent. yet a total suspension of all business and payments was apprehended. The Royal Bank of Liverpool with a paid up capital of £800,000 stopped, and many large trading companies suspended payments. The manufacturing districts of the north of England, and many of the merchants of London, petitioned the government to relax the charter, but the executive was resolute. It was only when the private Bankers of London sent in a memorial, in which they declared that they would withdraw their balances from the Bank of England, amounting to nearly £1,800,000, against which there was only a reserve of £1,600,000, that Lord John Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer authorised a departure from the act, and an enlargement of discounts and advances on approved security. In fact but for this timely step the Bank of England would in mercantile phrase have been "chequed out" by the London Bankers. The circulation of notes in the United Kingdom had been reduced 8 millions below what it had been in 1844. The effect of this authorization was the liberation of an immense amount of hoarded notes and coin, and trade recovered its equilibrium. Such was also the effect of a similar measure last year, clearly shewing that Sir R. Peel's restrictions are not such as suit the commerce of this country. They were calculated for a certain definite amount of transactions, which have been increasing ever since, and causing the operation of the act to become every day more dangerous, limiting the currency when it ought to be increased. The critical state of the Bank of England in November, 1857, was very alarming in consequence of this system. The *Times* of November 12th states the interest of money in London to have been 10 per cent. the Bullion in the Bank a little over 7 millions, the reserve notes only £975,000, and the liabilities nearly 41 millions. Such a state of things is very near, if not completely, a state of bankruptcy.

The provision with respect to the compulsory purchase of gold produced in some cases a very strange result. It was intended to have a tranquillising effect, and to retain the price of that metal at a certain equable standard. The contrary was in a great measure the effect. When the market price was low, immense masses of bullion flowed into this country, at a time when it was not wanting. In 1846 the Bank held $16\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the precious metal, and in 1852 22 millions, whereas in 1847, when the demand was most pressing, there existed only £8,312,000, and in 1857 only £7,170,000, of bullion in its coffers. In the former cases the Bank suffered by its purchases, and in the latter the public were the victims by contraction. Over trading was produced in the one case, and numerous suspensions in the other. So much for the foresight of statesmen in dealing with the monetary affairs of the country.

The next great event of this period was the Anticorn-law League agitation and the establishment of Free trade. This had been prepared by the efforts of the Manchester party in 1844 and '45, by several motions in the House of Commons, in which Mr. Villiers and Lord John Russell took very prominent parts, when Sir James Graham stated that many years would not pass away before the people would be in want of food, if a refusal to admit foreign corn was persisted in; and Mr. Disraeli declared that "Protection appeared to be in the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828," and that it was his belief that "a conservative government is an organised conspiracy." Strange sentiment coming from a man, who at this moment is leagued with Lord Derby in bolstering up a purely conservative administration! Where does the hypocrisy reside, whether in the Disraeli of to-day, who forms a part of the condemned organization, or in the Peelites, who were compelled by the voice of the country to abandon the absurd principles of protection? Sir Robert Peel in his memoirs has so woven up the history of the establishment of Free trade with the causes of the famine, which subsequently desolated Ireland, that we shall treat the two subjects together.

On referring to these memoirs we find that protection, as founded on the corn law of 1815, was based on the assumption, that wheat could not be profitably grown in England, or this country, at a price lower than 80s. a quarter. Nothing could have shown more clearly from the commencement, that the law in its inception was most iniquitous, cutting off the supply of food from the bulk of the com-

munity, in order to benefit the tillers and owners of the soil, who could not compete with foreign climates. These Islands were never intended by Providence for an extensive growth of corn; the general humidity of the air and want of power in the sun's rays acting on the surface, with other atmospherical disadvantages, all combine to retard the ripening of cereal crops to a late season, sometimes to the commencement of September, when the recurrence of rains is apt to destroy the harvest completely. Compare this with the early cutting before the end of July on the scorching plains of Languedoc, the flats of Saxony, Prussia and Poland, and the shores of the Black Sea, without counting the enormous yield from the virgin soil of America, and no one can doubt, but that it was only the most blinded selfishness of the landed interest in England, which swayed the legislature in maintaining such a measure. It was under the conviction of its instability, that its provisions were relaxed in 1828 and 1842, and that Sir Robert Peel would not in 1845 give his friends in the cabinet, Lord Stanley and others, any guarantee, that he should maintain even the protection of the latter year.

In his letter to the electors of Tamworth Sir Robert declared his reasons for believing that protection would soon fall to the ground and did not suit this country. They were three; first, that labor does not vary with the price of corn, on the contrary in some of the dearest seasons the greatest number of the operatives were deprived of the means of supporting their families; secondly, he contrasted two successive periods during which such a state of things existed; and thirdly, he shewed that cheapness and plenty are more insured by free intercourse with other nations. He had really made up his mind that a repeal of the duties on grain was absolutely necessary, but in pursuance of the temporizing policy of expediency, for which he rendered himself famous, he did not wish to bring forward any measure on the subject, lest his party might desert him altogether, unless circumstances arose to demand his interference.

As early as the middle of August, 1845, accounts were received from the Isle of Wight, and in the commencement of October from Ireland and Scotland, that the potato crop, on which the bulk of the people depended for food, was likely to be for the most part destroyed. Two eminent men of science,

Professor Lindley, and Dr. Lyon Playfair, were sent across the channel to investigate the causes, extent and method of prevention of the disease. There were plenty of learned men in chemistry, or any other branch of natural philosophy, in Dublin at the period, who might have been employed on this business. This, however, was not the policy of the government, who chose to have their own particular *protégés* brought forward, although these gentlemen had no experience of the climate, method of cultivation of the potato, or customs and habits of the people, in Ireland; and consequently they ended their labors by a wise recommendation to send out agents to enquire, how potatoes might be got or supplied from Spain, Holland or North Germany. In the meanwhile famine was approaching by slow degrees, the daily bread of the poor disappearing off the face of the earth, and nothing to replace it.

Lord Stuart de Decies, Lord Heytesbury, the then Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Bullen, the secretary to the Agricultural Society, wrote several pressing letters to the Cabinet, representing the impending distress and the necessity for some precautionary measures. It was suggested that distillation from grain should be prohibited, in order that the corn intended to be a sustenance for man should not be turned into a poison. Cabinet meetings were held, the memoranda of which as left in Sir Robert Peel's memoirs seem to treat the question more as a matter of charity, begged for the Irish people, than as an absolute demand for necessary support. He says under the date of November 1, "monster meetings, the ungrateful return for past services, the subscriptions in Ireland to Repeal rent and O'Connell tribute; will have disinclined the charitable here to make any great exertions for Irish relief." In other words, that because the Irish people had taken up the Repeal question, and endeavoured to obtain what they considered their rights, they were to be allowed to starve; or that the charity of England was so little disinterested in Sir Robert's opinion, that the political opponents of the Repealers would prefer to see them die of want, than hold out to them a helping hand. He proposed, however, that the corn laws should be suspended, and £100,000 given to the Lord Lieutenant for distribution. This was not acceded to by the other ministers, and the matter lay still in abeyance.

Meanwhile the Anti-Corn-Law League seeing the advantage,

which they were likely to gain by a demand for imports of grain, determined to make a great effort to bring the question of the duties to a crisis. Immense numbers of publications were scattered through the country, advocating the abolition of the taxes on grain; Covent Garden Theatre was taken for a bazaar, which was visited by some 135,000 persons at various times, and £25,000 realized. A levy of a quarter of a million sterling was agreed to at Manchester, and £62,000 subscribed on the spot, £1500 by one gentleman, and £100 each by twenty others. More than £122,000 had been previously raised. The price of corn had risen from 46s. in June to 60s. a quarter in November, distress was imminent, the increased bad reports of the crops created very general alarm. Lords Ashley and Morpeth declared in favour of the league.

A meeting had been held at the Rotunda in Dublin, at the end of October, at which the Duke of Leinster presided, where a resolution was passed, directing that an address be sent to the Lord Lieutenant, to request that the Irish ports should be opened to Indian corn, rice and other grains. This, however, produced no effect; another cabinet was held on Nov. 6th, at which it was proposed to remit the duty on corn in bond to one shilling and to open the ports. This was rejected by a majority, at the head of which stood Lord Stanley, the only supporters of Peel being Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. But Peel began now to meditate a throwing overboard of his own party; he saw that there was no other leader in the House of Commons able to form a ministry, and the only way in which he could carry out the measure he intended, was by resigning and getting rid of a portion of his own cabinet. This becomes abundantly evident from several memoranda in the memoirs, the most striking of which runs as follows:—"The betrayal of party attachments—the maintenance of the honour of public men—the real interests of the cause of constitutional government, must all be determined by the answer which the heart and conscience of a responsible minister must give to the question—What is that course which the public interests really demand?" How a public man could at the same time betray his party, and maintain his political honour, is a problem requiring the widest stretch of expedient statesmanship to be able to solve.

Something must, however, be done for Ireland, from which accounts had been received in the middle of November, stating that

"one half the actual potato crop was destroyed." This portended some dreadful disaster, and demanded some immediate preventive step. Sir Robert decided on the very unusual step of authorising the purchase of Indian corn in the United States on account of government. This could only afford a very partial measure of relief, and instructions were sent to the Lord Lieutenant to inquire into the best method of encouraging the importation of grain.

At this moment Lord John Russell, who is ever ready to make political capital from the necessities and temper of the times, and to forestall the intentions of other statesmen, came out with his celebrated letter to his London constituents, in which he shewed that the failure of the potato crop could have no effect in increasing the importation of corn, and that under the existing law, the worst species of grain were taxed with the highest duties. This produced great excitement throughout the country, and warned the cabinet to make some move to meet the emergency. A circular was despatched by the Prime Minister to each of his colleagues, requesting to be informed how far they would support him in a proposition for a remission of the duties. The greater number held fast to their original opinions, some wavered ; but the most remarkable answer given by any was that of the Duke of Wellington, evincing a desire to support Peel in any measure, even against his own convictions. It ran thus ; "if it is necessary to suspend the corn laws to avoid real evils, resulting from the scarcity of food, we ought not to hesitate ;" and thus, "a good government for this country is more important than corn laws or any consideration." In other words he was ready to do anything which would keep his own party in office ; a soldier-like obedience to his chief. Peel, however, seeing that he would not be sustained, proposed that a sliding scale be introduced, diminishing for a series of years, and finally extinguishing the duties. This was not acceded to by Lord Stanley or the Duke of Buccleuch, and he resigned his office on the 5th of December.

Then succeeded a strange species of scene-shifting, on which Peel had calculated long before. Lord John Russell is sent for by the Queen, to undertake the formation of a ministry. This noble lord, always eager to grasp the reins of power, made some ineffectual attempts to collect together not followers, but members of different parties. One objected to another holding

a place in the cabinet, and was objected to in return; Earl Grey refused to join if Lord Palmerston was admitted, deeming this latter a dangerous man in foreign politics. After a week's deliberations no combination of the repugnant elements could be formed, and Sir Robert Peel was called on to resume the administration of affairs. The same men, with the exceptions of Lord Stanley who retired, and Lord Wharncliffe, who died in the interval, filled their respective posts. The freetrade policy was determined on, the Times announced it, the league became uproriously rejoiced at their success, but the measure was not passed for six months. It is needless to go through the reasons assigned in the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel for this change of law, which reduced the duty on corn at once from 16*s.* to 4*s.* to be entirely extinguished in three years, except in so far that one main argument was founded on the threatened famine in Ireland. The opposition treated this as a mere pretence got up for party purposes, stating that the oatcrop was amply sufficient to support the whole population, while at the same time every day advices were being sent across the channel foreboding the direst calamities.

The Bill did not pass through the Lords until the 22nd of June, 1846, and produced on that occasion a very characteristic speech from the Duke of Wellington, showing that his only principle of action was obedience to his sovereign, even contrary to his own convictions. But the government found it also necessary, in consequence of reports they had received from Ireland, concerning the prevalence of Ribbonism and assassinations, especially a letter from Sir Charles O'Donnell, the commander of a district, to bring in an Arms Act. This was put forward in the Commons, contemporaneously with the Free Trade Bill in the Lords, and it became soon apparent that both could not pass. Here Peel, in his memoirs, shews where the true difficulty of his administration lay. He had betrayed his own party, thrown overboard the principle of protection, after plotting against it secretly for a number of years; he found himself strong enough to brave the influence of the landed interest in England, but too weak to overcome the steady opposition of a handful of Irish members. His acrimony exhales itself in the bitterest terms, he calls them "an Irish party for which British indignation has no terms—a set of troublesome and factious members," and declares that without

the Bill, the government of Ireland would be absolutely impossible. A curious coincidence then occurred, the Free Trade Act passed the Lords, the news of the ratification of the Oregon Treaty with America arrived, and the ministry were defeated on the Arms Bill on the same day. This constitutes one instance the more of Irish members acting together, and watching their opportunity, being able to overturn any English Cabinet on a fitting occasion.

Alison enters into a somewhat lengthy disquisition, not history, but argumentative essayism, to shew that the danger of scarcity, on which the measure was principally founded, had passed away before the law was complete; that real Free Trade was not introduced, but protection retained for the manufacturer, and withdrawn from the farmer; that the Irish members, O'Connell, his sons and followers, had acted inconsistently, suicidally towards the interests of their country, in advocating the measure. The first assertion is not true, the second is equally false, and the third is completely erroneous. Irish farmers before the introduction of Free Trade, were very apt to speculate in the growth of corn, the value of which crop depended very much upon the demand for shipments to England. This was a fluctuating market, and its changes helped to ruin many, while it left the greater number in a state of struggling poverty. In fact this country was never fit for the cultivation of grain by which money could be made, unless in very exceptional seasons. But since the abolition of the duties the peasantry have turned their attention more exclusively to green crops and cattle, for which this climate is peculiarly adapted, and hence has arisen the prosperity known to exist in many districts at the present time. It has been currently reported within a short period, that many of the tenantry in certain parts of the Island, who do not presume to be considered as gentlemen, on account of their humble origin and want of education, have begun to taste the fruits of civilization, to use wine and other luxuries at their tables, which were unknown even by name to the generations preceding them in the occupation of their holdings. They deal extensively in beasts, frequent cattle sales and markets, and make regular consignments of native produce to the ports at the other side of the channel. In fine, the agricultural resources of Ireland have been more developed in the last twelve years, than in the whole period which elapsed from the fall of Napoleon to 1846.

Sir Archibald is not easily drawn away from his hobby of protection; it is not for nothing that he has been created a Baronet on the recommendation of the Derby-Disraeli ministry—he must support the cause to the death. As a necessary consequence he thinks fit to inflict on his readers 30 pages of statistics, politico-economics, and dissertation, on the effects of the combination of Free trade with the bank charter act of 1844. It would be tedious in the extreme to follow him through the various phases of the same argument, repeated more than once, on a subject already so well threshed; it amounts however, to this, that the currency being dependant on a certain amount of gold, held by the Bank of England, any circumstance which causes an outward drain of the precious metals, is likely to produce a crisis in the money market. Also that Free trade has a tendency to bring about such an efflux, causing the imports to be much larger than the exports, necessitating the shipment of specie to a large amount. The first part of this position is erroneous, because it proceeds on the assumption that the circulation is entirely dependent on the stock of bullion, and he even goes so far as to say, that “if the nation possessed a currency adequate to its necessities, and yet duly limited, *independent of gold*, that metal might all go away without inducing a greater evil than the efflux of lead or iron.” Nothing could be more absurd than this, which would reduce us to mere paper, like the French assignats, without any metallic basis. The error lies in not leaving sufficient margin for the increase of circulation, giving too exclusive privileges to the Bank of England, and not sufficiently encouraging private Banks, at the same time making the laws more stringent as to their management. The laxity of the law permits and fosters a very large amount of unwholesome speculation both in Banking and in other trades, which periodically comes to a head, and bursts with destructive effects.

On the question of imports and exports, Alison does not take into account, that bullion, like every other commodity, is just as much an object of trade as corn, or cotton. This occurs particularly at the present time, when so much of the precious metals are sent into the vaults of the Bank of England from Australia and California. In reality the great source of wealth in Britain, is the carrying trade which it performs for other nations of Europe, the extent of her manufactures, and the

supplying foreign states with capital to perform many of their public works, railways and other undertakings. The imports of groceries and raw materials for manufactures are certainly very large, but there is a continual current of produce and bullion passing through the ports of the British Islands, on which the merchant levies his toll as it passes, and adds to his accumulations.

The historian rightly says in another place, that without protection our old country cannot compete in agricultural produce, with a young and growing state. The reason of this is, that the price of labour is greater in the one than in the other, on account of the increase of wealth, but there is no necessity for the old state competing in these matters at all. The surplus of the interest of her capital may very well go to foreign lands, to purchase their peculiar produce. Rome was fed from the valley of the Nile, and the granaries of Egypt, not from the plains of Italy, where the luxurious vine encumbered the soil. The only thing which the impossibility of growing corn in this country profitably without protection demonstrates, is this, that England has reached the plethoric state in the career of a nation, as Rome did in the time of the early Emperors, and the sole question is how long that condition of repletion can last. The amount of capital wasted every year in profitless undertakings at home and abroad is enormous, shewing that good investments are difficult to be found, or that speculation is preferred to safe transactions. There is yet no symptom of decay in the body politic, the current of life seems to run freely through its veins, now and then receiving a severe check from over excitement. If the bubble of the state purse does not some day burst and carry all right of property away with it, the machine may yet hold together for centuries, and defy the storms which have destroyed so many continental states.

While the statesmen of Great Britain were battling for office under the pressure of the Anti-corn law League and public opinion, Ireland was advancing steadily towards a state of desolation from which nothing but the most energetic measures could even partially save her. We have seen that as early as the month of October, 1845, Lord Heytesbury and many other influential men, as well as the government Inspectors, Professor Lindley and Dr. Lyon Playfair, had reported to

the cabinet, that the potato crop was more than half destroyed, and dire distress imminent in the country parts. Sir Robert Peel was too much taken up by his struggle with his own party, to pay any attention to the pressing wants of 8 millions of people. The only measure he attempted was that of ordering a quantity of Indian corn on account of the government to be bought in the United States, but this was too insignificant a means to adopt for the purpose of diverting a wide spread calamity. Instead of alleviating the distress, he endeavoured to pass an arms act, which caused his ejection from office, and the cabinet who succeeded him vainly tried to introduce a similar bill, but were obliged to withdraw it. Thus the old system of coercion was revived against the peasantry, when they were becoming half maddened by the evils which impended over them. The Free trade act, on which Peel relied for averting famine by causing a large importation of food, was not passed until the middle of 1846, too late to produce any decided effect for the coming season of dearth.

Every one in the island saw that famine was sure to set in during the winter of 1846-7. The small farmers were nearly all ruined, labour was not to be had, as there was no capital to employ workmen. Nearly a third of all the tillage-land lay idle, unwrought, in the spring of 1846, during which and for some months of the succeeding summer, the calamity was averted, only by the retailing of Indian meal by the government and some employment under the "Public Works Act." The greater part of the money laid out in this last manner became perfectly useless and even burdensome to the country, many districts of which had to repay large loans, from which they derived no advantage whatever. The retailing by government officials only served to check the legitimate course of trade, which might to a certain extent have balanced the evil. The proper course would have been either to have opened the ports altogether and encourage importation, at the same time advancing such sums to holders of land, as would enable them to pay for tilling the soil, or to have caused such large purchases to have been made on account of Government, as would both bring down the market, and furnish food for the multitude. No measures of the kind were attempted until late in the autumn of 1846, when it was found that the country was in the midst of a fearful calamity.

We do not mean to go into the particulars of this horrible tragedy, by which half-a-million of human beings were done to death under the slow tortures of starvation. There are very few grown people amongst us, who do not remember the misery, the feeling of terror which pervaded the community, as each account from the distant parts of the country reached the metropolis, detailing the wretched sufferings of the poor people, the heart-breaking scenes discovered in the homesteads of the peasantry, and the vain attempts made at untimely aid. Too late was the public money wasted with a lavish hand, the roads of the country rendered impassable by heaps of useless rubbish; the number of labourers on the works increased from 40,000 in September, 1846, to 700,000 in March, 1847, and the expenses per month as advanced to the different baronies, from £75,000 to £1,000,000 in the same period. Nine-tenths of this money was uselessly expended, completely thrown away; as the farm labour for the coming year was completely nullified, the lands were left deserted and untilled; the treasury had taken the place of the ordinary reciprocal action of society in providing for its members. This system threatened to make the famine permanent, and to effectually prevent the people from recovering from their abject state of misery. In fact the executive became so bewildered, that they scarcely knew what to do; on account of their former remissness they were obliged to take sudden measures; in the words of Lord Brougham, "It is impossible, when the cry of hunger prevails over the land—when there is the melancholy substance as well as the cry—when the country is distracted from day to day by accounts of the most heart-rending spectacles I have ever heard or read of that at such a moment, with such feelings pervading millions in both islands, we should be able, calmly and deliberately, to take up a question of permanent policy, I hold to be utterly and necessarily impossible."

It was not until January, 1847, that is to say, more than a year after the first serious accounts had reached Sir Robert Peel, that the British Government brought into operation some effectual general measures to meet the crisis. The shilling duty on wheat was taken off, the navigation laws entirely suspended, and every facility given for trade to relieve the wants of the people. The Poor Law was remodelled and rendered more efficient in Ireland, relief committees were appointed,

and the transit of food through the country facilitated in every possible way. These measures, however, did not produce their full effect for nearly six months, and the pressure on the outdoor relief of the unions became so large during the next twelve months, that 700,000 persons received rations outside the walls of the workhouses. This state of things could not last long without reducing the whole population, proprietors and peasantry, to a common state of want, the immediate consequence being that the rent of land fell from 80 to 50 per cent, and the value of house property in towns from 50 to 80 per cent. The effects of the famine did not really end until the year 1850, when it was calculated that more than half-a-million of inhabitants had disappeared off the face of the earth under its influence.

The Irish people can never be too grateful for the generous behaviour of the British people, who subscribed voluntarily £470,000, and to the Society of Friends, who contributed £168,000, towards relieving the general distress. Unfortunately our country is poor in money, and can never be expected to be able to repay in specie the debt thus incurred, but England should never forget what a large proportion of the defenders of her wealth, military and naval, have been reared in the Sister Island, and how they have upheld the dignity of the crown and the national honour on the bleak heights over Sebastopol, and in India. There is one assertion of Alison, however, respecting the money advanced from the treasury, which requires to be very largely qualified. He says that "between public grants and private subscriptions, nearly eight millions sterling were, in two years, bestowed by Great Britain upon Ireland—an example of magnificent liberality unparalleled in any former age or country, and forming not the least honourable feature in its long and glorious annals." From such statement it would appear to any foreign reader, that the two countries were essentially distinct, having separate exchequers, that Ireland contributed nothing whatever to the Imperial Treasury, had no voice or right in the disposal of its funds; or it might even seem that the hard cash came out of the very pockets of John Bull himself. Is anything said of the large additions made to the public debt of Ireland since the Union, three times greater than was stipulated in the conditions of the Act of 1800, on account of the wars and exigencies of Britain, or of the burthens heaped on the Irish

people in consequence. But the position is very much lessened in importance by the fact that more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, having been levied on the baronies by presentment sessions, was liable to be repaid in ten years, and that the remainder only was a free gift from the Imperial Parliament.

Do we not remember what disastrous effects the heavy poor-rates, levied for a series of years in order to repay this government loan, produced all through the land and in all classes of society? The enormous depreciation of property, and the long continued drain of the bone and sinew of the population by emigration, reduced this country to the lowest ebb, until a turn in the tide of prosperity has come about, by the liberation of capital through the Encumbered Estates Court, and the extensive change of the proprietors of the soil. To what was all this owing? To the dilatory conduct of the executive under Sir Robert Peel, who was more intent upon plotting against his own party to retain himself in power, and at the same time carry the Free Trade Bill through the house, than to provide against a famine, which he must have seen to be inevitable. We have shewn that he was forewarned at least a year before the distress actually commenced; he did not forearm himself, and the consequence was a loss to Great Britain of more than four millions of money, and to Ireland a fall in property to five times that amount, coupled with a deficit of one-fourth the population. If a proper re-construction of the Poor Laws had been carried out in the commencement of 1846, as was afterwards done late in '47, a liberal distribution of money by means of the presentment sessions and Labour Act passed through the country, and the ports opened to the importation of corn, Ireland would not have had to deplore the waste of human life and the exodus of her people, or England the worse than useless squandering of her treasure. No human foresight would have completely prevented the calamities of that season, but in all probability timely aid would have checked them and alleviated the enormous distress.

In the diminution of the population of Ireland by $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of souls in the space of ten years after the introduction of free-trade, Allison endeavours to found some argument in favour of protection. The consecutiveness of it we do not see; it looks like the well-known logical error, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. It would appear to us rather, that if grain had been let in duty free, at the time (October, 1845) when Sir Robert

Peel in his memoirs declares, he had formed the opinion that the corn laws could not stand, much of the subsequent misery would have been prevented. A very absurd notion was at one time got up by the protectionists, asserted by Lord Stanley, and founded on an allegation of Bishop Hughes, who had gone through some of the districts of Wexford and Cork, that the crop of oats in '45 and '46 was immense, and completely sufficient for the support of the entire population. This had been asseverated for a long time with such pertinacity that it formed the chief answer to the argument for the relief of Irish distress, and postponed the adoption of adequate measures. The fact was that the oat crop never formed a fifth part of that of the potato, the main food of the people, and could not have carried them through more than three or four months in the year.

The immense emigration which succeeded the famine in Ireland, to such an extent that nearly two millions of the population left her shores in ten years, is also ascribed by Sir Archibald to the effects of freetrade, in destroying the market for Irish corn. This statement is also completely erroneous, the removal of the people to other countries being mainly owing to the pressure of the burthens on land, poor rates and ~~landtax~~ landtax, which in some localities reached such a figure, as not only to sweep away nearly the entire of the landlord's income, but to render it morally impossible that the small tenants could make a livelihood out of their holdings. Several clergymen of the Established Church, in some districts, lost almost their whole rent charge, by the deductions made from it for poor rates, on account of the provision in the act that the poundage should be subtracted in the entirety. As we have before shewn, the general effects of the famine and free trade on Ireland, have been to a certain extent beneficial; they have changed the habits, food, and method of cultivation of the peasantry; they have altered their system of agriculture to one more suited to the climate of the island, and although her people have passed through an ordeal scarcely equalled in history, yet she has been chastened and purified, and the most useful results are expected to follow.

We shall pass over the account given of the Railway mania, and the construction of the iron roads in Great Britain, in a few words. The great extension of these highways in England

have had certainly a great effect in facilitating commerce and manufactures, but the enormous cost at which they were originally constructed, and the extensions on which some of the main lines have foolishly entered, will prevent them from ever producing a remunerative return for the capital spent. It would have been much better if they had been gradually developed, and no branches made which were not absolutely required. In this respect France, and indeed Ireland, have adopted a more judicious system, and unless the rivalry of companies or absurd extensions swallow up all the profits, we bid fair in this country to have some of the best paying railways on the face of the globe. It is impossible to do away altogether with the traffic on cars or coaches; the steam engine will never be ramified over the country, as Bianconi's routes have been; the trains require to be fed at the various stations by horse labour. There is another matter also in connection with the English railways, which at once strikes any one who has travelled on the continent of Europe, and is particularly revolting to the eyes of any foreigner on his first arrival in these countries. This is the disgraceful species of accommodation afforded to second class passengers throughout the kingdom. It is strange that the English public, so jealous of their rights and comforts, have never tried to compel the different companies to improve their carriages, and give some reasonable amount of ease to travellers, instead of obliging them to sit on bare benches, and have their backs stripped by wooden boards. A monopoly of the highways has been handed over to private enterprize, but there ought to be reserved to the Crown or Parliament some means of checking the abuse of that monopoly. The reason for treating the second classes in this niggardly and parsimonious manner is obvious, to endeavour to drive them into the first class contrary to their inclinations and purses; but these companies, who are to a certain extent servants of the community, have no right to treat the public with such indignity. Such a system would not be tolerated for a moment either in Germany or France, notwithstanding all our boastings of freedom and independence. It is a course very prejudicial to the interests of the railways themselves; their chief support for passenger traffic lies in the middle classes, who go about the country on mercantile or professional business, and they ought to afford every reasonable

accommodation to their best customers. The first class carriages in this country are not in any way superior to the second class in many parts of Germany and France, for instance the lines from Paris to Lyons, and from Hamburg to Berlin. The second class carriages here are as miserable or more so than the third class there, and the fares of the second class here are equal to those of the first, and greater by a third than those of the second, on the continent. It is said, however, that the cost of construction of our lines has been much greater. That is very true, but the fares are greater in proportion, and the accommodation ought to be at least as good. The only railway we know of, which has shewn any proper attention to public requirements in this respect, is that from Dublin to Kingstown; the second class carriages are neatly cushioned, and lined inside with mahogany veneer, and a proportional advantage is derived to the shareholders, who have been able to divide 8 and 9 per cent, although several miles of the embankment cost from £30,000 to £40,000 per mile. No better argument could be used in favour of improvements in carriages; it is indeed marvellous that this subject has not been properly agitated, as that of the hotels was about two years ago.

In 1845 two measures were passed by Sir Robert Peel, which evinced a considerable amount of liberality on the part of the government towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The first of these was brought forward by Sir James Graham, on the 9th of May, for the erection of the three colleges, now called the Queen's Universities of Belfast, Cork and Galway. They were immediately nicknamed, "Godless Colleges," on account of the absence of any species of religious teachings within their walls. The Roman Catholic Clergy have discountenanced them ever since, because they are not submitted entirely to their control, and are liable to be made use of for the extension of Church of England doctrines. This appears to us to be a suicidal course to take; if the priests had supported at first these colleges, which were regarded with a great degree of odium by the Protestants, they would ultimately have gained entire dominion in them, and used them for the purposes of their religion, almost as exclusively as Trinity College, Dublin, has been dedicated to those of the Established Church.

The second measure was that of increasing the grant to

Maynooth College from £9,000, to £26,380, a year. This is one of those subjects which Alison cannot approach, without shewing an amount of bigotry, intolerance, and ignorance, which should disgrace the columns of the highest Church-Tory print in the Empire. He says that this Act was "framed with the view of elevating the character of, and lessening the political danger from, the Catholic Clergy; . . . it was intended to elevate the condition and acquirements of the Catholic Clergy, and bring them more into harmony with the government of the state, and it has had just the opposite effect; it has lowered the standard both of their education and ideas, and rendered them, more than ever, the irreconcilable enemies of the Protestant Establishment." And the reason which he assigns for this is as follows: "that the young priests are now educated at home, instead of abroad, and thereby become more impregnated than ever, with the bigotry and violent feelings, which centuries of dissension have engendered between the rival Churches in Ireland," and that they are brought "under the direct control of a body much inferior in acquirement, and much more inflamed in passion, than any foreign hierarchy—the Romish Clergy of Ireland." Certainly, if all the Protestants in this country were of the same opinion as this Scotch Historian, the unfortunate people here might expect to be thrown back into the state of abject degradation, in which they were at one time held by religious intolerance. The effect of this small grant made by the Imperial Parliament, has been directly the reverse of what is attributed to it by Sir Archibald; it has reconciled a great many of the Irish Ecclesiastics to British rule, to which they were formerly traitors, it has given them a small yet binding interest in the state, and has served to elevate them considerably in the scale of society. If the education given at Maynooth does not produce as polished gentlemen or learned scholars as those who formerly returned here from foreign universities, the fault lies only in the insufficiency of the grant, which does not give scope enough for the cultivation of the higher branches of learning. Let the government endow a Catholic University in Dublin, consistently with the wants of the people, as Queen Elizabeth did that of Trinity College for her favourite Protestantism, and in a short time, under the guidance of a Newman, the teaching of such an Institution will equal that of any foreign body, at Louvain, Salamanca, or St. Omer.

The charge made against the Irish priesthood, that the Maynooth grant "has lowered the standard of their education and ideas, and rendered them more than ever the irreconcilable enemies of the Protestant Establishment," is one of these assertions, worthy of a Spooner, which wantonly and recklessly made in the blind heat of party spirit, have a most pernicious effect in maintaining religious antagonism in Ireland. Never were the Roman Catholic clergy more inclined to shew a friendly feeling towards their Protestant fellow-countrymen than at present; at the last election they supported many candidates of the Established Church and high Tory principles, in preference to men of their own persuasion of more liberal shades of opinion. Several of them avowed their reason for so doing was to endeavour to effect some conciliation between parties of different creeds, and to do away with religious dissension, so injurious to the country. Alison, however, has picked up these notions from the columns of some English prints, and composes them into veritable history, without making any enquiry as to their foundation in fact.

It has been for a long time a question debated in Ireland, among persons of liberal opinions, whether the Roman Catholic clergy ought not to receive a direct stipend from the state, somewhat similar to that which is afforded in France. This matter had been formerly mooted in O'Connell's time, and was said at one period to have received much attention from him; but the priesthood then were placed in a much more antagonistic position towards government than they are at present, and it is said they could not be induced to accede to any proposal of the kind. Circumstances are now very much changed; the parochial income of many has been very much reduced by the distress and emigration of their flocks. The greater number of these would be glad to exchange their precarious livings for certain salaries; others are known to be anxious for the introduction of such a system. Any English ministry, which would be desirous of doing away with the influence of the Priests at elections, could not adopt a surer method than that of making them stipendiaries of the crown, as the lower orders of the Irish people have a great distrust of any one who receives a pension from government. The introduction of such a measure would strike a fatal blow at the independent action of the Roman Catholic clergy, who ought to consider well the interest of their flocks, before they accept a boon, the practical

effect of which must be to nullify their political influence. They stand alone between the poor tenant and the undue pressure of landlordism ; they may be said in certain cases to have abused their position, or interfered with too much personality in party contests, but they alone have been able to arouse the land holders to freedom in voting, by uniting them together in defiance of the threats of proprietors or their agents.

There is a short notice of three pages given of the rising in 1848, and the trials of the principal conspirators. It may be said to be in the principal points historically correct, but the writer makes a very strange mistake in stating that Meagher "was tried in Dublin by Chief Justice *Blackmore*," the fact being that he was tried at Clonmel, and received sentence in Dublin from Blackburne, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. Some justice is done to the manly spirit and bold demeanour of the accused after their trial, although he casts a stigma upon those who escaped from Australia, by saying they "had broken their parole." This is contrary to the general opinion of many persons of known worth consulted at the time, but it has been made use of by the press in England and the antipopular party in Ireland, to continue their exclusion from their native land. The attempt at insurrection was unfortunate, lame and unsupported by popular feeling throughout the country. Without such a support no rebellion, however just, could be successful. One feature, however, marked this one ; a good number of the priests, who had joined the movement at the commencement, favoured the formation of the clubs, and gave very strong assurance of energetic assistance, suddenly drew back when the danger came, refused to lend their aid to the enterprise, and left the leaders alone and unsupported to do battle against the troops. One parish priest in the South of Tipperary was awakened in the middle of the night, by a body of 150 horsemen, his own parishioners, who called on him to lead them to the "war," to fight the red-coats. He very wisely for himself declined, harangued the troop upon the high-road by moonlight, and caused them to disperse quietly to their homes.

The other subjects in this seventh volume are so multifarious, principally concerning passages of continental history, and the revolution of 1848 in France, that it would require much more than our allotted space to give any just idea of their treatment. We shall therefore content ourselves here in concluding this article, with passing a definite judgment on the merits of Sir

Archibald Alison as a writer and historian. His claim to elegance, correctness, or vigour of composition, must be altogether ignored; his numerous mistakes, bombastic flights, and ungrammatical expressions, long since pointed out by very able writers in former volumes, have reduced his character as a writer of the English language to a very low standard. Many examples of his gross faults of style might be brought forward from the pages we are reviewing; a few passages will suffice to shew the futility of any pretension on his part to rank with Hume, or even with Macaulay.

Speaking of the efforts made by Sir Robert Peel to induce his colleagues in the cabinet to support him in passing the repeal of the corn laws, he proceeds thus: "While these ministerial difficulties and arrangements, *big with the future fate* of the British Empire, and of commerce throughout the world, *were in progress* in the elevated political regions, the public mind was suddenly shaken by an announcement, &c." How in the name of wonder can "difficulties and arrangements" become *big with fate*, and at the same time be in *progress in the elevated political regions*? The wildest fancy of the merest poetaster, could never produce such a mixture of absurd images, as are here presented to the reader. Again, at the very end of this volume, describing the policy of Louis Philippe's reign in general terms, and the causes of his downfall, he reaches a certain climax, and harping on the same idea for half a page, he finally brings it to this termination: "Cradled in treachery and treason, his throne was overturned by treachery and treason. He had driven his lawful sovereign, his generous benefactor, into exile, and sent him a discrowned wanderer into foreign lands; and he himself was by the consequence of his own acts, driven into exile, and sent, a discrowned and discredited fugitive, across the melancholy main, to the shores of the stranger." Here is a weak antithesis, eked out by a repetition of certain words, one of which, "discrowned," seems to be coined for the occasion, and ending in a "melancholy" whine, suited to the lugubrious verses of Dante, or the dismal pages of the Sorrows of Werter.

As a historian Alison certainly comes up pretty well to the idea ascribed to Dr. Johnson. He masses together a very large amount of facts and statistics, ranges them according to their chronological order, and gives them some degree of coherence by philosophical remarks and inferences. But he also

launches frequently out into long disquisitions, historical essays, totally at variance with the purposes of narrative, and fit only to shew the individual opinions of the writer on certain subjects. His doctrines of political economy and politics are so impregnated with conservatism and protection, that the continual recurrence of the same views and arguments create a weariness in conning over the lengthy pages. His extreme high church notions, and evident antipathy to anything liberal either in religion or government, marks him at once as a mere exponent of party principles, with which he is so strongly imbued, that they impart a deep dye to his consideration of all national questions. It is the vice of our age of literature, that all the writers of the day serve their apprenticeship to letters, either to the press, the magazines or the reviews, and thereby obtain a discursive style of composition, most unsuited to the treatment of historical subjects. Macaulay in the introduction to his great work, admits that he lays himself open to the reproach of descending below the dignity of history, but professes his desire to draw a pleasing picture for the English public. Alison evidently aims at attaining the highest point of eminence, to which neither his style nor his views are likely to entitle him. There is one merit, however, which we cannot deny him, and which may go a great way in reconciling his readers to the great defects of his composition ; his work must be regarded as a lucid record of the principal occurrences throughout Europe, for the last half century, and as such will be referred to as authoritative in future times. The perseverance, industry and judgment with which he has now nearly brought to a close the lengthened labour of perhaps twenty years, must be considered as indicating the resources of a strong mind and a vigorous purpose to accomplish an allotted task.

ART. VI.—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

1. *Speech of Her Most Gracious Majesty, delivered from the throne, House of Lords, at the opening of the 2nd Session of the present Parliament, Thursday the third of December, 1858.*
2. *Parliamentary Government considered with reference to a Reform of Parliament—an Essay by Earl Grey.* London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington-street, 1858.
3. *Parliamentary Reform. How the Representation may be amended, safely, gradually and effectively.* Reprinted, with additions, from the "*Globe*." London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1858.
4. *Reform Pamphlets and Parliament Speeches, passim.*

SOME eight and twenty years ago "*Reform*" was a word to conjure with! The British isles were roused with a vengeance from their propriety, and throughout their length and breadth prophets of good and prophets of evil omen alike were most busily at work, enlightening or *frightening* the lieges with their vaticinations of the wonders of good or of evil that were to burst upon us the moment his then Majesty William the IVth, or a royal Commission for him, should in the old Norman-French of the long-established formula, announce his assent to the passing of the Reform-Bill into law.

To those who had not personal experience of the times we speak of, or who do not care to refresh their weakened recollections of them, by turning over musty old files of the Newspapers of the day, we do not know if there can be a better way of giving a sufficient idea of the extravagance of anticipations and predictions in those days prevailing, than by referring them to the recently published "*Portion of a Diary of Thomas Raikes, Esqr.*"—a book which despite the valuelessness of its opinions and the sadate and solemn trifling away of life which it records, is yet readable enough, on account of the periods which it embraces, and the scenes and personages among whom the author moved. It is true that he appears only as the *weeping* philosopher of the time, and good and sound *personal* reason he had for it, as is abundantly shewn in the ever-

recurring records of his baffled aspirings after *place*. But in the lengths to which he goes in speculation on the consequences of the Reform measure, the strength of his expressions and the evident intensity of his feelings on the subject, he is no inapt type of the excited *prophets* upon the other, as well as upon his own side of the question.

If, in this our sublunar state of change and hurry and perpetual whirl and interweaving of human affairs, we could even for a brief space, *really* abstract ourselves from personal share in that which is passing immediately around and before our eyes, and of which indeed we find ourselves in our own despite, incessantly a part, what sage and sound and profoundly calm reflections and comments should we not then doubtless make upon the versatility, the extravagance, the unreasonable-ness of opinion, expression, and action among our fellow-beings engaged in the business of everyday life. Impossible, however, as is this abstraction, and unfit as we personally may be for playing the censors of our generation, still we shall not refrain from an endeavor to review, with at least the assumption of judicial calmness and impartiality, what we have ourselves seen and known to take place in the public mind during no inconsiderable number of years, in reference to the much agitated question of Reform.

First came the violent stage already noticed, when all manner of predictions, the most opposed in nature and tendency, but most alike in vehemence and extravagance, were freely hazarded, as to the results of Reform. Then, when the sorely contested measure at length had passed and was actually in operation, without bringing about a verification of their predictions to either division of the self-constituted Prophets, came the season of mutual objugation and recrimination—the one party imputing the shortcomings of the measure to the other's selfish and narrow-minded opposition, and the accusation being retaliated with the charge of a reckless disturbance of a long settled state of things, and an unjustifiable risking of wild revolution for ends so utterly insignificant. But to these mutual attacks came soon to be added the common assault upon both of a party then for the first time beginning to be of note,—the ultras of Reform, or “Chartists,” as they choose to designate themselves. Of these “impracticables”—to use the designation speedily and deservedly given to them by others,—a portion,

no doubt, were honest, mistaken enthusiasts, dreaming of a state of perfection for our institutions, which is in truth denied to man here below and to his works. The less honest portion, shrewdly suspected to be far the larger,—laboured in the *Anti-Reform* interest, by disturbing, distracting, and with reckless and intolerant clamor, and even the use of physical force, arresting and defeating the exertions of moderate men to effect rational and moderate amendment.

This could not last. The Anti-Reform party, i. e. the one openly, avowedly, and from the first known by this designation, ceased through very shame, to objurgate in its old strain, seeing that king (or *queen*) lords and commons remained pretty much in statu quo, notwithstanding that Reform had “become a great fact,” and shewed no symptoms of tumbling down into common ruin, under its anarchic influence. The moderate reformers, disgusted at the abuse, turmoil and contestation they had been subjected to, and indeed divided amongst themselves, ceased anything like connected effort at further reforms. And the turbulent ultras had so thoroughly done their work, that neither were they able to cut out new mischief for themselves, nor was it worth any one’s while to employ them further. And thus came third in order the season of inertness, inaction, and of seeming, if not real indifference to further political change.

This season has endured the longest of the three, and indeed appears not to be quite at an end even now; when certain organs of parties are so busily at work endeavoring to persuade the country that we are on the eve of another great constitutional change. It may be so, or it may be only a false alarm. Certain it is that no such over-cloudings of the political horizon,—no such ominous mutterings of the growling thunder of popular fury—no such social agitations and excitations as heralded the advent of the last measure of Reform, are as yet noticeable, although possibly they may be imminent. Whether or no, however, there is no denying the intrinsic interest of the subject, and taking it either as merely a matter of remote speculation, or as likely to have a speedy and most practical application, we have esteemed it worthy of the consideration of our readers, and have accordingly entered upon the discussion.

One rather significant point of difference between the state of things in 1831 in reference to Reform, and that observable

at present, would appear to be this ; that, whereas at the former period the *people* generally, in *addition* to the middle classes and with the further concurrence and co-operation of a few sincerely convinced and a larger number of *dilettanti* liberals among the aristocracy, took an immediate and lively interest in the cause,—whatever movement can now be noted, in the direction of Reform, is traceable almost solely to the middle classes, and seems little else but the ebullition of their ambitious aspirations. Of the aristocratic sympathizers and agitators of the former period the greater part accomplished their particular object when the fortresses of conservative influence, the “close-boroughs” and in Scotland the *close-counties*, were successfully breached and entered. This done with tolerable effectiveness as regards the old monopolizers of power, but not so far pushed as to destroy all *Whig* influence in pet places of representation, there did not remain any very prominent party advantage to be gained, at least of sufficient degree to out-balance the possible inconvenience of an increase of power to the class immediately below that of the restless and aspiring *Bourgeoisie* of England. The continental lessons too of 1848 are not lost or forgotten ; and on the whole there would appear good reason for assuming that on the part generally of the aristocracy of these countries, there is now more of a dread than a desire of further change, and that the exceptions to this general rule are very much fewer indeed than in 1831.

Meantime the people who worked, and agitated and came together in imposing multitudes threatening and overawing monarch, ministers and peers, on the former occasion, and who acted then mainly under the stimulus of some such impression as that conveyed in the celebrated answer of one of themselves to an enquirer after *their* interpretation of “Reform”—to wit, that “it was all a question of victuals”—have not found their homely and practical interpretation very *practically*, or evidently borne out by the fact, and accordingly manifest at present rather a tendency to distrust and suspicion, than to any enthusiasm, or even to a moderate heartiness in the new agitation.

We have not in our remarks hitherto, as may be noted, attempted or intended to express any views of our own upon the advisability or otherwise of further Reform, although neither have we any wish or intention of dissembling our opinion that there is good reason and occasion for movement in that direc-

tion. But our immediate design has been to give a kind of summary view of the state of public opinion on the subject, and to trace the present movement to its true source; which we believe has been done by attributing it almost solely to the middle classes. That the latter will compel the classes above them, and induce those below, to assist in the enterprise is likely enough; but the initiation and first progress of it is undoubtedly their own work alone. Meantime the Pamphlets we have mentioned at the head of this paper are sufficient proofs that the compulsion, however gentle, is taking effect *above*; and we proceed to examine in what spirit and with what arguments the *anonymous* aristocratic writer of the letters "Reprinted from the Globe," and the "Peer confessed" who has put forth the elaborate Essay on "Reform," have severely approached and treated their subject.

The first of these writers commences his labours by intrepidly assuming and declaring, first, that the "country is not prepared for any great change in its representation," and, secondly, that it "does not possess the requisite knowledge on the subject to make such a change safe."

It is only fair to him to give his own reasonings in support of these very decided propositions. He thus proceeds:—

"And this I may aver without stigmatizing my countrymen with discreditable ignorance; since the arrangements for securing the election of the wisest and best men as legislators, involve a problem which has hitherto been unsolved, or which at any rate has not found its solution in those countries with which we are best acquainted—our own, the United States and France.

No democracies can be more complete than British commercial, literary and benevolent companies and societies. They choose their own constitutions without dictation from any one;—may have what suffrage they like, equal and universal, gradational and limited, male or female, with ballot or without ballot; and the elections may, as the members may desire, be annual, triennial, or septennial. Nevertheless, the practical results are far from being always satisfactory; many of the rulers so chosen having shown themselves either knaves or fools; to the great injury of their constituencies—an injury extending, in some instances, to absolute ruin.

No doubt many of our companies and societies are ably and honourably conducted; but this is evidently owing, not to any peculiarity in choosing their directors, but to the fortunate circumstance of the original promoters, and those first on the board of management, being men deserving of full confidence, or, perhaps, to a subsequent convulsive effort, by the body corporate, to displace a bad board and put worthy men in their stead.

It is not, then, at home that we can look for examples of perfect systems of election to serve as a guide in improving our parliamentary representation; nor shall we fare better by turning to France or the United States; for what following the golden rule of judging by the fruits, must we think of a system of representation (including the ballot and, to a large extent, universal suffrage) which in the one country is found consistent with a fettered press and trammels on speech and motion, and in the other even with *slavery*?

As respects the ballot, we are referred, for an edifying example, to Australia; but the colonists themselves, who have witnessed the quick succession of unstable Ministries—some of them containing men very unfit for the office—which has hitherto resulted from their system must be astonished, if not amused, at finding that system held up for imitation in the mother country.

There can be no doubt that to adopt the advice tendered to us would be to make a great approximation of our political institutions to those of America; a result which I should deplore; for much as there may be to admire in our kindred on the other side of the Atlantic, no one, I think, who looks dispassionately at the actual state of the two countries—at the extent to which in one the foul blot of slavery exists, carrying with it, by the penal statutes and the personal violence directed against those who attempt to remove it, coercion and loss of freedom to whites as well as blacks—can hesitate in declaring that in England there is in reality a much greater amount of liberty than in America.

Let it be remembered that, in America, slavery is upheld by the very party who call out most lustily for popular rights, and style themselves, *par excellence*, *democrats*; and that were it not for the support of this large party in the nominally Free States (for with a Fugitive Slave Law no State can be regarded as really free), slavery would fall to the ground.

Standing, then, so high in the scale of freedom, it behoves us, for the good of the whole nation—the poorest as well as the middle and upper classes—to be very cautious in changing our institutions, however susceptible they may be of amendment.

It is well known that the chief political power here is in the middle class, while in the United States it is wielded by the masses. If these be two errors, ours is surely the less hurtful, and can be proved so by glancing at the chief measures of improvement during the last 30 years. Certainly in carrying reform, the working classes (though with some decided exceptions), did undoubtedly take efficient part; but as respects all the other measures there was either apathy among them, or nearly as much opposition as support;—so that had the matter rested with *them*, few or none of those grand legislative improvements would, even now, be the law of the land."

A first impression upon reading the foregoing opinions would be, that *if* they prove well founded there is nothing more to be said, or *hoped*, upon the subject. Further Reform—taking the word in its usual sense and meaning, that of

large constitutional amelioration,—must be sought for in Utopia or in the Atlantis of Plato;—for where on this known earth of ours is the type or scheme of it to be found, when, according to this pamphleteer's assurances, it is to be looked for in vain in any of the countries that have experimented, no matter how widely or largely, in forms of government, and gained no matter what amount of experience in state-policy, and the constitutional adjustment and mutual balance of class-interests powers and rights.

But we can hardly consent so readily to give up hope, and especially as our Nestor does not himself appear resigned to do so altogether; for he goes on to make suggestions which shall be presently considered. Meanwhile it is surely reasonable to protest against the comparisons on which he hitherto founds his argument. "Commercial and other companies and societies" originate with one or a very few projectors, who as it were dictate the constitution from the first, taking care to secure amply their own sway and influence; and who rule thereafter by the power of the machinery they have created, and by the terror of an injury to the common property or interest, from dissensions and divisions. Thus in fact these "Companies" and "Societies" are little despotisms, or oligarchies, instead of being the "complete democracies" they are called in the pamphlet; and in the vast majority of cases can be changed but by a "convulsion," and a "convulsion" alone, with results of the doubtful character ever attendant upon violent change.

Besides this discrepancy forbidding comparison, the most ordinary logician can fairly object to an argument from a particular to a general, which is in fact involved in the case before us. And the same applies with great force to the *experiment-
alising* in constitutions going forward in the yet scarcely organised colonies of Australia.

The comparisons with what occurs in France, the United States, and the Australian colonies, are open to another objection, familiar also to the merest tyro in logical argumentation. The use of a thing is not to be argued against from its abuse.

The facts connected with the case of France are too well known to our readers—have been too much commented upon by our newspapers and public writers and speakers—to need exposition here; especially at a time when the relations between

her and Great Britain are in a state which in the interests of both countries and of civilization so urgently presses upon all the wisdom of mutual forbearance and absence of international carplings and criticism. With America, however, the case is different. There is no such present delicacy; and the governments and people of both countries are accustomed to the fullest and most unsparing discussion.

In reference to the latter country, the writer seems to have considered the existence there of Negro Slavery as a main point of his argument: insisting upon it three times in only as many paragraphs. But, without at all denying its general depraving effect upon public morals and opinion, we cannot allow it a more than secondary place among the causes of the misuse in America of popular powers and franchises. We know not at the moment a readier way of indicating briefly what to us appears to be the chief cause, than by quoting a few terse sentences spoken on a public occasion last year in England by a competent authority on the subject—the well known Judge Haliburton of Nova Scotia. His immediate theme was the state of literature in Great Britain and America respectively, but it will be seen that he enlarged the scope of his remarks to the general state of things in the two countries.

"The United States had difficulties to overcome: they had not the institutions of England, and, although it might appear paradoxical, they were, in fact, too free, and above all, too equal to have a sterling literature (hear hear). He did not mean to say that the country which was free could not have a literature; but everybody in this country was not equal. As nature never made man equal, neither could legislation; and the legislation that would attempt it was foolish. When liberty and equality were co-existent, they would materially neutralize each other, and in their operations strangle freedom of thought and freedom of action. Strange as it might appear to them, the country that seemed too free was often enslaved. It was enslaved not by public opinion, but by the opinion of the public (hear hear). A friend had told him that night that he was an old Tory, and so he was. The Canadians were more loyal even than the people of this country. The English people were the freest people on the face of the earth, and when he said that he meant that they were free because they were not all equal (hear)."

A clear-headed and most philosophical French writer, whom it is no matter of wonder to find not adequately appreciated in England, when he is by no means so by his own nation—for the simple reason that he has carefully kept himself from

parts heats and extravagance—Monseieur Alexis de Tocqueville, published, some twenty-three years ago, a work on "Democracy in America," full of interesting information and sound reasoning on that subject, and becoming, as time goes on, more and more deserving of attention, for its speculations as to the progress and prospects of democracy, not alone in the United States, but in Europe. From him we take the following remarks, corroborative of those of Judge Haliburton, and of the same general tendency :—

"Ce que je reproche le plus au gouvernement démocratique, tel qu'on l'a organisé aux Etats-Unis, ce n'est pas, comme beaucoup de gens le prétendent en Europe, sa faiblesse mais, au contraire, sa force irrésistible. Et ce qui me répugné le plus en Amérique, ce n'est pas l'extrême liberté qui y règne, c'est le peu de garantie qu'on y trouve contre la tyrannie."

"Lorsqu'un homme, ou un parti souffre d'une injustice aux Etats-Unis, à qui voulez vous qu'il s'adresse ? A l'opinion publique ? c'est elle qui forme la majorité. Au corps législatif ? Il représente la majorité et lui obéit aveuglement. Au Pouvoir Exécutif ? Il est nommé par la majorité et lui sert d'instrument passif. A la force publique ? La Force publique n'est autre chose que la majorité sous les armes. Au jury ? Le jury, c'est la majorité revêtu du droit de prononcer des arrêts—les juges eux-mêmes, dans certains Etats, sont élus par la majorité. Quelque inique ou déraisonnable que soit la mesure qui vous frappe, il faut donc vous y soumettre !"

Je disais (he adds in a note to the foregoing) un jour à un habitant de la Pennsylvanie 'comment dans un Etat fondé par des quakers et renommé pour sa tolérance, les nègres affranchis qui payent l'impôt, ne sont ils pas admis à exercer les droits de citoyens ?' 'Nos Législateurs, me-repondit il, n'aient point commis un acte aussi grossier d'injustice et d'intolérance—les nègres ont le droit de se présenter aux élections—mais ils craignent qu'on ne les y maltraite !' Chez nous il arrive quelquefois que la loi manque de force quand la majorité ne l'appuie point. Or, la majorité est imbue des plus grands préjugés contre les nègres, et magistrats ne se sentent pas la force de garantir à ceux-ci les droits que la législature leur a conférés.' 'En quoi ?' lui dis-je : 'la majorité qui a le privilège de faire la loi, veut encore avoir celle de desobéir à la loi.' !!!—De la Démocratie en Amérique, par M. de Tocqueville, Tome 2nd. pp. 167, 168, Bruxelles, 1835.

Since M. de Tocqueville wrote, and indeed quite recently especially in the second case, there have been two pre-eminent instances of this liberty killing "tyranny of the majority." The first is a literal realisation of his words respecting the hopelessness of an appeal to the Judicial Bench. The Supreme Court of the United States having been called on about two years

since to compose by their ultimate decision the dangerous agitations resulting from the outrageous enforcement of the "Fugitive-Slave-Law, in the free soil Northern States, decide under pressure of the overbearing slave-holding majority in congress, that Negro slavery was one of the fundamental laws of the union. The second instance was in the case of the new "territory" of Kansas; where a tyrant majority of slave-holders and their adherents from Missouri have forcibly established a constitution for that territory involving the recognition of slavery, and have had their usurpation confirmed and sanctioned by the highest executive authority. Any appeal provided by the constitution being evidently hopeless after the decision before referred to, of the Supreme Court, the aggrieved "Free Soilers" of Kansas have, it is to be feared, been driven to the last and deplorable arbitrement of arms!

Other cases of the tyranny in question, might abundantly be cited, but these two, the most patent, recent and generally known are sufficient for our purpose.

M. de Tocqueville is very far from confounding democracy necessarily with the "tyranny of the majority." He concludes the chapter from which we have been quoting with the following words, which we recommend to the consideration of the author of the "Reprinted Letters."

"Supposez au contraire, un corps législatif composé de telle manière qu'il représente la majorité, sans être nécessairement l'esclave de ses passions; un pouvoir exécutif qui ait une force qui lui soit propre, et une puissance judiciaire indépendante des deux autres pouvoirs; vous aurez encore un gouvernement démocratique, mais il n'y aura presque plus de chances pour la tyrannie."—p. 169, tome 2nd:

Is there any reason why we should not make an effort to establish in these countries so desirable a state of things? That it does not exist with us at present is plainly confessed by the letter writer in the "Globe," when he tells us that "the problem of securing the election of the wisest and best as legislators is yet unsolved." M. de Tocqueville conceives the attempt can be made in the United States, notwithstanding that too great equalisation of classes and ranks to which he and Judge Haliburton attribute so many evils. Confessedly that difficulty does not stand in the way in these countries. Assuredly then there must be some middle term between the association of tyranny with Democratic Institutions, and a

dead, dull, unreasoning, and ultimately not maintainable, refusal of all further progress towards reform? The pamphleteer himself supplies the answer, and proves he thinks not only that there may be, but ought to be, a progress; for he himself suggests how to attempt it.

"In thus speaking of the want of sound political knowledge in our labouring class as a body—attributable very much to their defective education—I am fully aware that there are large exceptions to the rule; that very many working men have not only as good hearts, but as clear intellects and as well-cultivated minds as those of a higher rank; and that it is very desirable that such of these as do not already possess the elective franchise should have it. Indeed, the franchise may, I think, be gradually extended very widely; though not, as I hold, on terms of equality, but with some reference to the amount which each person contributes, in taxes, to the cost of government.

In considering the surest and best way of amending our representative system, it is well to call to mind how improvements are generally made in the concerns of private life, where the strongest interest is felt to obtain a successful result. There the ordinary course as we well know is not to make great and sudden changes, but to proceed gradually and cautiously, introducing but one novelty at a time, and even then advancing step by step."

"And why not proceed in a tentative manner with regard to other principles of election, and patiently watch the results? For example, try, on a small scale, but under different circumstances, and in several parts of the country, extended suffrage; in some cases giving an equal vote to each elector, and in others votes of varying power, as in the election of guardians of the poor, and in that of the directors of joint stock companies. In the same way might we not in some places try the ballot, and in others voting by papers at home, as again, in the appointment of guardians? Triennial elections, too, might readily be tried in one district, without at once wholly changing to triennial Parliaments; and in the same cautious way might the discontinuance of a property qualification be brought to the test of experience.

These and other important experiments—such as those of intermediate election, and the voting in large electoral districts, with power to the electors to arrange themselves in voting bodies according to their different opinions—might all be made; and the results as shown by the character, qualifications, and acts of the persons chosen as representatives, would, in time, afford safe data on which to proceed. But the measures which the country has been advised to demand, seem to me akin to those great and sudden changes which, from time to time, have been made in France and elsewhere, with little or no permanent gain to the cause of freedom; and which, indeed, have often been followed by violent reaction, and by a political condition far worse than that from which it was attempted to emerge."—pp. 71, 8, and 9, *Letters Reprinted from the Globe*.

"Very widely extended suffrage." "The Ballot." "Triennial elections." "Discontinuance of property qualification—pretty decided measures these, of reform, suggested by the cautious "Englishman" as he signs himself; who in the beginning of his letters expresses such fear of further change, and at the end of them, doubtless, to save his consistency, makes a flourish about the dangers of revolution.

It is true that he recommends a "tentative" progression, the trying of "*extended suffrage on a small scale!*" experimentalising with the Ballot in this and that community, while their intermediate and adjacent neighbours should be left to battle on as they best might, in the old condemned way, giving the pleasures of an election contest every three years to *this* district and every *seven* years to *that*, and so on. But the defect of judgment manifested in his suggesting a partial trial of a great general principle, and also in his for a moment supposing it possible that, whether immediately productive of good or of evil, that partial trial could eventuate ultimately in anything short of general adoption, in no manner weakens the force of his admission that changes of such large dimensions are amongst the requirements of the time.

Earl Grey's essay takes a far wider scope than the "reprint" we have been considering, and in fact, without losing sight of the practical and immediate subject of "reform" enters into what may be called a fundamental disquisition upon parliamentary government. A first idea of the nature and scope of his work, for a work of regular formation, plan and digestion it is, and not a mere ephemeral pamphlet, can be given to the reader at once by a simple enumeration of the general headings to each of the eight chapters into which it is divided. They are as follows:—

	Pages.
"Chapter 1—Origin and Results of Parliamentary Government	1 to 16
2—Advantages of Parliamentary Government	16 to 36
3—Evils and Dangers of Parliamentary Government	36 to 58
4—Reasons of the Success of Parliamentary Government	58 to 84
5—Effects of Parliamentary Reform	84 to 115
6—Considerations as to a New Reform Bill	115 to 157
7—On the Exercise of Patronage under Parliamentary Government	157 to 198
8—Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies	198 to 219

To each of these general headings, there is appended a "table of contents" of each chapter respectively, from 20 to 30 lines long, and embracing a wide variety of points and considerations.

The good old *Epic* rule of plunging "*in medias res*" at once, may be the best to adopt in this case; and accordingly we turn first to chapter six, page 115, the heading of which, as seen in the foregoing list, is, "Considerations as to a new Reform Bill."

Recognising in common with everybody else who has an opinion on the subject, the "difficulty of drawing up a plan for reforming the representation of the people in Parliament, in a manner to be at once safe and effectual," he professes that his own "humbler aim" is "to call the serious attention of those whose duty it may be to frame a new Reform Bill, and of those to whose judgment such a bill may be submitted, to a few considerations which it seems to him very important not to overlook."

His first suggestion with this view is, (p. 116.)

"It should be borne in mind that the power of parliament is limited . . . unless legislation be in accordance with the feelings of the people it will be unsuccessful. This obvious truth appears often overlooked in practice and recently so by parliament, in its penal law of a year or two ago against bribery. The penalties are very severe and the law gives powers of a highly inquisitorial character; but it does nothing either to diminish the desire for seats in parliament in men willing to spend largely, nor yet to take away the natural inclination of those who can dispose of such seats, to use their privilege for their private interest. A sense of duty is but a feeble security against the strong temptations to which voters are subject, and legislation is powerless to prevent an understanding between parties, for giving and receiving money's worth. The terms on which a house or land is let, is probably the most common mode of bringing the pecuniary interest of the elector to bear upon his use of the franchise, and while this is notoriously practised with impunity in counties and boroughs, it is impossible that where property is thus used by one party, those on the other side will think themselves morally more guilty of bribery than their opponents, if the endeavour to compensate the disadvantage to which they would thus be exposed, by giving the voters who support them an equivalent in money, for what is given by their antagonists in value. The only hope of putting down these and similar practises, is, to make arrangements which will have the effect of taking away on one side the disposition to give, and on the other the willingness to receive bribes in return for votes."—p. p. 116 to 119.

On this proposition of his lordship, there is not likely to be any contestation. It is one of those safe, axiomatic truths

which the most cautious may advance, without fear of being committed to a controversy. But unquestionable as it is in itself, a question immediately arises upon it, and that is, what are, or should be, the arrangements that will have this most desirable double effect? Sorry we are to say, that after bringing us to this point, and by the tenor and tone of his observations exciting to a high pitch our expectations of a full exposition of the much needed arrangements he speaks of, his lordship coolly makes his bow to the reader and turns off to other matters, with nothing more satisfactory than the following:

"I will not, however, pursue this subject further; what I have said respecting the Bribery-Act is *merely* intended to give a single example of the error of supposing that the objects aimed at by laws will really be accomplished by them, *when they are passed without due consideration of the motives which govern men's conduct.* In laws that deal with the distribution of political power this error is peculiarly dangerous, and ought therefore to be carefully guarded against in framing a new Reform-Bill."—p. 119.

It is not easy to perceive the utility of pointing out a fault, without either indicating a means of remedying it, or at any rate showing that it was avoidable. Have we not a right to ask of Lord Grey, what *efficient* provision against bribery *he* would have deduced from his "due consideration of the motives which govern men's conduct?" He did not suggest any when the Bribery Act he speaks of, was passing through the Upper House of which he is a member. In the two or three years that have since elapsed he has had time to consider and reconsider again. If he have come to the desired conclusion, why withhold it from us, and leave our legislation imperfect in so important a matter? On the other hand, if he have *not* been able to arrive at the deduction and conclusion in question, why assume that others who have equally failed in the result, may not have given a fully equal amount of the same "due consideration," which doubtless he expects that we should attribute to himself?

Compelled to leave this part of his "essay" without satisfaction or profit therefrom, we find ourselves obliged to contest his next position, namely that:—

"It would not be safe to adopt measures to remedy undeniable objections to some parts of our constitutional system, without at the same time providing against evils of a different kind which may be less apparent, but not less real. Those forms of government which

have been most successful in practice, have been so mainly because their opposite defects have counterbalanced each other. This balance might be destroyed by correcting faults of one kind without applying remedy to those in an opposite direction. For instance, more real guilt is incurred because greater injury is done to the nation, by having recourse to the arts of the demagogue, than by the illicit use of money for the purpose of carrying an election."—p. 120.

It is true that "the reverse of wrong" is not to be mistaken for what is "right," but at the same time it is hard to conceive two faults directly and diametrically opposite to each other, both gravely injurious to the system they are found in, and yet both to be left unremedied and untouched because forsooth they cannot both be abated simultaneously! Common sense would say, correct *what* you can, *when* you can, *as far* as you can; you are not thereby precluded from continuing your opposition to the evils beyond your strength as yet to remove, nor from pushing the attack upon them when a favourable moment comes. To hold that it is necessary to combat evil with evil, betrays a strange distrust of the power and efficacy of good. And a still stranger distrust of the value and power of public discussion, and of truth itself, as well as a most singular view of public morality, is evidenced by the proposition that open outspoken demagoguism, fighting with the weapons of popular controversy available to all, is a greater evil and crime than foul, sly, secret bribery, and corruption!

But to leave generalities and come to the practical parts of the "essay," we now propose to examine his lordship's exposé of the Representation Reform of 1831, the distinctions he draws between the conditions under which it was proposed, and under which the contemplated further reform of Parliament is to be shaped out, and finally his own particular pet plan for the latter purpose, (pp. 84 and seq.)

"The three acts for the amendment of the representation of the people in parliament, in England, Scotland and Ireland, must be regarded as forming together a single measure, having for its object the transfer of a large amount of political power to the people from the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, who were previously enabled to command a majority of the seats in the House of Commons. So great a change in the distribution of political power has probably seldom or never been accomplished in any country without violence or convulsion; it amounted in fact to a revolution, though a peaceful and I believe a most beneficial revolution. Still large as it was, the measure did not profess to sweep away all the anomalies and irregularities of our system of representation, in order to create

new ones in accordance with what is considered by some persons to be the true theory of representation. On the contrary, the design was to correct evils which had been practically felt, but to introduce no further changes than were indispensable for this purpose, in a constitution of which, in spite of some imperfections, the general excellence was recognised. Experience had proved that in the House of Commons as then constituted, public opinion was so weak, and influence of another kind so powerful, that the conduct, both of parliament and of the executive government, was habitually biassed in a measure detrimental to the general welfare of the Nation. Clear evidence of this was to be found in the manner in which the country had for many years been governed, and especially in the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon the people. There could be little doubt that the public expenditure had been habitually maintained upon a scale beyond what was required by the real interest of the Nation, with the view of securing the support of those who had a commanding influence in the election of the House of Commons. But while this was an evil urgently requiring to be remedied, it was believed that it was neither necessary for that purpose, nor safe, to make the total change in the character of the House of Commons, which would ensue were all its members to be returned by large popular constituencies.

By the preservation of many of the smaller Boroughs, and by regulating the county representation in a manner which left much influence to the great land proprietors, the former mixture of classes and interests in the House of Commons was preserved; and, though the strength of the democratic element in its composition was greatly augmented, it was neither the intention nor the effect of the measure to render that element all-powerful. What was aimed at, and accomplished more successfully than could well have been anticipated, was to redress the balance of the constitution.

The wisdom with which this great change in the Constitution was designed, is shown by its results. It has now been twenty-five years in operation, and it is impossible to compare the spirit of our legislation and government during that period with that of former times, without perceiving how much it has been altered for the better.

But though the measure of Parliamentary Reform which was passed in 1832 has been thus successful, and is, I think, conclusively proved by its results to have been, upon the whole, a wise and good one, it was by no means perfect.

The following appear to be the chief defects of the measure. First: that it failed to provide adequately against the danger that the removal of abuses might incidentally diminish too much the power of the government in parliament. It has often been said, with truth, that, under our present constitution, the worst administration is a weak one. A weak ministry has not the power of acting rightly; it must bring forward in parliament, not the measures it knows to be best, but those it can hope to carry; it cannot venture to conduct the executive government according to the dictates of its own judgment; and in the exercise of the authority and patronage of the crown, it is compelled to yield to every popular cry and to the un-

reasonable claims of its adherents ; it is under a constant temptation unduly to court popularity, and to exaggerate the faults of party government, by striving, in all its measures, to promote the interests of its party rather than those of the Nation.

Nor is this all ; our whole system of parliamentary government must fail if it should become impossible, for any considerable time, that an administration of proper strength should be formed. This might happen if the House of Commons, from the absence of any strong party feeling or bond of union in the supporters of the government, should show a disposition on light occasions to reject the advice of the servants of the crown, although the persons holding office had, upon the whole, more of its confidence than any other ministers would be able to command.

Hitherto it has been considered to be the duty of the ministers of the crown to resign, if they find themselves without adequate support in the House of Commons. Their doing so would be useless in the case supposed : and there would be no resource but to tolerate the existence of an administration unable to guide the proceedings of parliament.

But this would involve a complete abandonment of the essential principle of a parliamentary government.

The political events of the last few years afford much ground for apprehending that the country may be exposed to these very serious evils, from its becoming impossible that any administration should be formed having sufficient strength in the House of Commons. Before the passing of the Reform acts, there was little danger that such a state of things could arise. The former state of the representation, together with the large means of influence which then existed, gave so much power to the crown, that ministers unacceptable to the sovereign could seldom long maintain their position.

A comparison of the working of the constitution, before and after the passing of the Reform Bill, must, I think, convince us that the question asked by the Duke of Wellington while it was in progress, 'How is the king's government in future to be carried on ?' deserved more consideration and a more practical answer than it received. From the combined effect of the acts of parliamentary reform and of many other reforms, especially those of an economical character, which have been carried in the last forty years, the power of the crown has been so much diminished, that there seem to be good grounds for believing that the state of things, in 1780, amply justifying Dunning's celebrated resolution against the increase of that power, has been reversed, and that the balance of the constitution may now be in no slight danger of being deranged by the too great diminution of the influence in parliament which the servants of the crown formerly enjoyed." pp. 85, 99.

"Secondly" ; "another fault is, the want of proper facilities for bringing into the House of Commons some of those classes of members formerly returned by close Boroughs. We miss the class of members who virtually represented certain special interests, and who,

occupying an independent position, and not looking for the retention of their seats to the favor of a constituency, were able to oppose boldly any popular delusion of the day. I apply this remark, however, chiefly to ministers and their subordinates. In the time of close-boroughs the fittest man could be named to a situation. But a minister's choice is now limited to those who are already in parliament or can gain admission to it, (through the favor of a large constituency.) This is often an obstacle to placing important offices in efficient hands . . . and has often caused important arrangements for the public service to be disturbed by the mere caprice of some local constituency." (pp. 105—107).

"What I regard as the first view of the Reform Bill and of the opposition to it, is so well stated in an article in the North British Review, that I will quote the passage. 'The Reform Bill it is impossible to deny was a transfer of power from the aristocracy to the middle classes. Who will not now acknowledge that this was a revolution, at the magnitude of which genuine patriots might well stand aghast, which cautious men might well deem wild and perilous, and even men who loved progress might well, if they loved safety likewise, deprecate and dread. Those who loved the people might not unreasonably doubt the wisdom of entrusting this new weapon to their hands. No one will deny that it was a great experiment—nor that, in some respects, its opponents judged it more truly and saw further into its consequences, than its promoters. For ourselves we confess that, approving of it as we did and do,—believing it a just, wise, and necessary measure—tracing in the main to its secondary influences the rapid progress of Reforms in other lines—we yet see in it several dangers, drawbacks and extensive seeds of future and questionable change, which we did not see when it passed—we acknowledge much weight and wisdom in hostile arguments which at the time we scouted as mere dictates of selfishness and folly; and we look back with some remorse and shame at the violence of our language, the acrimony of our feelings, the imperfection of our philosophy and the shortness of our vision. If the thing had to be done again, we should act with greater modesty and temperance, far less confidence and far more misgiving.'" (*N.B. Review*, Augt. 1854. p. 573, *Essay*, pp. 145-6.)

It is hard altogether to reconcile Lord Grey's adoption of the sentiments in the foregoing extract cited by him from the North British Review, with those we have a page or two back quoted from himself, viz. that "the wisdom of the great change of 1831 is shewn by its results during the twenty-five years it has been in operation:" and that "it is impossible to compare the spirit of our legislation and government during that period without perceiving how much it has been altered for the better." (p. 87.)

"A new Reform Bill, (he goes on to tell us at page 126), should not, like the former, aim at the transfer of a large amount of political

power from one class of society to another, since this is no longer necessary to protect the general interests from being sacrificed to those of a minority. The objects that ought to be aimed at are, to interest a larger portion of the people in the constitution by investing them with political rights without disturbing the existing balance of power: to discourage bribery without giving more influence to the arts of demagogues;—to strengthen the legitimate authority of the executive government, and at the same time to guard against its being abused; and to render the distribution of the parliamentary franchise less unequal and less anomalous, but yet carefully to preserve that character which has hitherto belonged to the House of Commons, from its including men representing all the different classes of society, and all the different interests and opinions to be found in the nation." (pp. 126—129.)

How is this rather generally stated and somewhat *see-saw* kind of reform to be brought about? Here is the notable plan of his Lordship,—of his own special and sole devising:—

"If I might hazard a suggestion, I would recommend that the queen should nominate a committee of her privy council, composed of members taken from different political parties, to consider and report what measures of reform ought to be adopted. This suggestion is partly founded upon one I remember to have seen in some periodical publication, that the course taken for the amendment of the Poor Law should be followed as a precedent, and that a royal commission should be appointed to enquire into the present state of the representation and the best mode of improving it. The present, however is not quite a parallel case. Though a searching enquiry carefully conducted by able men, would be useful for discovering how our institutions may be most safely and effectually improved, something more is wanted. It is necessary to find out, not only what would be the best, but also what are the measures that could be carried with the assent of the chief political parties in the country. A well-selected committee of the privy council might enquire as well as a "commission" into the best mode of reforming our representation, while it would better afford the means of discovering what measures could be carried, as it would have among its members some of the leaders of all the great parties in the state, *not excluding* the radical party. Even if it should prove impossible to induce the members of this party to accept as sufficient such reforms as others would regard as safe, there ought to be a full opportunity of considering their views, and the party numbers among its members men who with great propriety *might be made privy councillors* for the purpose of enabling them to serve on such a committee.

Should it be *practicable* to prevail on this committee, or a considerable majority of it, to concur in a plan of parliamentary reform suited to the *present state of the country*, their report, after having been approved by Her Majesty, on the advice of her responsible servants, might be made the foundation of a bill;—which, there can be no doubt would, if thus brought forward, be passed without difficulty." (pp. 152—4.)

Having now given the pith of the noble Lord's arguments and propositions, we shall for the sake of convenience and distinctness, put them in the form of a brief but sufficient summary, viz.

Reform in 1831 re-distributed political power, checked the lavish waste of public money, and the nearly exclusive tendency of legislation previously, to subserve aristocratic interests alone.

The defects of that Reform were two-fold. 1st. It did not adequately provide against the weakening of the Executive power in Parliament, which has since then been too much at the mercy of majorities, and therefore too impressionable, or *squeezable*. 2ndly. It too entirely did away with the convenience and advantage afforded by the close-borough system, of bringing into Parliament valuable men, who could not find a constituency open.

The now contemplated Reform has no such objects to achieve as gave reason for the Reform of 1831. The objects now are, 1st. To interest more of the people in the Constitution without disturbing the "existing balance of power between classes." 2ndly. To discourage bribery without encouraging demagoguism. 3rdly. To strengthen the executive without enabling it to abuse its power. 4thly. And finally, to distribute the franchise more equally; but at the same time carefully to preserve the present representation of all classes in the House.

To this summary we should perhaps add that he adopts (as shewn already) the opinions from the North British Review that the Reform measure of 1831 was "judged in many respects more truly by its opponents than by its promoters"—that "it had many dangers, drawbacks, and *extensive seeds* (!) of future and questionable change"—that its promoters should look back with some *remorse and shame* to their "own work"—and that, in short:—

"If t'were to be done again—but 'tis no matter"!

And after thus puzzling us and frightening us through more than 200 pages, he abruptly dismisses the subject and his readers together, without the least indication of a specific plan for remedying the evils of the past and providing against those of the future. All we are told is, "consult a Committee of the Privy Council"!

A very old legal joke records the wise shrewdness of the barrister who met an attempt to get a professional opinion out

of him without a fee, by suggesting to the applicant that his best course was to "take advice of counsel"! *Mutato nomine* this is what Lord Grey is doing in the present instance, with the very important exception, however, that he has himself stated for us the case on which he recommends we should "take advice" of a Committee of the Privy Council.

In the simplest and most earnest seriousness we must add that both the subject and the public he addresses have a claim to worthier treatment than this. So elaborate an exposition of defects, evils and dangers ought surely to have been supplemented with at least an outline sketch of what is to be done in the way of remedy and rescue. If the Executive were too much weakened in Parliament by the Reform of 1831-2, how is the Reform of 1858 to strengthen them again, without impairing popular liberty, or retrograding in any way towards the condemned *Ante-Reform* state of things? In fact retrogression is plainly impossible, if we are, as he says, to "interest more of *the people* in the Constitution." And this last object in its turn becomes a difficulty of magnitude when it is to be sought after "*without disturbing the existing balance of power between classes*"! Perplexed and confounded we ask, and surely have a right to ask, *how* are these conditions to be saved, and nevertheless the work before us to be done? "*Consult a Committee of the Privy Council,*" is his only reply!

The country will scarcely be disposed to treat this recommendation even with a moment's tolerance, and we shall therefore not abuse the patience of the reader by dwelling upon it.

It is certainly a duty, (and one of graver and more pressing importance than apparent to the superficial thinker) for those who have the means and power of engaging the attention of the public, and influencing in any degree the course and conduct of public affairs, to give what aid they can towards solving the great problem of the day—inevitably before us and pressing for solution—the safe "*letting down,*" as it were, of Aristocracy into Democracy. Lord Grey more than tacitly admits the irresistible advance of the latter; and we have a plain confession to the same effect from the ultra-Conservatives, as shewn by Lord Derby's recent manifesto, in which further Reform is prominently introduced among the measures he contemplates during his career of office.

The tendency of the age is unquestionably towards the

equalization of classes, and this tendency is not of the present age alone but of long previous date. And the real question before us is not how to resist or stop it—for *that* is beyond our power—but how to regulate and moderate its progress, so as that the ultimate equalization may not be that of ruin and common destruction. De Tocqueville, whom we have quoted before, though not in the same passages in which we find him occasionally quoted by Earl Grey, has in the introduction to the edition of his work on American democracy which appeared in 1835, the following reflections eminently worthy of attentive consideration, although they seem to have escaped the attention of the noble lord.

“ Si, à partir du onzième siècle, vous examinez ce qui se passe en France de cinquante en cinquante années, au bout de chacune de ses périodes, vous ne manquerez point d'apercevoir qu'une double révolution s'est opérée dans l'état de la société. Le Noble aura baissé dans l'échelle sociale, le roturier s'y sera élevé ; l'un descend, l'autre monte. Chaque demi-siècle les rapproche, et bientôt ils vont se toucher. Et ceci n'est pas seulement particulier à la France. De quelque côté que nous jetions nos regards, nous apercevons la même révolution qui se continue dans tout l'univers chrétien.

Partout on a vu les divers incidens de la vie des peuples tourner au profit de la démocratie ; tous les hommes l'ont aidée de leurs efforts : ceux qui avaient en vue de concourir à ses succès et ceux que ne songeaient point à la servir ; — ceux qui ont combattu pour elle et ceux mêmes qui se sont déclarés ses ennemis ; tous ont été poussés pêle-mêle dans la même voie, et tous ont travaillé en commun, les uns malgré eux, les autres à leur insu, aveugles instrumens dans les mains de Dieu.

Serait-il sage de croire qu'un mouvement social qui vient de si loin, pourra être suspendu par les efforts d'une génération ? Pense-t-on qu'après avoir détruit la féodalité et vaincu les rois, la démocratie reculera devant les bourgeois et les riches ? S'arrêtera-t-elle maintenant qu'elle est devenue si forte et ses adversaires si faibles ?

Le peuples chrétiens me paraissent offrir de nos jours un effrayant spectacle. Le mouvement qui les emporte est déjà assez fort, pour qu'on ne puisse le suspendre, et il n'est pas encore assez rapide pour qu'on désespère de le diriger : leur sort est entre leurs mains ; mais bientôt il leur échappe. Instruire la démocratie, ranimer s'il se peut ses croyances, purifier ses mœurs, régler ses mouvemens, substituer peu à peu la science des affaires à son inexpérience, la connaissance de ses vrais intérêts à ses aveugles instincts ; adapter son gouvernement aux temps et aux lieux, le modifier suivant les circonstances et les hommes ; tel est le premier des devoirs imposé de nos jours à ceux qui dirigent la société. Mais c'est à quoi nous ne songeons guère, placés au milieu d'une fleuve rapide, nous fixons obstiné-

rent les yeux vers quelques débris qu'on aperçoit encore seule ri-
vage, tandis que le courant nous entraîne.

Jamais le chef de L'Etat n'ont pensé à rien préparer d'avance—La Révolution s'est fait malgré eux ou à leur insu. Les classes les plus puissantes, intelligentes et morales n'ont point cherché à s'emparer d'elle afin de la diriger. La démocratie a donc été abandonnée à ses instincts sauvages ; elle a grandi comme ces enfans privés des soins paternels, qui s'élèvent dans les rues et ne connaissent de la société que ses vices et ses misères. On semble encore ignorer son existence, quand elle s'est emparée à l'improviste du pouvoir, chacun alors s'est soumis avec servilité à ses moindres désirs ; on l'a adorée comme l'image de la Force. Quand ensuite affaiblie par ses propres excès, on conçut le projet imprudent de la détruire au lieu de l'instruire et la corriger." (De la Démocratie en Amérique—par A. de Tocqueville. Introduction, p. X & seq. edit: 1835.)

Not much less than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the foregoing words were written, and while during that interval the social, or (as some in their panic are inclined to consider it) the *anti*-social movement, spoken of by the philosophic Frenchman, has continued its ominous progress, what progress has been made towards assuming and controlling its direction? We are constrained to answer,—there has unfortunately been none !

Even while he wrote, the effects of the rude shock given to monarchic and obligarchic notions of Government by the events of 1830—(the first volcanic outburst of that Republican element between which and Despotism the elder Napoleon prophesied a combat *à l'entrance* within fifty years of the time he spoke), were fast passing away, or being actively obliterated under the strong re-actionary measures of the Sovereigns of continental Europe. A far wider, fiercer, and more devastating outburst—that of 1848—has since given a still more ominous warning of the final conflict, and it too has had its surface traces in great part removed without a hint being taken from them of the direction in which to open a new and broader trackway for the machine of Government more securely and smoothly to roll along. The spirit of re-action is if possible still stronger, among continental rulers, in the present day than in 1835, and if the increased *savagery* of red-republicanism would seem, as it certainly does in many instances, to justify it, the best that can be said is, that things abroad are in a vicious circle—anarchy and despotism acting and re-acting upon, and re-producing each other—and the moral for us to

draw therefrom is, to be wise in time—to concede in time—to accept cheerfully what it is vain to contend against, and by removing of our own will and act, what may fairly be considered abuses and injustices,—the weak points of the fortress of social order, so to strengthen the latter, as to render it thenceforth impregnable to the enemies of all order, all property, all law, all organised society whatever, who are unhappily to be counted by millions throughout continental Europe, but are as yet, thank Heaven, computable only by thousands at home.

The confusion into which all Europe would be thrown by such lamentable, but very possible contingencies as the premature death of Napoleon III., or another social and political earthquake such as in 1848, would, in the present temper of the middle and the lower classes of England, compel the precipitate adoption while yet rude and undigested, of constitution changes, the safe and healthy working of which can be provided for only by giving them that mature examination and consideration, for which we have time and opportunity now, neither of which can we be sure of having at a future period, should we procrastinate.

There need be little hesitation in agreeing with Earl Grey in his opinion that corruption and intimidation are two of the greatest defects and evils of our present constitutional system. Neither have we to enter into a controversy with him, at least so far as they are concerned, upon his novel doctrine of not applying a remedy to one acknowledged evil, unless some other which may be held or supposed in some way to counterbalance it, can simultaneously and equally be remedied. In this case his strange postulate can be fully satisfied. The *ballot* would remedy both the evils in question; menaces and bribes being thereby rendered equally abortive.

There are a few stereotyped arguments, (if arguments they can be called) against the "*Ballot*" which need not by any means delay us long. The first and *noisiest* (and therefore quite naturally the emptiest) is, that the ballot is "*un-English!*" Without discussing the abstract proposition, so agreeable and flattering to Englishmen, that whatever is "*un-English*" must therefore be wrong, it is certainly fair for us to ask whether they consider corruption and intimidation at elections to be peculiarly *English* practices—carefully to be preserved and ob-

served? That such practices exist, no one can dream of denying. That all efforts hitherto devised to obviate them have failed is equally incontestable. We have seen how disparagingly and disconsolately Earl Grey speaks of the latest attempt in this direction—an attempt to the making of which was brought all that practised political skill and wisdom, gathered from old and long experience, could furnish, and was brought in vain! If then, as we thus see confessed, every effort of statesmen, whether of the present day, or of days gone by, has failed even to mitigate in any degree of consequence, those evils under the system of open voting, what reason, or shadow of reason, can there be for not giving a trial at least to secret voting, before we give up the contest in despair?

Oh! but it is said, that the ballot will not be secret—that it has not proved where tried in other countries, to be inviolate, and that it cannot be made so. That it has not been inviolate in other countries we at once admit. That it could not and would not be so here, we totally deny.

In America, in many cases, its secrecy has been wilfully neglected, or outrageously violated. The outrageous violations, though by no means few in themselves, have not approached in number to the cases of negligence and carelessness in voting. But these two categories taken together do not, according to the most faithful and impartial accounts, constitute anything approaching to a majority of the cases of voting. Whenever not purposely neglected, nor purposely violated, secret voting has been successfully practised in every district in the United States.

The third and last of these empty pretexts is, that the ballot will not prevent bribery and corruption—that money will still be given—*conditional upon a return being effected*, and that voters will be less scrupulous than ever about taking it, when their neighbours not knowing how they voted, will have no grounds for suspecting them.

To this the plain answer is, that supposing it all to turn out well-founded, it yet would not and could not eventuate in worse evils nor in evils one quarter so extensive as those inherent in the present system. Under open voting the briber can make no mistake—he is *certain* that his money is not thrown away, or if it be, he at any rate *knows* and can avoid for the future, or punish if he have the power, the men who

have played him false. But under secret voting, he is not certain of being able to distinguish them, at least individually, even in the smallest constituencies; while in the large constituencies not only would detection of his deceivers be utterly hopeless, but the attempt at *conditional* bribing, if we may so call it, would be replete with enormous difficulties, expense and personal risk to himself.

Mr. Grote, whose name is familiar to the reader in his three capacities of head of the well-known banking firm in London; author of a "History of Greece," and for some ten or twelve years after the Reform-Bill, one of the representatives of the city of London in Parliament, where he had strenuously supported what are known as "Radical" principles, invented and caused to be constructed a model "*ballot-box*," which in its principle and arrangements seemed very likely to ensure secrecy. We think it possible by a not very long or complicated description to give a fair idea of it and its mode of use.

Two apartments, an outer and an inner one, (the latter opening only *from* and *into* the first) are required, the outer one being large enough to accommodate the Inspectors of the ballot, the candidates' agents, and a portion of the general public. In the partition wall between the rooms there should be two doors within, the centre between them, a space like a window, but filled with the ballot-box and frame, fitting exactly into the opening and presenting their front to the outer room, and their back to the inner room.

The voter, having gone through the usual ordeal of questioning, identification, and (if required) of taking the Bribery Oath, in the outer room, enters the other, through the right hand door, which by a spring, opens only *inwards*, and shuts fast behind him when in. He then finds himself alone and quite secluded from all observation. Approaching the inner side of the ballot box he sees, in a species of groove at its top, a card with the names of the respective candidates printed upon it. A piece of pointed steel hangs close by, and he has been instructed (on a model outside,) to indicate his choice of, and vote for a candidate, by punching with the steel the card before him, in a line with his favorite's name, the card being ruled off in separate compartments for the purpose of preventing mistakes. When he has done this and dropped the steel he can, if he choose, himself make the card drop into the depths of the ballot box below, by pressing a brass knob, which disengages

it for the purpose. He then leaves the inner room by the *left* hand door, the spring of which allows it to open only outwards, and *his* part is then done.

Meanwhile no one outside has had any means of knowing what he has been doing. All that either the inspectors or any one else can see is, a portion of the white and unmarked back of the card. The groove in which it was placed, is glazed on their side, but only wide enough to shew a part of the back of the card, as just mentioned, *not* including the part through which the holes have been punched. If the voter have made the card drop into the box, the groove will be seen through the glass to be vacant, and a new card is then inserted, with its back like the previous one, to the outer room and its printed front visible only inside. If on the contrary he have neglected to make the card he has marked, drop down, a brass knob on the outside, corresponding to the one within, enables the Inspectors themselves to make it drop, still, however, without having been able to see anything of its front. A new card is then put in as before, for the next voter in turn to mark.

At the end of the day the padlocks on the lower part of the box in the outer room are removed in presence of the Inspectors and candidate's agents, and the cards are taken out and the number of punctures for each candidate are recorded.

This detail may be a little in digression, but the weakest fallacies urged against the ballot have had in some quarters so extraordinary a success, that it is well to explode them, although at some expense of time and space. The description we have given must we think demonstrate, that the allegation cannot be supported, that it is impossible to provide for real secrecy in taking votes by ballot.

Secrecy being ensured, as it evidently can be, the influence and power of intimidation are neutralized at once. The individual who in open voting would belie himself in action, by voting against his principles under the influence of a threat, would not hesitate if questioned as to his suffrage in the Secret Ballot, to belie himself in words, and declare he had been similarly obsequious. If the landlord punished his tenant, or the employer his labourer or workman, on the assumption of disobedience to his mandate at an Election, he could have no certainty that he was not punishing a faithful adherent, and teaching him and others like him to be reckless in future. And the popular demagogue and the noisiest and fiercest of

his followers would find their thunder checked in mid volley by a similar uncertainty, and a similar peril of converting an outraged friend into a desperate opponent.

We have, at least for the time, dealt sufficiently with that not very considerable portion of Earl Grey's "Essay," which can be at all called practical, and may turn awhile to others. The views and opinions of the various influential statesmen of the day are a necessary part of our subject. A faintly traced outline of those of at least one section of the mere Whig party has been already supplied by the pamphlet noticed in the early part of this article, the "reprint" of letters in the "Globe" newspaper. The following manifesto of *Whig Radicalism*, we take from the "Economist" newspaper, (one said to derive its inspirations mainly from Mr. Wilson, late one of the Joint Secretaries to the Treasury, Mr. Villiers, late Judge Advocate General, &c. &c.,) and from a number of this journal published just before the first meeting of Parliament in the present year, and therefore before any of the excitements resulting from the late sudden change of ministry:—

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

The only purpose of reforming the constituencies, when there is no urgent demand for such a measure, is that we may act more freely and deliberate more carefully than we could do under the pressure of an over-mastering current of conviction—that we may teach the country what is *desirable*, instead of merely conceding, to a matured and determined popular opinion, the least that it will accept. We have, therefore, at present no excuse for drifting before an undefined current of liberal feeling. It is a time when we need not merely ask what English opinion will bear; there is room for much more—nay, much more than this is expected of legislators and of public men. English opinion is at present modified, and anxious to listen and judge. It has no clear, sharp course, as yet. The reform needed and looked for is of course a *liberal* measure; that is, a measure giving freer and fuller expression to the political wants of the community at large. But what, strictly speaking, a liberal measure ought to be, Englishmen have scarcely made up their minds. Let us attempt to lay down the leading principles to be kept in view. (1.) The aim of any truly liberal measure of reform cannot tend to any sort of class tyranny. Reform must aim at developing in the state the various social interests of the country in a fair and harmonious proportion—not measuring their representative importance by mere numbers, any more than we should measure the importance of "members" of the human body by numbers. Perfect political freedom would be the harmonious working of the various classes in one system—the numbers of each class being quite secondary to the moral and intellectual importance of the social

1st. That there should be no class tyranny of any kind. The "various social interests" should be represented in "a fair and harmonious proportion," not measured by mere numbers, but by "the moral and intellectual importance of the social functions they are called upon to perform."

2nd. There should therefore be no mere "uniform division of the electoral classes," doing away with the "variety of interests" represented by our constituencies. Neither should these "various interests" be brought into too distinct and defined a contrast and antagonism, by elaborating the appearance of class distinctions, and putting out of sight the common and mutual ground on which all classes meet.

3rd. And (as a conclusion from the two foregoing propositions,) in the contemplated re-distribution of representatives under a new measure of Reform, the element of numbers is to be considered only in places where there is "a great variety of social interests and social opinions;" and not where there is a "uniformity and close cohesion of interests," no matter how large the community may be, and whether it be a county, or a town.

And this rule is proposed with the object of providing that "the smaller and less uniform interests of the country may thus receive a protection which they could not in any more formal manner hope to attain."

The counties and the large manufacturing towns are set down by the writer, in the category of the communities in which there is that "uniformity and close cohesion of interests" which, according to him, should have no claim for an increase of representatives, based on the mere fact of their large numerical amount of population. Like the clan of Lochiel,

"Their arms are a thousand, their bosoms but one!"

Be their population a quarter of a million, half a million, a million itself, or even upwards, still, according to the "Economist," their interests being closely and compactly bound up together, their representation cannot require to be otherwise than compact also. "Agriculture" in the one case, and "money capital" in the other, are precise, definite, "rigid" formula, which do not require any very extended expression. But there are a variety of minor interests, which are over-crowded and over-borne in counties and large towns by the two potent influences just named. The "minor interests" must do congress in the smaller boroughs; and the latter should for their sake, and on their account, get an increased number of representatives. In short, the "Economist," and the section of Whigs

Radicals which it represents, are for lessening the power of the lords of land and gold, and increasing that of the sturdy democrats of the middle classes.

In direct opposition to these views are the sentiments of the only member of the present administration (that of Lord Derby,) who has as yet spoken *out* at all, and disdained to avail himself of the mere abstract generalities under which several of his congeners have taken refuge. Sir Fitzroy Kelly, the Attorney General of the new government, at Ipswich, Thursday the fourth March, upon his re-election for the eastern division of Suffolk county, occasioned by his acceptance of office, thus delivered himself on the subject of Reform.

"There is another subject upon which I do not feel called upon to address you with any reserve, and upon which, as upon all others which are uninfluenced by temporary or peculiar considerations, you have a right to except freedom and openness of discussion on the part of your representative,—I mean the all-important question of reform in the representation of the people. (Cheers.) I must say that upon this subject justice has hardly been done to that great Conservative party in the State to which I am proud to belong, and if I could presume to offer a complaint of anything personal to myself I should say that I had hardly had justice done to me upon this important question. It has been imputed to the Conservative party, and it has been imputed personally to myself, that we are insincere in our endeavours and in the expectations which we may hold out for reform in the representation of the people, and that we desire to prevent all reform, all change, all improvement in that, as in other departments of the State. Now I have long felt, in common I believe with those who have bestowed impartial reflection and attention upon the subject, that the elective franchise is confined to certain classes of the people who ought not exclusively to possess it. It has been supposed—nay, it has been publicly stated within these eight-and-forty hours, with reference to plans to which I have from time to time here and elsewhere alluded—that I desire to deprive of the elective franchise the freeholders, tenant farmers, and others in the county of Suffolk and throughout Great Britain. So far is that from being correct, that on the contrary I declare that I will never be a party to any scheme of reform by which one single British man who now enjoys the franchise shall be dispossessed of that franchise. My policy is all for extension; and when we reflect that there are now men in this kingdom—not numbered by hundreds or by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands—who are well qualified by education, by property, by character, by position, by all that can entitle a free man in a free country to the possession of the elective franchise—who have it not, and who are among the unrepresented in this country, I feel that we ought not, whenever the time shall come to legislate upon this subject, to leave one man in Britain, who is by the qualifications to which I have adverted entitled to the elective franchise, without it. (Hear, hear.) I therefore desire—and I hope that there is nothing that the

humbler classes of society will complain of when I say so—to begin at the upper end, and to descend in conferring the franchise as the state of education and intelligence among the people will permit. Whether in counties or in towns I would certainly confer the franchise upon every individual who possesses a sufficient income to afford a prospect of his exercising that franchise independently. I would likewise confer it upon every man in Britain who can show that he possesses a liberal education. I do not mean a first-rate classical education, but that he has a sufficient knowledge to justify the expectation of an intelligent, right thinking, and reflective exercise of that franchise, even although he might not be a freeholder in a county, or a 10*l.* householder within a borough. (Hear, hear.) It is necessary also—but here we come upon a task full of delicacy and difficulty—that a great number of towns throughout Great Britain, the population of which has increased of late years until they have become places of great importance and consideration, should no longer be deprived of the elective franchise. When you find, for example, towns like the neighbouring borough of Harwich with a small population returning two members, and others with a still smaller, or perhaps even with a larger population—for you all know that the number of inhabitants in a town varies from time to time from circumstances over which the Legislature has no control—returning one member to Parliament, while we have great and extensive towns in the North of England and elsewhere, with 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants, returning no member at all, you must feel that that is an evil which ought to be remedied. I know no reason, for example, why my old friends and constituents in Ipswich who live in 10*l.* houses in the borough should continue to enjoy the franchise, when it is refused to the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Hadleigh, who are equal in character, in property, and in intelligence to the inhabitants of this town. (Hear, hear.) These are some of the evils which I would seek to remedy; and moreover I cannot but feel that a great and undue disproportion exists under the present law between the population and the number of members returned. I would, therefore, as far as may be, endeavour to restore the balance and to do equal justice to all the inhabitants of this country. I do not say—for it would be absurd to dream of such a measure—that I would endeavour to parcel out the nation into districts, with an exact proportion of population to members returned; but I cannot see why some 52 counties in England and Wales, with half a million of electors, and I am afraid to say how many inhabitants, should return but 150 members, while the boroughs within those counties return members in the proportion of at least three to one. While attempting to do justice, then, to the population at large, and to extend the franchise so far as the education, the intelligence, the property, and the general improvement in all classes of the people will permit us to do so with safety, let us at the same time do justice to the counties, and take care that the number of members returned by the counties of England and Wales shall bear something like a fair proportion to the immensity of their electors and of their population. (Cheers.) In the remarks which I make upon this important question, however,

permit me to remind you that I speak only for myself. The noble earl who has done me the honour to associate me with him in the Government of which he is the head, has lately announced in Parliament that it is his intention to take into consideration the state of the representation, and to bring forward some measures on the subject; but he has at the same time announced that he feels it impossible, consistently with his other public duties, and with a due regard to those other measures which are forced upon the immediate attention of the Legislature, to undertake that task during the present session of Parliament. I must freely tell you that this is all that I can say to you on the subject; for it is all that I know myself. I am not in the secret of the heads of the Government, if they have a secret; I know not their individual or general views upon this question; but speaking for myself, and for myself alone, I say that I shall be ready, whenever a fit and convenient time shall arrive—and I don't hesitate say that the consideration of this question ought no longer to be postponed than the ensuing session—in my place in Parliament and whether in or out of office, to advocate and maintain these principles, even down to the details to which I have now alluded. (Cheers.)

("Times," March, 9th, 1858.

Like all others of whatever party who have of late given us the benefit of their opinions on Reform, Sir Fitzroy Kelly is prodigal of assurances that "intellect," "education," and "independence," are the tests by which he would judge of the fitness of individuals and communities for increased political franchises. But he seems to expect that we shall take these as words of course and mere phrases, without any practical meaning or intention; for very soon afterwards we have the open declaration that his real object is "to do justice to the counties, by taking care that the number of members returned by them shall bear a fair proportion to the *immensity of their electors and of their population.*" In short, and in fact, he, speaking for his party, proclaims that the strongholds of democracy in the boroughs should be weakened by diminishing their quota of representatives, and the aristocratic power in the counties be correspondingly increased.

The frankness of Lord Derby's Attorney-General was by no means imitated by his President of the Board of Trade, the Right Honorable Joseph Henley, M.P. for Oxfordshire, at his re-election for that county, on appointment to office. On the contrary, he was as close as his colleague was communicative. Having presently to review the expressions on the same subject of the foremost man of the Derby administration in the Lower House, and practically the foremost man *absolutely* of both

the administration and the party with which it is identified, we would not make even a brief delay upon Mr. Henley's most diplomatic declaration (made doubtless with all that wonderful or, as it has been irreverently termed, *owl-like*, solemnity of demeanour and tone that characterises him) were it not for the curious attempt he makes to enlist against Constitutional Reform the strong feelings excited in our breasts by the murderous plans and acts of foreign conspirators and Red Republicans. After expressing detestation of the conduct of the wretches concerned in the hideous affair of January last in Paris, he says :—

“ We must feel that the acts of these guilty men will have a fatal effect upon the cause of constitutional government and of liberty throughout the whole of Europe. Attached as I believe all Englishmen are to constitutional liberty, it is impossible for them not to see that the cause of free government and of liberty has of late gone back upon the continent. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible not to see and regret this ; and one must feel that guilty acts like that of which I have been speaking—acts not confined to attempted assassination, but embracing those struggles we have seen made abroad within the last 10 years—that these, I say, have a strong tendency to throw back the cause of constitutional liberty throughout the world. (Hear.) It has been said by a distinguished personage in this country that the cause of constitutional government has of late years been upon its trial here. I think we cannot help feeling that this observation is to a great extent true. Looking back at our history for the last 200 years, and, observing the struggles we have gone through, we cannot but see that the great ends at which we have arrived have been achieved by prudent, careful revision of our laws and institution. I hope the time will never come when that progress shall cease to be carried on. I know there is a claptrap kind of question talked about by many sections of politicians, who go about the country calling themselves this, that, and the other name ; but I, for one, have never belonged to any school of that kind. (Cheers.) I am speaking among those who know me, and I can say that I have always been one of those who think it better to do the most good we can with the tools we have to our hands, than to run about whooping and hallooing after something else, leaving undone what ought to be and might be done with the means already at our disposal. I have been questioned in this hall during stormier times than the present and in larger meetings. I have been asked what I would do upon this or that question, and among the rest it has been said to me, ‘ What about Reform ? ’ (Hear, hear.) To that question I have always, before my constituents or otherwise, given this frank answer when other men have been in power, ‘ Let me see what they are going to do, and then I will tell you whether I will support them or not.’ That has been the answer I have

given here before, and many may remember it. Now, I will tell you how I stand on this question at present. I could not have joined any Government in which my hands were to be tied upon that subject. But I feel that the question is one which has been dangling for some time before the eyes of the country, which has been put into the mouth of the Sovereign by several successive Prime Ministers, though none of those Ministers have chosen to bring any scheme before the country, for I don't think the most ardent Reformer will affirm that one or two Bills introduced by Lord John Russell seven or eight years ago can be called schemes of Reform. For this reason, no question having been brought fairly before the country, I have not felt in a position to say whether this or that particular measure should be adopted. But this I may tell you—that I would not have joined any Government if I were not able to say to my constituents that I stand unfettered upon this subject, that I am free to take into consideration that or any other subject I please, and that I am at liberty to act respecting it according to what I think to be for the good of the country; and whether the support I receive in that line of conduct be small or large, or none at all, to that I will adhere. This I think is as free an expression of opinion upon the subject as you can expect any man in my position to give."

No doubt that the "guilty acts" he speaks of—"acts," as he truly says, "not confined to attempted assassination, but embracing those struggles we have seen made abroad within the last ten years"—do "throw back the cause of constitutional liberty throughout the world. But the question at present is not of foreign countries." No one, except the wild speculators who ventilate their theories in the extreme Radical papers, has proposed, or dreamed of proposing, to legislate for them, or interfere in their concerns. True, there *has* been a step in that direction—the supremely absurd step of withdrawing the British Envoy from Naples, because the unasked and intruded counsel of the British Cabinet, in matters affecting the *internal* government of the Neapolitan Kingdom, was not immediately and obsequiously adopted. But that *brutum fulmen* has proved too eminently ridiculous to be imitated and constituted a precedent, even if there were question at present of further indulgence in the certainly too prevalent propensity of English statesmen, to bully and seek to dictate lines of policy to the weaker states of Europe. There is *no* such question at present; and all Mr. Henley's solemnity and verboseness, must fail to mystify the public about the plain matter in hand—the shaping out and bringing into operation a further measure of Parliamentary Reform at home. The former measure—necessarily much more extensive than this need be—was carried out

without superinducing wild Republicanism, or any derangement of society and order, and if there be reason to fear a different result now, Mr. Henley, in his position of a Cabinet-Minister is surely bound to point out distinctly the dangers before us, and suggest what ought to be the policy of the country. But no—all he condescends to tell us is, that he is “unfettered on this subject—at liberty to act respecting it as he thinks proper”—and that when a Reform measure is brought before the country, he will then tell us “whether he will support it or not”!!

From the recent hustings-speech (on a similar occasion of re-election) of his leader and chief, Mr. D’Israeli, we take the following not much more lucid or promising declaration of the subject of Reform:—

“I ask you in a common-sense and a purely serious spirit is it decent, is it politic, is it honest and honourable, that a question of such a nature as this, a question which concerns the representation of what we believe to be a free and intelligent people, eminent for their love of liberty and progress in knowledge, should be made the stalking-horse of faction? (cheers)—that it should be hung up and taken down according to the exigencies of a distressed Minister, and that the highest principles of policy should be part of the stock in trade by which a Government is to shuffle through a disgraceful and discreditable existence? (Loud cheers.) No, gentlemen, I am convinced that it is the opinion of the people of this country that this question should be settled, aye or no. If a Reform Bill be necessary it must be produced, and it will be carried, and if it be unnecessary the Minister who is not prepared to grapple with the question ought frankly to state that that is his conviction. (Cheers.) Remember that a Reform Bill has been twice brought forward by Her Majesty’s Government; remember that only two months ago the attention of Parliament was called to the subject in the gracious Speech from the Throne, and, in my opinion, and in the opinion of those with whom I act, it is totally impossible that a question which has been introduced to the notice of the country by the proposition of the Minister, and by recommendation to the consideration of Parliament from Her Majesty herself, can any longer be trifled with. We shall therefore give to it our earnest and serious consideration. (Hear, hear.) But then we are asked ‘When are you going to bring forward your Reform Bill?—after Easter?’ Those gentlemen who have been seven years playing with the question, who have postponed, procrastinated, and delayed year after year—as many years as my learned friend, Dr. Lee, had question to put to me, now tell us that we are not sincere Reformers. ‘Where is your Bill?’ they say. ‘Haven’t you got it ready? An impatient people is not to be balked of an object for which it has such a ravenous desire.’ (Laughter.) We have, if possible, to effect a recon-

ciliation with our great ally ; we have to conduct negotiations upon which the peace of Europe may depend ; we have other tasks before us most difficult to fulfil ; we have to put down a revolt in India which will yet demand from this country no common efforts ; we have to carry a Bill through Parliament for the government of that country, based upon principles which I hope will recommend it to the national approbation ; we have to introduce financial measures of no ordinary gravity, and yet we are told we are not sincere Reformers, because our Reform Bill is not immediately to be brought forward. The course which we shall take will be this :—We shall give to that subject our most earnest and serious consideration, with the view, if possible, of bringing forward a measure which shall not be a mere party measure (cheers), which shall not be devised merely to prop up a faction, which shall not be invented merely to increase the political influence of a political section, but a measure which, dealing largely and completely with all those questions connected with the subject which are entitled to consideration, will, I trust, recommend itself to all temperate, rational, and sober-spirited men as a measure adequate to the occasion. (Hear.) Being ready to act in that spirit, I do not think that I am asking too much for Her Majesty's Government that we may be permitted to give consideration to the construction of that measure, and that we may have the time for thought and for labour which the responsibility for so vast a theme demands. I cannot believe—the hypocrisy is so flagrant—that any prejudice would be raised against us because in dealing with this subject we wish to deal with it like sincere and responsible men, and because in anything which we do we wish to do that which will be adequate to the occasion, and which will meet with the approbation of all sound thinking people in this country. (Cheers.) I feel that it is unnecessary for me to enter into details upon a theme which must be brought before Parliament in due time, and therefore it would be unwise in me to offer opinions which I might otherwise have laid before you, and which, indeed, I have expressed in this country on various occasions, on the various points connected with this subject—the different franchises, for instance, the modes of taking votes, and questions of that character. When the question is introduced to Parliament by the Government, that will be the occasion when our opinions will be offered to the country in a formal and matured manner, and that will be the occasion when the country will be able to form its judgment upon them."

The best commentary upon this wilderness of words, is that of the *Times* newspaper of Tuesday, March 9, the day after the delivery of the speech from which we have quoted.

"The new Chancellor of the Exchequer yesterday performed a task for which no other man is so competent. He had to make a speech, which must of course, be an able and effective one, out of nothing. The substance was *nothing*, and it could only be eked out by what was worse than nothing!"

Whig and Tory having thus spoken, come we now to radical utterances on the same subject. The "Northern Reformer Union," from its head quarters at Newcastle-on-Tyne, thus pronounces:—

"Excessive taxation may be defined as the trunk of the tree of misgovernment whence spring innumerable branches, the unwholesome fruits of which have poisoned the body-politic of England, have impoverished the blood, debilitated the limbs, degraded the features, and depraved at last almost every natural function of what should be a free and healthy State.

To this grand source, then, it is that all the minor mischiefs of the realm are owing. Hence it is that the people have been taxed to help to occupy and to defend expensive colonies, for which extension of trade has been the pretext,—whilst places, patronage, and plunder were the real objects. Hence have come the governorships, the secretaryships, the judgeships, the political agencies, the commissionerships, the cadetships, the writerships,—in short, the whole host of employments, military and civil, which serve to gratify all who are ready to sell their country and their own souls for the sake of a base advancement. Hence has arisen a financial and monetary system at once so oppressive and precarious that, after having stripped the artisan of half his earnings, and the merchant manufacturer, ship-owner, and tradesmen, of half their profits, it subjects the whole industry of the country to periodical panics, which as they spring from the taxing system itself must perpetually occur as long as it shall last. From the same root has sprung into existence a poor-rate, which, originating, as it did, in the reign of Elizabeth, as an act of justice to the few poor persons at that time existing has gradually been swollen to a sum equal to the entire revenue at the accession of the Hanover family; and, when added to the pay of the gatherers of taxes makes a gross amount equal to the entire peace establishment of George III., after his accession, in 1760.

In a vicious and defective state of the representation is to be sought the proximate cause of these mischiefs. In an amended representation, the remedy alone is to be found. At present, the House of Commons represents, not the people of these kingdoms, but two or three small and dominant classes, to the exclusion of all the rest. Thus the great majority of the British commonalty may be justly said to be outlaws, to a certain extent, and, to a certain extent, serfs! They are denied the power of making laws for themselves, and they are expected to obey laws made for them by others. Thus hundreds of thousands of intelligent men, just as able to select honest representatives as those who now monopolise in order to abuse the privilege, are politically paralysed, and treated as if they only formed a sort of *caput mortuum* of the Constitution.

The chief remedy for this is, plainly, an extension of the Franchise. How far this extension should go, has been the subject of frequent and earnest debate. Such controversies, when examined, will be found to lead to one conclusion; and that is, if anomalies the most

absurd and monopolies the most pernicious are to be avoided, the franchise must be treated as a right inherent in the individual. To make it depend upon any sort of property qualification, brings us, by a short step, not only to injustice, but to absurdity.

To give universality of suffrage, however, its healthful action, protection to the individual voter must be added. Manhood suffrage ceases to be manhood suffrage if one man be permitted in any way to control the vote of another; it is indispensable, therefore, to join to manhood suffrage the Vote by Ballot. It is by no means easy to state with decorous gravity the arguments (so-called) which are uttered by the opponents of an arrangement at once so simple and so salutary. One portion seems to make it a matter of taste only. It is 'un-English,' they say; and, according to them, in order to prove a poor voter truly 'English,' it is requisite that he should risk being ruined, together with his family, once in every three years. Another portion hold that absolute secrecy could not be effected. In associations of workmen, in the most princely institutions of commerce, and in the clubs of our aristocracy, we see it in practical operation—giving the completest secrecy, if the voter desires it. The example of its successful working in Australia will not be lost upon the British people; for it is absurd to imagine that they will long suffer the mother country to have a smaller share of liberty than the colonies, and that the farthest extremities of our dominions shall be freer than the great heart which gives life and animation to the whole. The Property Qualification of candidates is so constantly and notoriously evaded, that no one can now seriously object to its being dispensed with. Scotch members are not required to possess it. Why should those who represent English and Irish constituencies be asked to submit to a test from which Scotland is wholly exempt?"

And they very sensibly conclude their address with a recommendation that if all that is sought cannot be got at once, instalments should be cheerfully and thankfully taken.

One more quotation of radical opinions will conclude all that it is necessary, or that we have convenient space to give. On the 9th of March, Mr. S. J. Ricardo, one of the Staffordshire representatives, met his constituents at Hanley in that county, and exchanged expositions with them of his and their respective views upon Reform. The worshipful the Mayor presided, and did not mince matters in expressing his sentiments.

"There was no such thing, he said, as Finality in political Reform any more than in personal or any other kind of Reform. He did not hesitate to attribute in a very great measure the Repeal of the Corn-laws and the general enlightenment of the nation to the Reform Bill of 1832. There could be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that a large extension of the parliamentary suffrage was

imperatively needed, and he did believe that the nation would demand it, that no government would dare to refuse."

"*Sun*" Newspaper, March 11, 1858.

The meeting, which appears to have been a very crowded one, went thoroughly with him and other speakers to the same effect; and the two following resolutions were unanimously adopted, viz.:

"That any measure of parliamentary Reform to be acceptable to Reformers should at least enfranchise in Borough towns, every person rated to the poor; and in counties every ten pound householder. That it should give to every voter the protection of the Ballot. That it should further abolish totally the property-qualification required from English and Irish representatives—(none such being required from Scotch,)—and that it should as equitably as possible, apportion representatives according to population and shorten the duration of parliaments to three years.

That any measure of parliamentary Reform which should not give to the voter the protection of vote by Ballot, would be at once disadvantageous to the country and unacceptable to the people."

Ibid.

To these opinions and propositions, Mr. Ricardo gave his assent.

A very amusing piece of frankness on the part of one of the most plain-speaking, if not the most prudent of the landlord-party, uttered much about the same time, at a meeting in Northamptonshire, will serve to shew reason for this urgency on the subject of the ballot. Sir Henry Drury, one of the "men of large acres" at that meeting, thus delivered himself "for self and fellows."

"*Certainly* a tenant has no right to use his landlord's land to vote against him. He (Sir Henry in his proper person) did not canvass his own tenants; but before taking one he always satisfied himself as to the tenant's principles. And then, if afterwards the tenant thought proper to turn round, he (the great Sir Henry again) thought he might fairly come down upon him."

The newspaper that records these magnanimous sentiments, gives as an illustration of the close and careful adherence of the landlords of Northamptonshire to the policy indicated in these significant sentences, the fact that in the division of the county of which Sir Henry Drury is an ornament, the number of Parliamentary voters has increased only by 123 in the 24 years since the Reform Bill, while the increase of population was 22,300!

The case of Ireland in respect of Reform, compels an abbreviation of our remarks upon the general question, and possesses a strong claim to what remains of our allotted space.

The late Mr. O'Connell frequently proclaimed and exposed the most unjust disparity of treatment which Ireland received in 1831-2, compared with that accorded to England and Scotland by the Reform measure of that period. In his "Letters to the Reformers of England on the Reform Bill for Ireland," (published by Ridgway, Piccadilly, London, in 1832,) he thus generally stated it:

"The English Bill greatly enlarges the elective franchise in the counties of England. The Irish Bill on the whole, diminishes the number of voters in the Irish counties. The Bill for Scotland exceedingly increases the number of voters in Scotch counties. The Irish Reform Bill diminishes the number.

England has at present two franchises, and acquires by her Reform Bill seven additional franchises. Ireland has at present two, and acquires only two more.

Wales, with a population of only 805,236, gets an increase of 4 members—Ireland an increase of only *five*, and one of these to Trinity College, which has already a member. Scotland, with 1,300,000, gets an increase of eight members. Ireland, as before, only 1, with a population of eight millions. Cumberland, with only 140,081, gets two additional members;—the Co. Cork, with 807,366, does not get one additional.

Northamptonshire gets two additional members on a population of 119,276. Downshire, with 352,571, gets no increase. Leicestershire, with 197,276, increases her members from 2 to 4, while Tipperary County, with 402,598 inhabitants, remains with only 2 members. Wiltshire, with only 239,181, commands 4 representatives. Tyrone, with 302,943, is to have but two. Monmouthshire gets a third member, though its population is but 98,130. Mayo, with 367,973. Limerick, with 300,080. Clare, with 258,262, Kerry, with 219,989, Donegal, with 298,104, not one of them gets an increase...not one!

In few of the towns of England there is to be any diminution of the existing *resident* voters. In all of the towns of Scotland there is to be an *increase*. In many of the towns of Ireland there is to be a great *reduction* of the *resident* voters. The towns and Boroughs of England have three classes of voters more than those in Ireland."

We have, as the reader will doubtless perceive, limited ourselves to very few and much abbreviated extracts from Mr. O'Connell's letters, and given nothing whatever of the accom-

paying expressions of natural indignation and earnest (and must be confessed utterly fruitless) appeal by him to English Reformers of high and low degree, against the unjust disparities of the two Reform Bills. Neither have we gone at all into his expositions in detail of the gross injustices in the nature and manner of obtaining the few franchises left to Ireland, changes having occurred in these points especially and also in some others, which render his remarks upon them less applicable at present. But enough has been given to shew the general character of the ill treatment Ireland received, and unfortunately its main features still remain unchanged.

Of those main features one in particular claims, and in fact *demand*s, our attention. It is the injustice involved in the disproportionate number of our representatives in comparison with the number for Great Britain. We have as every one knows, but 105 members, while the remaining 553 members belong to her. Our share of parliamentary representation is therefore to hers in even a smaller proportion than as one to five. What reason can there be for this disparity?

We are continually reminded that Ireland is "an integral part of the empire"—that "English, Irish, and Scotch are all one people," &c. &c.;—and while not altogether convinced of the accuracy of the latter declaration, we are ready to admit it for the sake of argument at any rate, while to the first we give an unqualified assent, at least in so far as its exact meaning can be ascertained. Taking these postulates therefore as granted, we are entitled to ask, why this same "integral part" of the empire, and this Irish portion of the one British people, should be treated otherwise than the other "integral parts" and "portions" of the same? Why should we not have our fair and duly proportioned share of representation in Parliament?

When the Income Tax was being imposed upon Ireland in 1852, the protests of our members against the additional violation of the terms of the (so-called) treaty of Legislative Union involved in that imposition were met with clamorous enquiries from English members, why we should object to be put upon the same footing exactly as Englishmen were, and thereby to become entitled to all privileges, franchises, and advantages which they enjoyed. "Hitherto," it was said to us, "you had certain exemptions from taxation which, rightly or wrongly, were made the ground of withholding from you

many things enjoyed by other portions of the Empire, but once the countries shall be assimilated in the important point of taxation, that objection and difficulty will disappear, and perfect equality will be at once conceded." The assimilation of taxation was accordingly forced upon us and established, but the *equality* has still been withheld.* We are still as we were before, in the miserable minority as regards Representation, of one to five!

It is not our business to dilate here on the subject of the Legislative Union, or enter into any discussion of its merits or demerits. But we may be permitted to say that few people, no matter how they approve of it and desire its maintenance, now refuse to admit that in many points it inflicted injustice. In none more so than in the inadequate representation it gave to Ireland. At the moment we write Great Britain and Ireland are thus respectively represented in both Houses of Parliament.

House of Lords. <i>(Spiritual and Temporal.)</i>	
Great Britain, 405	Ireland, 32 (about as 1 to 13)

House of Commons.

Great Britain, 553	Ireland, 105 (as 1 to 5)
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On this disparity in the Upper House we say nothing, as Franchise Reform is not a question of the day, whatever it may become before very long. We merely give the respective figures for each country, in order to shew that even if the Irish Representative Peers were all imbued with Irish feelings, their numbers are too few to enable them to supplement to the deficiency of Irish influence and power in the Commons.

Lord Castlereagh in 1800 established as the basis on which to calculate the future proportionate representation of Ireland, the following comparative scale, deducing from it the figures set down below:—

For Population	...	202	Members	} The mean of these quantities gives 108½
" Exports	....	100	"
" Imports	....	93	"
" Revenue	....	39	"
Total		434		

* Similar appeals are made to us in reference to the Vice-Royalty; and if Irishmen be weak enough to yield to them and consent to the abolition of it, the result will undoubtedly be the same. There will be no species of compensation.

These bases of computation were much contested at the time, and are now acknowledged to have been very unfairly stated as against Ireland. Still, even according to them, we were entitled to 108 Members. Yet we got but 100, and the Reform Bill of 1832, gave us only 5 more, thereby still leaving us, (as we are to this day,) deprived of 3 Members, to which additional number we were entitled even on the defective and unfair bases taken at the Union.

If, at the present day, it will be said that this injustice should not be remedied, the declaration will amount to an explicit confession that the Union has failed to benefit Ireland; when on the four points mentioned above, her proportion to that of England has not risen higher than it was in 1800.

And supposing that it has not done so, ought we not to get at any rate the *three* needed to make up the Union number of 108.

It is impossible now-a-days to make a new calculation of this kind upon the four points, or bases, mentioned above. Since 1825—that is to say, for nearly 33 years—there have been no separate accounts kept of the trade between the two countries, save as regards a very few articles; and as that trade includes not only the home produce and manufacture of each for mutual consumption, but (as regards *Ireland*) the greater part of her foreign trade, both of import and export, it will be at once seen that trade and commerce cannot enter into the new calculation. Population and contributions to the public Revenue can, however, still be used for the purpose, and very sufficient elements of comparison they unquestionably are. In reference to the first of them, viz: population, Ireland is of course at a great disadvantage at present; famine and the *still progressing* emigration, having reduced her numbers to what they were thirty years ago, or six millions; whereas, the population of Great Britain has risen in the interval, from 18 to, at least, 26 millions. Still, even under this disadvantage, the calculation will prove our case, especially as, in reference to the other element of comparison, that of taxation, we can shew even a stronger claim than ever before—our taxation having now for six years back, been equalized with that of Great Britain, a state of things which did not exist when last the question of proportionate representation was mooted.

In fact, the element of numbers of the respective populations

is by no means essential to the comparison. An axiom of the Constitution points out plainly the single consideration of rightful importance. That "Taxation should be founded upon Representation," is one of the best recognized and firmest established principles of the Constitution. Applying this axiom to the case before us, we have a right to say and to demand, that as Ireland has but the one-sixth of the Imperial Representation, she ought to have but the one-sixth of the Imperial Taxation. But out of the sixty millions or thereabouts, of Imperial Revenue, we pay equally with Great Britain to taxes producing at the least, fifty-five millions, or 11-12ths of the whole. We should, therefore, have a number of Representatives in a corresponding ratio, that is to say, as eleven to twelve, or 308 members for Ireland, and 320 for Great Britain. As we have nothing like this proportion, the Constitution is plainly violated by the overweening amount of taxation imposed upon us.

There is no hope, however, for justice being done us, either by reduction of taxation to its proper proportion with our existing quota of Representatives, nor on the other hand, by increasing the latter to the number above shewn to be our right. England is strong, and we are weak; and the weak always go to the wall. We must only lower our tone and humbly beg a *volunt* concession. We must admit the respective amounts of population into the calculation, and it will then stand thus, *viz.*—

	Ireland.		Great Britain.		
Population as	1	to	5	109	549
Taxation as	11	to	12	308	320
				<hr/> 417	<hr/> 869
Mean of these 2 Proportions				203	435

Two hundred and three Members for Ireland, four hundred and thirty-five Members for Great Britain. To this, at any rate, we are entitled, yet assuredly shall not get this. Even the additional *three*, which the Union-calculation would entitle us to use upon our existing quota of 105, we shall not get, unless we bestir ourselves, and do so *heartily* and at once! But unfortunately, there is little hope of our doing so, disheartened, distracted, divided as we are!

There have been rumours of a scheme of re-distribution throughout the entire of the United Kingdom, of its representation in the lower House of Parliament. So far as these rumours took anything of a consistent form, they involved changes of great and very injurious importance for Ireland. Her scant and insufficient number of Members was to be diminished, instead of being (as it ought to be) increased, and an arbitrary shifting, or shuffling about of her remaining Representatives, was to be practised, tending on the whole to weaken the liberal and popular interest, and throw the preponderance into the opposite scale. But this most unjust and outrageous scheme appears to have fallen still-born, and we trust will be heard of no more. Nevertheless, the fact that it ever was spoken of at all, should act as a warning to Irish Reformers, and as an incentive to active preparation for the parliamentary campaign of next year; when according to the assurances of Whig and Tory alike, a general plan of Parliamentary Reform is to be among the first and leading measures of the Session. We will intrude upon them only one short counsel, and that is, not to commit the mistake in political strategy of merely standing on the defensive, but to make a bold forward movement, and demand that members be allotted to several towns of considerable population in Ireland, which are at present unrepresented, and that this be done, not only without taking away from the number of Representatives of the Irish counties and larger cities, but simultaneously with an *addition* of Members to such of the latter as may appear in comparison with Great Britain, to have a right to such addition.

A glance at the lists of the House of Commons in Thom's Directory, where the names of the Members, the places they sit for, the number of population of each, and the number of voters, are all set out for the three Countries, will enable the most casual observer to see the extent of the injustice done in the existing allocation of Representatives. The following are a few cases taken nearly at random from among the Counties in England and Ireland:—

English Counties.	Members.	Population.	Irish Counties.	Members.	Population.
Cambridgeshire,	3	185,181	Antrim Co.,	2	250,35
Buckinghamshire,	3	165,554	Cork Co.,	2	551,15
Dorsetshire,	3	184,207	Down Co.,	2	317,77
Hereford Co.	3	115,489	Tyrone Co.,	2	251,86
Northumberland Co.	4	300,000	Tipperary Co.,	2	323,82
Hertford Co.,	3	167,298	Kerry Co.,	2	238,24

It is to be borne in mind in the case of the Irish Counties in the foregoing table, that their respective amounts of population, are set down, as they have been estimated *since* the great famine and emigration, and that therefore the injustice done them in the comparative apportionment of Representatives in 1832, although yet very flagrant, was still more outrageous, before the population of those counties, as of so much of the rest of Ireland, was thinned and wasted down to what it is at present.

In reference to the towns and boroughs, the following will give an idea of the comparative state of things.

England.	Members.	Population.	Ireland.	Members.	Population.
Andover,	2	5,359	Tralee,	1	13,759
Barnstaple,	2	1,000	Wexford,	1	12,819
Bridgewater,	2	5,724	Londonderry,	1	19,604
Evesham,	2	4,605	Drogheda,	1	16,845
Harwich,	2	4,400	Kilkenny,	1	19,973
Honiton,	2	3,420	Sligo,	1	13,627
Lymington,	2	5,260	Ennis,	1	12,165
Thetford,	2	4,074	Clonmel,	1	14,707
Totness,	2	3,828	Youghal,	1	9,211
Wells,	2	4,736	Dundalk,	1	9,841

These are only a few specimens out of, as every one knows, a multitude of cases of the grossest injustice towards Ireland, in the distribution of members between the two countries. They do not illustrate exceptions, but the general rule itself, that prevails and has prevailed in reference to that distribution.

The under-mentioned towns in Ireland, having a population of or exceeding six thousand, are totally unrepresented, and Barnstaple, Honiton, Totness, Thetford, Harwich, &c., might well spare them one member *each*.

Towns.	Population.	Towns.	Population.
Callan, ...	6,000	Loughrea, ...	6,400
Carrickfergus, ..	8,800	Nenagh, ...	8,600
Carrick-on-Suir, ...	10,000	Parsonstown, ...	6,700
Castlebar, ...	6,000	Tipperary, ...	6,980
Queenstown, ...	7,200	Thurles, ...	7,250
Fermoy, ...	7,150	Tullamore, ...	6,500
Kilmarney, ...	7,300	Tuam, ..	6,000

Although the English Reformers have no such grievances as ours to complain of, it will be seen from the following extract from one of their "Reports on the Franchise," that they are by no means content with the present state of things.

"The present representation in parliament is neither based on population, property, nor character. The House of Commons is

supposed to represent the entire people, but not more than one in eight have the right of suffrage at all. There are in the House of Commons 330 members, representing an aggregate population of 3,120,000 persons, while a minority of 328 members represent 23,873,000 of the population. The position of the population returning the majority is that of having one member for every 9,400 persons, while the minority have but one member for every 73,600 persons. The present representation consisted of 330 members returned by 180,000 electors. Then, as to property, the annual rateable value of that represented by the 330 members is but £6,200,000, while the rateable value of the property represented by the 328 members is £78,800,000. How is Lord Derby to deal with these facts?"

Of any change, however, in these respects during the present Session, the English Reformers do not seem to entertain an expectation. The extreme Radicals amongst them have been, through their newspapers, endeavouring to coax and coquet, with Lord Derby, since his accession to office; but as might be expected, the noble Lord, though willing enough to avail himself of their little *rancune* towards Lord Palmerston, does not choose for the sake of such support as in their fretful caprice they can afford him, to give mortal offence to his party, by opening up once more the sluices of reform.

The subjoined passages from a Report of the "Birmingham Reform Deputation," deputed to consult with the Liberal members of Parliament in London, upon the practicability of bringing in a measure of Parliamentary Reform, during the present Session, will shew that we do not speak without book, in stating that there is no longer an expectation of such a step.

"1stly.—The Liberal section of the House is disjoined; it has no constructive unity of action. Occasionally powerful to overthrow, it is powerless to construct. The short time that many of its members have been in Parliament, the want of a rallying cry, as in 1831 and 1848, the *absence of any glaring abuse*, the apathy of the public, the absorbing nature of the war-question, the natural aversion there is to a dissolution, all have their influence in deterring the Radicals from active co-operation. Isolated motions for shreds of Reform are occasionally brought before the House; but no one dreams of united action for organic change.

"2ndly.—The advanced party have no leader. At present the majority of them cluster round the standard of either Palmerston or Russell. But a large number believe in neither. One other man they would follow, but this session at least he will not take active measures to organize a party. We refer to John Bright, our own Representative. His day will come, we have confidence, but not yet.

3rdly.—Perhaps the most conclusive argument against the hope of the Bill this year, is that it must be the work of a government.

No private member could command the time and information necessary to a re-construction of our electoral system. It must be done by those having the reins of power; who have the official resources and highest legal knowledge of the country at their disposal."

This is very uncheery, and yet it is all very true. The Liberals of the House are but too surely a disjointed body, if indeed they are to be called a body at all, in the sense of mutual coherence and association. The old comparison of a rope of sand is far more applicable and more correct. Lord Palmerston has *his* party, and Lord John Russell can boast of his, and then there are two other parties to be taken into account—one very small indeed, but occasionally making itself felt in the squabbles of the larger sections—the party under the leadership of Mr. Magnire,—and the other most formidable from its including such men as Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, and Roebuck. We are, perhaps, scarcely warranted in classing the little knot of Grahamites and Gladstonites—the remnant of the once mighty following of Peel—among the sections of Liberals, and yet their influence over the proceedings of the latter is very great, and although an additional difficulty in the way of effective concert in Liberal councils, is created by the uncertainty as to how they will vote on particular emergencies, they have occasionally given very valuable aid against the Conservative enemy. With these five independent commands, it is impossible to have a well-ordered army; and the energies that ought to be combined against the small, but compact and disciplined cohort of Toryism in front, are too often wasted in internal divisions, or baffled by mutual jealousies and distrust. Lords Palmerston and John Russell, are contending for the Premiership, and each alike refuses to tolerate a rival near the throne. The Whig party are eager to regain and re-establish their monopoly of office, while the Peelite party on the one hand, and the advanced Radical on the other, is each on its own account, struggling to put an end for ever to that monopoly. Then upon the nature, the extent, the principles, and all the leading details of Reform, these several parties are further divided and indeed *sub-divided*. And finally, upon the question of England's foreign policy, there is an equal amount and weight of difference and dissension. With all these elements of discord, who shall say when what is called "the great Liberal Party," will again be in a condition for battle, or how unexpectedly long a lease Lord Derby may not have of power!

The time when the Liberals will rally again, and rally for Reform, is a question not very easily to be answered or predicated of. But another, a greater and far more difficult question, is, what is to be the extent and probable operation of the Reform-measure to be proposed? The nature of the franchise itself, the manner of exercising it, and the allocation of Representatives, are all highly important points for consideration and discussion; but paramount to them and to every thing else is the consideration of the end, the object, the ultimate tendency and effect of the measure. It is quite evident from what we have quoted of Whig and Tory opinions on the subject, that their only and common aim is, to depart as little as possible from the existing state of things, and to maintain as far as possible (and if possible to *increase*) the power and influence of the aristocratic element in the British Constitution. We have also quoted from certain organs of the Radical party enough to show that they are equally intent on making the balance of power incline towards democracy. Our former quotations, however, from their manifesto having been mainly directed to exhibit their views of the *means* (viz., the increase of the popular franchise and the taking of votes, by secret Ballot) we shall quote from it again in further and more special illustration of the great end for which they proclaim themselves to be laboring.

“To those who would pourtray the multiform mischiefs flowing from Oligarchical Legislation, the only difficulty is selection. The giant mischief, however, is sufficiently prominent—Excessive Taxation. Tyranny in its grosser forms has shrunk before the slow progress of public opinion. Open Rapine can no longer be hazarded, she must now take the shape of taxation.

Of British Taxation it may safely be said, that nothing approaching to it is recorded in history. When the Romans were masters of the world, the highest taxation under their emperors never exceeded two thirds of the sums now annually wrung from the toil of a few millions of Englishmen. So appalling has been its growth, that the sums paid to Tax-Collectors are now more than the whole revenue of Queen Anne; and more than twice that of the much vituperated Stuarts. When a minister is invested with the patronage of such an enormous expenditure, to talk of public liberty is a farce. The more distinctive forms may be cunningly maintained—municipal government may exist—justice be in certain cases administered. These, however, are only employed to cover the corruption and depravity within.

When the means of comfort and independence are taken from an industrious people to this astonishing extent, the consequences are the same whether the end be obtained by force or fraud. These

consequences are the maintenance of a landed and moneyed oligarchy, who, without seeming so to do, in reality rule everything—the enriching a few at the expense of millions—and an aristocratic monopoly of every source of honor and emoluments that can possibly be monopolised; while the toiling masses from whom all this comes, may be accurately likened to men placed on a tread mill, who toil incessantly without advancing one step, but whose toil grinds abundance for those who set them there.

* * * * *

In addition, an insidious policy has been adopted by a certain portion of the press of this country, which, while it tolerates and encourages the discussion of abstract political truths, only does so upon the well-understood condition that the vulnerable parts of the system shall not be touched.

* * * * *

It is this policy which prompts this section of the press to boast perpetually of the national wealth and high civilization, while the country is covered with work-houses, rivalling castles in size;—while a gazette is published which, instead of recording three or four bankruptcies in the year, as was the case before the revolution of 1688, now records on an average more than three a day;—whilst the kingdom is so prolific of crime, that the gaols and penal colonies cannot contain the convicts; and immorality has so pervaded all ranks, that the legislature itself now helps to find materials for the criminal calendar. It is this policy too, which prescribes education and cheap literature as the panacea for this epidemic of crime, not appearing to see that these must tend *rather to stimulate than to decrease vice*, by rendering men more keenly sensible of the privations and hardships of their position, and giving them a taste for refinements, which whilst they envy them in others, they have neither means nor hope of realising for themselves."

Mr. Bright, the popular and very able member for Manchester, gives the following endorsement as it were, to some of the most advanced opinions, just quoted from the manifesto of the Northern Reform Union. Writing in answer to an "address from the unemployed of Birmingham," he says:—

"I confess I see no remedy for your distresses, so long as we find our Taxes constantly on the increase, and our national expenses augmenting. We now spend twenty millions more than we did a few years back, and military expenses have doubled since 1835. This year we shall have to raise fifty millions more than the revenue of the United States. We should compel a more economical government."

Down with the oligarchy! Cut down to the quick, the enormous public expenditure, the management and attendant patronage of which has given them such power, weight and influence. Extend the Franchise till it embrace the whole of

the classes below them, and shield its exercise with the secret Ballot, and thus muster together and send forward into action the army of democracy, then become irresistible by the combined effect of its enormous numbers and the destruction of the enemy's intrenchments! This is what the radicals of England aim at, and the true and indeed openly declared meaning of their agitation. And as all this could not but result finally in a republic, the cry of "down with the monarchy" is in fact to be understood when we hear that of "down with the oligarchy!"

Whether to this complexion of state affairs we shall come at last, or to the other alternative of Napoleon the First's prophecy, *Cossackism*, i. e. government savouring of Russian Autocracy, is a problem the solution of which we shall not attempt. Meanwhile for the present, oligarchy seems to entertain no intention or idea whatever of letting itself be "put down," and *à fortiori* will not consent to see the monarchy put down. And doubtless they are strong to resist. Strong not merely in constituted, well organized and well buttressed authority, and effective physical power, but in what is so potent with Englishmen, the moral force of old established custom and traditional honor. And they have yet another and adventitious source of strength which has been pointed out by Lord John Russell in one of his most favourite apothegms, viz. that "while the aristocratic order in other countries has, (from its inaccessibility) been *the despair* of the classes beneath it," the aristocracy of these countries is "*the hope*" of the same classes with us. The detailed meaning of his apothegm plainly is, that the accessibility of aristocratic grades amongst us to the successful professional man, commercialist, or industrialist, enlists to a great extent their feelings and wishes in favour of an order thus placing its honors and privileges within reach of energy and ability irrespective of birth and connexion. But however true all this may be, we must not exaggerate its value, nor omit to take seriously into account the daily growing spirit of exaction and encroachment now pervading our democracy at home, and making its members less and less inclined as time goes on, to be propitiated by a few occasional promotions from their ranks. It is no answer to the apprehensions suggested by this consideration, to tell us that this exacerbation of the democratic spirit at home, is but a reflex and a consequence of the extravagance of the same spirit abroad. On the contrary, we have therefore the more ground for alarm. It is not the usual habit

of Englishmen to be impressionable by foreign influences. The sturdiness of the native character, their very prejudices, tend all the other way; and have in a hundred instances that might be cited, absolutely interfered to prevent, or at any rate to delay, improvements, where the first idea or example of them was derived from abroad. The unusual impressionability or susceptibility in the present case can therefore be explained only by attributing it (with but too much probability) to the spontaneous fermentation in the popular mind of the old revolutionary leaven of the times of the Commonwealth. This process is quite noticeably increasing, instead of abating; and with it of course the predisposition to receive the impulses of foreign propagandism. And the latter may, how soon we know not, exchange its present inculcations by theory, for those by practice and example, in some of the darkly but distinctly foreshadowed convulsions of Europe.

How to prepare for such an emergency—an emergency that the death of a single man may bring upon us—how to guard against and prevent in these countries rash and disastrous imitations of the wild actions and events then developing themselves abroad, is the pressing difficulty of the moment. Education, from which so much was expected in the way of regulating and elevating popular impulses, has hitherto acted as Mr. Bright and his friends inform us, rather as a stimulant to misdoing, by rendering men more keenly sensible of the disadvantages of their position. And taking the most enthusiastic view of it, its operation at best can be but slow and its ultimate efficiency remote, when it has accomplished so little up to the present time. Something else more practical and immediately to be felt, is required by the urgency of the time. Concession there must be—let us speak it out, concession on the part of those who have hitherto wielded the powers and moulded the destinies of the empire. If made in time, while yet men's minds are cool, a safe and wholesome limit for it may be defined. If obstinately refused, there is too much reason to fear that it will have to be made and perhaps before long, under a pressure of events that will preclude all reason and argument save the argument of force. But be it made now, or later, under circumstances favorable for a due consideration of the rights and interests of all, or under circumstances utterly precluding it, that concession must involve an alteration and re-adjustment of the relations between the various classes of society, and that

alteration and re-adjustment cannot but bring us some steps further than we have yet been, on the road to democracy.

In that direction therefore must be the tendency of the new Reform measure, and it is for the statesmen of England frankly to recognise and accept this necessity, and give their chiefest attention now to the means of rendering safe and consistent with the maintenance of property and order, the inevitable further developement of the democratic element in the constitution.

ART. VII.—EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

1. *Report of her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the Endowments, Funds, and Actual Condition of all Schools endowed for the purpose of Education in Ireland, accompanied by Minutes of Evidence, Documents, and Tables of Schools and Endowments.* Dublin: printed by Alex Thom and Sons, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858.
2. *Letter to the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P. G. C. B. Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.* By Archibald John Stephens, Esq., one of Her Majesty's late Commissioners of Inquiry into the Endowed Schools of Ireland. London: printed by Eyre and Spottiswood, Printers to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, 1858.
3. *National Education in Ireland.* By William Dwyer Ferguson, L.L.D., lately Assistant Commissioner, Endowed Schools Commissioner. London: Seely and Co. 1858.

The Report of the Endowed Schools Commission is at length before the Houses of Parliament, and taken along with the evidence and statistics upon which it is founded, may be treated as a book of authority upon educational subjects. It is scarcely matter of regret that all the Com-

missioners should not have signed the Report, although to some this will appear a miscarriage of the Commission. The truth is, that in exchange for the signatures of two Commissioners, we obtain their individual opinions, which are thus brought under public review, and in this way no aspect of the inquiry conducted by them, is shut out from the public by consents and compromises to which the public could not be a party. When the Commission was appointed its inquiries were not generally understood to have so wide a range as was opened to them in the course of the proceedings. The words of the Commission were, it is true, sufficiently large to include every description of educational endowment, public or private, but no one anticipated an inquiry into any endowments which had not previously attracted public interest. It was principally with reference to the Royal and Diocesan schools, or to the more considerable private endowments, like those upon the foundation of Erasmus Smith, that information was sought by the public. Usage in fact had for many years past affixed a popular meaning to the term, "Endowed Schools," and limited its application to schools, in connexion with one board in particular, whose familiar name is borrowed from its place of meeting, Clare-street. Indeed the jurisdiction of that Board had been extended by acts of Parliament to many schools of private institution, and had the inquiry been confined by the terms of the Commission to the trusts administered by that Board alone, it was felt that the duties of the Commissioners would still have been laborious and profitable. The Commissioners, however, rightly acted upon a more comprehensive notion of their duties, and although to many they may appear to have travelled a field of the object of the Commission, they will be found upon examination to have kept within the verge of their authority. They were directed to apply their inquiries to the actual state and condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland, and to the management of the funds "given, granted, or applied" for their support. Under a strict interpretation of this power it would have been competent for the Commissioners to found a jurisdiction upon the grant or donation of any sum however small, and to bring the school which had been or should have been its recipient within the scope of their inquiries. The Commissioners

may now be taken to have treated these words as intended to facilitate the discharge of their duty, and to cover any variety of inquiries they might find it desirable to institute but not to limit their discretion by defining what was to be understood as an endowment. Accordingly they adopted the principle of not considering any bequest of less than £100, *unaccompanied by directions to invest*, as constituting an endowment that they should inquire into. In the case of money left for school building, or expended on building school houses, they did not consider that alone as constituting an endowment, but when the site was permanently secured, they took such money into consideration as affording means of estimating the value of the endowment. The adoption of this principle is mentioned by the Commissioners with especial reference to bequests, but there can be no doubt that it was applied also to the case of donations; and "the general principle to be extracted from the tables of endowments would seem to be, that any sum from whatever source or how trifling soever, or any portion of land no matter how small, if permanently secured to school purposes, should be dealt with as an endowment. The practical application of this principle had an appearance of strain at the outset, and to many was not quite intelligible. Country school-masters and country Clergymen, received the news that they were the masters and patrons of endowed schools, with almost as much surprise and incredulity as was shown by M. Jourdain when he learned that he had been speaking prose all his life, without knowing it. The effect of that rule, however, was not only to make the country acquainted with numerous small endowments, the sum of which is very considerable, but to lay bare the management of every class of schools, and every system of education at present existing in Ireland. This was done in most instances by sample only, but in some cases by a sample nearly equal to the bulk. Thus upon a rough estimate far more than a moiety of the Church Education Schools, and a large though not equal proportion of the National Schools was brought within the jurisdiction of the Commissioners; while several of the schools of the Christian Brothers, and a quite sufficient number of Convent Schools, were drawn under inspection, to warrant the public in forming an opinion upon the entire class. There is therefore the less reason to regret that the labours of the Com-

mission so far outgrew the calculations of its original promoters, and doubtless of the Commissioners themselves. They have in truth done the work of more than one Commission, as far at least as the accumulation and tabulation of statistics are to be taken into account. It may be said without exaggeration, that there is no one class of schools, to which their inquiry has been directed, which would not of itself have supplied materials for an investigation such as theirs. They may all have erred in their conclusions, and probably have done so; the recommendations of some may be found to be impracticable, and the objections of others will be treated as frivolous; but however that may be, the public mind will have been informed by the labours of the Commissioners; henceforward there can be no room for doubt or mystification as to facts; the materials for judgment will be ready to every man's hand; and should the public fail of turning them to practical account, the blame will rest with the public itself.

For some time previous to the appointment of the Commission the public had manifested its sense of an admitted want; the want of secondary instruction for the young, promoted by the State according to its obvious duty. With the primary instruction, supplied by the National Schools, the nation had general reason to be satisfied, and it did not profess to have grounds of complaint against the instruction supplied by the universities to those for whom they were intended. But the State, it was alleged, had neglected its duty with regard to secondary education, either abandoning it altogether to private enterprise, or encouraging a few unduly preferred, and exclusive establishments, in fraud of the general interests of society and of education. It also occurred to the public, that notwithstanding the protection so given to those establishments, the results might be found upon inquiry to bear no proportion to the bounty of the State, even within the limited range assigned to that bounty. And further it came to be doubted whether those favoured schools were as exclusive in their constitution rightly understood as they had become in practice; whether they might not, in the spirit of their constitution, be made available for general instruction; whether from having been educational charities, they had not come to be educational jobs; and finally—whether it might not be possible to restore them to

their original character. Those considerations were enforced as they had perhaps been suggested, by circumstances which had a plain and strong bearing upon them. The State, it was contended, had within a few years created and endowed two systems, one of primary, and the other of academical education. The third and intermediate system was yet wanting, the supplement to the former, the complement of the latter, and without which no national system in the broad sense, could be said to exist. But this was not all: the State was urged to deal with the question, upon the additional grounds that the State itself had diminished the resources of the country for secondary education, and an appeal was made to the State conscience for something like restitution. There can be no doubt that when the National Schools first came to be established, there existed, throughout Ireland, a number of schools in which a kind of secondary education might be had at small expense. Brinkley's Primer, the Eton Grammar, Tommy and Harry, Lord Chesterfield on Politeness, and Cicero's Offices, were learned under the same ferula, and not always ill. The establishment of the National Schools caused the almost total disappearance of schools such as we have mentioned, and nothing was done or thought of to provide a substitute. Schools of a superior description were not of course in any way affected by the spread of the National Schools. Several of the State seminaries, if we may so call the Royal Schools, and several independent schools continued, as they still continue, to afford excellent intermediate education, but it was only available to those of considerable, even if not of affluent, means. The substantial country shop-keeper, the improving, though not absolutely extensive, farmer, who could not afford to send his sons to Portarlington or Dungan-non if Protestants, or to Clongowes or Carlow if Catholics, had nothing better than the National Schools at or near their own doors. Now those people, it was argued, although thrifty, and perhaps over thrifty, were by no means averse to give their children the chance of promotion afforded by a good education, if such were to be had at home, and within their means. This would be no more than reasonable on the part of men so circumstanced, and of men whose well-considered wishes are entitled to as much consideration from the State as those of any other class in the Commonwealth. They it was,

undoubtedly, or those who acted in their interest, that gave its first impulse to the movement which resulted in the Commission. But then there was no reason why the inquiry should be conducted in their interest only, if other interests might require to be protected and advanced. There was reason to believe not only in the existence of endowments which might be made applicable to this and that purpose, but in the existence of endowments which had either been perverted from their legitimate and proper use, or which had been lost to all intents and purposes. There was likely to be question of endowments available perhaps for use, at the discretion of the State, but rendered unproductive by bad management. In other cases, where the State could not pretend to control over the administration of endowments, remedial or protective measures might be suggested for the security and rightful application of the fund. The system of education administered under existing endowments, and under special classes of endowments, would naturally and necessarily form part of any such inquiry; and as every class of citizen is or ought to be equally precious in the eyes of the State, an endowment for the support of a poor school was equally entitled to safety and purity of administration, with an endowment for a college or university. Sincurism, and false pretence, and incapacity and meanness, would require to be stirred to their lowest depths, and much commotion and croaking might be expected to ensue.

For instance, the Rev. Pelobates Jones, endowed master of a disendowed school, would insist upon his right to walk in the mud, as his worthy father, Limnisius, had walked in the mud, all the days of his life without reproach or molestation. Cousin Physignathus Jones would point to his own round cheeks and sleek person as proof that mud is a wholesome element, and conducive to the fullest development of the species; while Kraugasides, the orator of the family, would be prepared to lift up his voice, declaring the pillars of the state to be embedded in the very mud the Commissioners were seeking to disturb; and ready to topple over in shorter time than he had taken to foretel it, unless the disturbers were to desist from their insane attempt. But there were other subjects of inquiry more alarming still. Corruption, fraud, breach of trust, negligence hardly less culpable, jobs of

endless variety, and vested wrongs assuming to be vested rights, were said to have burrowed into and honeycombed the entire system of endowed schools. Meridarpax, so called from an hereditary habit of taking more than his share, had his retreat in a back office, under a board room, in a quiet street, that could only open to an act of Parliament. Psicarpax had drawn together so many and such substantial crumbs that he might consider himself victualled for a siege, and in a position to fatigue the endurance of the most patient mouser. Artepibulus, who ambushed for the bread of the poor, was so sharp a practitioner that no one could tell where to find him; and Tyroglaphus, renowned for cheese-paring, so far from having incurred blame, was commended for economy, because he only pared the scholar's cheese for the benefit of the master.

It was worth knowing whether all this was the fact, and accordingly the Commissioners began their task of inquiry into the "endowments, funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland." The history of the Commission, at all events, is a subject upon which there is no difference of opinion amongst the Commissioners. After the preliminary arrangements, they proceeded according to the tenor of their patent; and in determining the schools to which the inquiry should be limited upon the principles above stated, recourse was had, as appears from the Report, to every authority, documentary or otherwise, in which mention was made of an endowment for educational purposes. No tradition, however obscure, no record, how loosely worded, or informal soever, was neglected; and the result was, that although in many instances reputed endowments failed of proof, there were equally numerous cases of endowments, the proof of which but for the inquiry just expired should have been completely lost. The authorities referred to in the first instance, and cited in the course of the report, are given at page VII.

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- Commissioners (on Municipal Corporations, Ireland), Report of, pp. 9, 150.
- Commissioners of Public Records in Ireland, 1810-15, Reports of, pp. 17, 24.
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- Appendix to Case of, in House of Lords, p. 8.
- Journal of House of Commons (Irish), pp. 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 90, 103, 104, 115.
- Journal of House of Lords (Irish), pp. 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 25, 104, 108.
- Laws made by Erasmus Smith, p. 64.
- Leland's "History of Ireland," p. 6.
- Letters Patent (see *Charters*).
- Letters Royal of King James I., p. 7, 47.
- Letters Royal of King Charles II., p. 48, 49.
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- Lodge's Records of the Chancery Rolls, p. 64.
- Mann's, Horace, Report of an Educational Tour in Germany, France, &c., p. 205.
- Mant's, Bishop, "History of the Irish Church," p. 33.
- Parliamentary Papers, pp. 9, 52, 53, 58, 67, 115, 120.

Patent Rolls in Chancery, in Ireland, p. 7.

Register of Governors of Erasmus Smith's Schools, p. 11.

Reid's, Rev. Dr., History of Presbyterian Church in Ireland (3rd Ed., 1853), p. 8.

Reports (see *Committee, Commissioners, &c.*)

Report, Annual, and Course of Studies in the High School of Edinburgh, during the Session ending July, 1855, p. 204.

Rules of Governors of Erasmus Smith's Schools, p. 65.

Smith, Erasmus (see *Charter, Rules, Laws*).

State Papers, published under the authority of his Majesty's Commission, 1834 (Vol III., Part 3), p. 6.

Strafford Letters, p. 10.

The Commission bears date the 14th November 1854, and the Commissioners held their first meeting on the 28th November, in the same year. Having in the first instance directed that a list of endowed schools should be drafted from the above authorities, they sent circulars to the masters and trustees or patrons of the principal establishments, requiring information as to certain particulars, and commonly received answers more or less explicit from the parties applied to. The various educational boards also one only excepted, complied with the requisition, and that one, the board of the Erasmus Smith foundation, absolutely refused to do, and claimed for its schools an exemption by charter from any visitation not under express parliamentary authority.

It is almost, as of course, to say that the governors of these schools had very sufficient motives for their resistance, as had the Commissioners on their side for overcoming that resistance by a special Act of Parliament. The act of the 18 and 19 Vic. cap. lix., was framed accordingly "to facilitate inquiries of Commissioners of endowed schools in Ireland;" and the Commissioners took advantage of its passage to introduce a clause for the appointment of assistant Commissioners, whose authority as to the inspection of schools, and examination of witnesses under the direction of the principal Commissioners, was made identical with that of the latter. The special reports of these gentlemen form an important feature in the proceedings of the Commission. Pending the passing of the act the Commission proceeded to hold courts of inquiry in all the country towns of Ireland pursuant to due notice, and their course of

proceeding was the following:—The secretary read the list of endowments existing, or supposed to exist in the county, and the public was invited to give evidence, to prefer or rebut charges with reference to the management of the schools, and generally to supply whatever information was at the command of each individual. The evidence so collected fills one volume of the appendix, and includes the depositions of the Mayors of towns, the Masters and Patrons of schools, Clergymen of all denominations, Country Gentlemen, Shopkeepers, and others interested in education. In the course of their circuit the Commissioners visited the more important schools, and those in particular with reference to which complaints had been preferred; and the Dublin office continued meanwhile to forward circulars to the clergy of the principal religious denominations, as well as to the masters and trustees of schools. The letters addressed to the clergy are stated in the report to have been in number 3,588, (p.2,) and the answers received to have been 1793, by means of which the Commissioners state they have been enabled to discover upwards of one hundred endowments, the existence of which could not otherwise have been traced. Before the Commissioners had concluded their visitation, four gentlemen, Messrs. Arthur Sharman Crawford, George Whitley Abraham, Frederick William M'Blain, and Edward Pennefather, were appointed assistant Commissioners pursuant to the Act of Parliament, and began their duties in the month of November, 1855. The nature of these duties will best appear from the form of report which they took with them from the Commissioners upon their tour of visitation. That report (Forms. Evid., vol. 2, p. 399,) embodies 109 queries, to which the assistant Commissioners were required to find answers, and they were also expected to subjoin a general report of the defects or excellencies of each establishment visited by them. That these questions touched the management of schools and the state of their endowments at every point may be easily supposed; but it also formed part of the duty of the assistant Commissioners to inquire into lost or misapplied endowments; and it is hardly necessary to say that the latter inquiries were prosecuted to equal advantage in the districts to which they related as were inquiries into schools in actual existence. The districts assigned to each

of the assistant Commissioners would seem to correspond more or less with the four provinces. Thus upon analysis of the tables, Mr. Crawford appears to have visited all the Munster counties, and the County of Tyrone in Ulster. Mr. Abraham visited the province of Connaught, the Counties of Longford, Westmeath, and Kilkenny, with the King's and Queen's Counties, in Leinster, and the Counties of Cavan and Monaghan in Ulster. Mr. M'Blain took the principal part of Leinster and Mr. Pennefather, or his successor Mr. Ferguson, the Ulster counties, excepting Tyrone. During those tours of visitation, they inspected 1321 schools, representing 977 endowments in actual operation; they established the existence of 296 endowments not in operation, and reported upon 178 endowments lost or expired.

The labours of the assistant Commissioners appear to have closed with a general report from each, containing the impressions produced upon his own mind, respecting the subject of his inquiries; particular regard being had to special classes of schools, and to general causes of efficiency or inefficiency. We shall have occasion to advert to their reports in the course of this paper. Finally, an inspector of school estates was appointed to report upon their management. The various societies, to which aid for building or other purposes had been given from parliamentary grants, produced their books and accounts for inspection, and the Board of Charities furnished to the Commission extracts from wills containing any devise or bequest for educational purposes. Upon the materials so supplied, the Commissioners founded their report.

It would be impossible, within reasonable limits, to give a full abstract of so voluminous a report. It covers 287 pages of folio, and the reports of the assistant commissioners, and of the Inspector of Estates, run to fifty-four pages additional. Neither do we consider it necessary to advert to every view or suggestion contained in the report, as it must be confessed that many things necessary to the completeness of a State paper, are not of uniform interest to all concerned. The Report contains, first, the history of its own proceedings, which we have given in very thin outline; secondly, the history of educational endowments in Ireland from the reign of Henry VIII. forward;

thirdly, the result of the inquiries whether of the Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, into the more important schools; and fourthly, and lastly, the recommendations of the Commissioners with reference to the protection development and application of endowments for school purposes. The late Solicitor-General for Ireland, who dissents from his brethren, assigns his reasons for so doing in a letter subjoined to the Report, and Mr. Stephens, the remaining Commissioner, has published a long and elaborate letter, containing his reasons for dissent and the recommendations he was prepared to make. Accompanying the Report are three volumes of papers, two of which contain the evidence taken by the Commissioners in their public courts, while the third consists of tables of schools compiled from the statistics gathered or certified by the assistants, and accompanied by extracts from their special Reports, to which also we shall find it necessary to refer.

The history of educational endowments in Ireland, as they exist at present, begins in the reign of Henry VIII. The parish clergy had for many years previously, either from a misconception of their duty, or from some unexplained cause, neglected the secular instruction of the young, and that duty had fallen upon the religious orders, by whom it was gladly undertaken, and, as at the present day, efficiently discharged. When the monasteries were about to be suppressed, the Commission appointed to report upon that measure, prayed that six educational communities should be excepted from its operations, but without success; it thus became necessary to make provision for the instruction of children elsewhere; and the duty of doing so was thrown by the civil law upon the incumbents of parishes. Thirty-three years later (1570,) by an act of Elizabeth entitled "An act for the erection of free schools," the system of diocesan schools was instituted upon paper, where alone it continued to exist for several years. The act provided that there should be, thenceforth, "a free school in every diocese of Ireland;" the school-houses to be erected in the principal shire town (where a school-house had not been already built, at the cost of the whole diocese in the proportion of one-third to be paid by the Bishop, and the remaining two-thirds by the beneficed clergy. The diocesan schools so continued to exist on paper for a lengthened period,

and one of the earliest acts of the Irish Parliament in the reign of William III., includes provisions for the suppression of Catholic education and for the establishment of diocesan schools. But it was not until the reign of George III. that a few of the diocesan schools feebly broke their shells, after an incubation by Crown and Parliament of nearly two hundred years, and they seem never to have recovered the effort.

This was the first attempt at converting the Irish by means of education. The royal schools were founded in the succeeding reigns of James I. and Charles I. and endowed out of the forfeited lands, more for the benefit of the Ulster plantation than for that of the native Irish. They too for a long period had only a nominal, or at best an imperfect and vegetable life, but some of them, by reason of their large endowments, and under many favorable influences, have become really good and flourishing schools, but not in any sense what their charters constitute them—free schools.

The schools upon the foundation of Erasmus Smith, an Alderman of London, who had acquired property in Ireland, during the protectorate, come next in order. He conveyed all his property to a board of Governors incorporated by Charter, for the Government of three grammar schools in Drogheda, Tipperary, and Galway, upon portions of his own estates. He is sufficiently explicit in the statement of his own views, as appears by a letter which he addressed to the Governors from London, under date June 6, 1682. "My end," he writes, "in founding the three schools, was to propagate the Protestant faith according to the Scriptures, avoiding all superstition, as the charter and bye-laws and the rules established do direct." And farther on in allusion to the unpromising condition of his schools, we find these words ominous of future legislation—"My Lord, my design is not to reflect upon any, only I give my judgment why these schools are so consumptive; which was and is, and will be, if not prevented, the many Popish schools, their neighbours, which as succors do starve the tree. If parents will exclude their children, because prayers, catechism, and exposition is commanded, I cannot help it, for to remove that barrier is to make them seminaries of Popery. I beseech you to command him that shall be presented and approved by your honours, to observe them that decline these duties, and expel them, which will oblige [me,] my Lords

and Gentlemen." In course of time, the property of the foundation became so considerable, that pursuant to special acts of Parliament, numerous English schools of the same class and character as the ordinary parish schools, were opened and supported by the Governors throughout Ireland. Of a somewhat different description, but with a similar object, were several private endowments, such as Wilson's Hospital in Westmeath, the Farra institution in the same County, and the Pococke institution in Kilkenny, into which no children were, or indeed, are, properly admissible, except the children of Catholics. The incorporated society for the promotion of English Protestant schools in Ireland, shortly called the "Incorporated Society," represents the next large class of endowed schools. We do not consider it necessary in this place to touch the history of the private grammar schools, founded by the Duke of Ormond, in Kilkenny, Lord Weymouth in Carrickmacross, and Alderman Preston, in Navan and Ballyroan, although we may find it necessary to return to them for illustration sake hereafter. The Incorporated Society therefore was founded in compliance with an address from several Noblemen and Gentlemen in Ireland, which is referred to but not quoted by the Commission. The address is found in the appendix (No. 11.) to the third Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, (Clare-street,) in Ireland, (1809-12.)

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Lord Primate, Lord Chancellor, Archbishop, Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, Gentry and Clergy of this Your Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, whose Names are hereunto subscribed,

Humbly sheweth—That in many places of this kingdom there are great tracts of mountainy and coarse land, of ten, twenty or thirty miles in length, and of a considerable breadth, almost universally inhabited by Papists; and that in most parts of the same, and more especially in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the Papists far exceed the Protestants of all sorts in number.

That the generality of the Popish Natives appear to have very little sense or knowledge of Religion, but what they implicitly take from their Clergy, to whose guidance in such matters they seem wholly to give themselves up, and thereby are not only kept in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred Majesty and Government, scarce any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the Pretender to your Majesty's throne: so that if some effectual method be not made use of to instruct these great number

of people in religion and loyalty, there seems to be very little prospect but that superstition, idolatry, and disaffection to your Majesty, and to your Royal posterity, will from generation to generation be propagated amongst them.

Among the ways proper to be taken for the converting and civilizing these poor deluded people, and bringing them (through the blessing of God) in time, to be good Christians and faithful subjects, one of the most necessary, and without which all others are like to prove ineffectual, has always been thought to be, that a sufficient number of English Protestant Schools be erected and established, wherein the children of Irish Natives might be instructed in the English Tongue, and the fundamental principles of true Religion, to both which they are generally great strangers.

In pursuance hereof, the Parish Ministers throughout the kingdom have generally endeavoured, and often with some expense to themselves, to provide Masters for such schools within their respective parishes, as the law requires them to do; but the richer Papists commonly refusing to send their children to such schools, and the poorer, which are much the greater number, not being able to pay the accustomed salary, as the law directs, for their children's schooling, such schoolmasters, where they have been placed, have seldom been able to subsist; and in most places, sufficient Masters are discouraged from undertaking such an employment. Nor is it (we conceive) to be expected, that the residence of the Protestant Clergy upon their respective benefices, will ever be a sufficient remedy for this growing evil, if some effectual encouragement be not given to such English Protestant Schools.

To the intent, therefore, that the youth of this kingdom may generally be brought up in the principles of true religion and loyalty in all succeeding generations,

We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, most humbly beseech your Majesty, that out of your great goodness, you would be pleased to grant your Royal Charter for incorporating such persons as your Majesty shall think fit, and enabling them to accept of gifts, benefactions and lands, to such a value as your Majesty in your great wisdom shall think to be proper; that the same may be employed under such rules and directions as your Majesty shall approve of, for the supporting and maintaining such Schools as may be erected in the most necessary places, where the children of the poor may be taught *gratis*.

And we are the more encouraged to make this humble application, from the good success which the same method has already had, and (through God's blessing) we hope will further have, among your Majesty's subjects of North Britain;

And also in some measure by what we have seen already done in this Kingdom in some few places, where such Schools have been erected, and maintained at the private expense of charitable persons.

We humbly submit ourselves to your Majesty's great wisdom and goodness, and as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Dated this 17th day of April, 1730.

One hundred and forty-two names are subscribed to this characteristic document, by the light of which the history of the Incorporated Society's schools requires to be read. It is not at all necessary to preserve for the benefit of science the peculiar logical process by which the memorialists arrived at the conclusion, that the Popish natives were kept in gross ignorance by their clergy, seeing that Popish schoolmasters or ushers incurred the same penalty by the practice of their profession as did a regular priest : that is to say, transportation for entering into or residing within the realm after a certain day, and the penalties of high treason for a repetition of the offence. Unfortunately the identical system of logic is popular still, and the present month has already furnished specimens sufficient for the most enthusiastic collector. The wishes of the memorialists, however, were graciously complied with, and a Society was incorporated for the promotion of English Protestant Schools in Ireland. It was even a favourite with Crown and Parliament, and continued for many years to receive rich benefactions and endowments from private sources. And yet its name during a great portion of the time was all that could recommend it to the most enthusiastic Protestant. It was the parent of the well known Charter Schools. Those Charter Schools might be divided into nurseries, and schools properly or improperly so called. The nurseries were supplied from the various foundling hospitals, and also by mothers and fathers in the regular way of trade. From the nurseries and central institutions, the children were drafted into the country schools, and, from the country schools, they were apprenticed to Protestant tradesmen. The charter itself did not limit the advantages of these beneficent institutions to the intended converts ; they were established for "the children of the Popish and other poor natives of the kingdom : " but the heads of the Society, in the years 1775 and 1776 restricted admission to the children of Popish parents, and matters continued in this state up to the year 1803, when the rule was relaxed, and the "other poor natives were admitted " to a share in the privileges, the exclusive possession of which had failed either to convert or conciliate the incorrigible Papists. In the interval between those two dates the Charter Schools appear to have been in what the Commissioners of the

Board of Education, (Third Report, p. 24,) call "a wretched state;" nor was the prosperity, consequent upon the relaxation of the rule, so remarkable in character as to preserve the Charter Schools from decay and extinction. "Whilst," say the Commissioners, "we warmly and sincerely applaud the pious and patriotic efforts of those who contributed to the establishment, and laboured for the success of this institution, we feel ourselves bound to state that, during a very considerable period of its existence, it appears to have fallen short of attaining the purposes for which it was established, and to have failed of one great object, that was intended and *expected* from it" (beautiful simplicity)—"the conversion of the lower orders of the inhabitants of Ireland from the errors of Popery. The utter inadequacy of the institution in point of magnitude and extent for that object, is sufficient to account for its failure, independently of the operation of other causes. The number of Popish children in all the schools at any one time has probably never amounted to sixteen hundred; and this must have borne so small a proportion to the whole number to be educated, as to have no sensible influence on the great mass of the population, even allowing that all who were educated in these schools continued in the Protestant persuasion; this, however, is certainly not the fact; and though it is impossible to ascertain the number of those who have returned to the Popish persuasion, there is reason to believe that it has not been inconsiderable." (3rd Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, p. 24.) Further on the Commissioners say, that "the reluctance of Popish parents to commit their children to the care of the Society seemed to have subsided;" and that there were "constant instances of earnest solicitation on the part of Popish parents for the admission of their children."

But notwithstanding the subsidence of the reluctance (commissioners of education as well as ministers of State mix metaphors occasionally), nay the irrepressible eagerness of Catholics to commit their children to the Incorporated Society, in some way or another the Charter Schools most unmistakeably died out. It was the fate of every attempt at the conversion of Ireland. Just at the very moment when all Ireland having gone to bed in Popery was about to awake in Protestantism, something occurred to mar the happy consummation, and Ireland became more hopelessly Popish than ever.

were on the eve of atchieving the most when they were suppressed; so was the case thirty years ago; so were the Connelements in our own time. It was the old story of starvation at the very moment when it was about to get used to it. But the study of the subject is profitable nevertheless, for although the study is not generally, the countenance and support of the Government has been repeated in various forms and companies in many of our fellow-subjects, for every purpose of insult and annoyance, it has been kept in constant and careful check. It is a great mistake to suppose that the study is spoken, and gentlemanly advocates of the study, what are called "Church Schools," are one degree behind the "Church Schools," in their zeal for corrupt proselytism, or in their desire to reorganize the Charter Schools in their place, if it were in their power. It did not, of course, fall within the duty of the late Commission to alter the constitution of endowments that have existed for many years ago, and could never reappear again; but as there is an absolute identity between the mass of those who assail the present system of education on Protestant grounds, and those who would reorganize the Charter Schools; nay, the two are almost identical; a somewhat close interconnection which aimed at precisely the same end, it is not beamiss. No matter what be the objections of the chief opponents of the national system of education, they are not its apologists in the eyes of those gentlemen as the admirers, and supporters of the Charter School system; penetrated by the same spirit, and as more dangerous because more confident, and less rash, than their predecessors, the return was the result of an interference of the Commissioners of the Board of Education (see the Appendix to the Report, 1808) p. 78. It shows the position of Catholic and Protestant children in the schools, and is compiled from one source by a certain Dr. Beaufort, and Mr. May. We copy the first by way of sample, as it is similar in every respect.

ABSTRACT OF REPORT

Upon the Schools visited by Dr. Beaufort.

SCHOOLS, and Number of each Establishment.	MASTER'S Name and time of Ser- vice.	Number of Children and Religion of Parents.				Num- ber of Beds	State of Health.	State of Education.	
		Both Popish	One Popish	Both Protes- tant	Total.			Reading. W. Writing. C. Catechism.	
<i>Female Schools</i>									
1. Castlebar ... for 40.	Moore ... 3 years.	27	5	3	35	2 0	9 sore eyes	{ R. pretty well W. very well C. well }	
2. Duudalk ... for 60.	Balmer ... 5 years.	27	1	30	58	30	5 sore eyes	{ R. well W. well. C. pr. well. }	Var
3. Loughrea ... for 60.	Lane ... 20 years	39	6	21	66	3 1	{ 1 Scrofula 1 feverish }	{ R. well W. very well C. well }	Ext
4. Maynooth ... for 60.	Jones ... 2 years.	26	14	17	57	28	{ 1 decline 2 scald hd. }	{ R. extr. well W. well C. well }	
5. Roscommon ... for 40.	Clarke ... 4 years.	...	..	41	41	21	{ 1 scld. head 1 cutaneous eruption }	{ R. pr. well W. pr. well C. very well }	Var
6. Santry ... for 80.	Russell ... 2 years.	32	24	29	58	43	2 sore eyes	{ R. pr. well W. ext. well C. very well }	Ext
7. Trim... for 60.	Egan ... 1 year.	24	14	19	57	29	All well	{ R. very well W. pr. well C. very well }	Ext
<i>Boys' Schools.</i>		175	64	160	399	202	...	...
1. Ardbraccan... for 60.	Christian ... 5 years.	36	7	21	64	30	5 sore eyes	{ R. very well W. pr. well C. extr. well }	Var
2. Athlone ... for 40.	Foot ... 8 years.	...	...	39	39	22	1 dropsy	{ R. remarka- bly W. very well C. very well }	Ext
3. Creggan ... for 40.	Gilmer ... 13 years	15	4	24	43	20	{ 1 scld. head 1 cut. erap }	{ R. middling W. middling C. extr. well }	Ext
4. Farra ... for 100.	Boyle ... 1 year.	26	16	10	52	58	All well	{ R. pr. well W. pr. well C. very well }	Var
5. Longford for 30	Ring ... 1 year.	26	22	6	54	26	1 complica- tion of disor- ders.	{ R. very well W. pr. well C. well. }	Go
6. Sligo... for 80.	Hines ... 8 years.	66	...	16	82	42	All well.	{ R. pr. well W. extr. well C. very well }	Go
<i>Mixed Nur- sery</i> for 100.	Davis ... 21 years	54	14	19	F. 31. B. 56. } 87	50	{ 1 ulcerated arm 1 decline }	{ R. very well W. well C. very well }	Ext
Boys in Nursery ...		223	63	135	334 Boys.	243	...	...
For 400 Girls		...	...	...	56				
For 370 Boys					390				
Girls, including Nursery ...		...	...	...	430				
100 Nursery									
Total of Children in the Schools }		395	127	295	820	445	...	...

ch as we have just quoted would be very
 e present day, and it is evident that nothing
 te dominion on the one hand, and absolute
 the other, could account for the presence of so
 of Catholics in the charter schools. With
 e enjoyment of civil rights and political power
 snow, such a thing would be simply impossible.
 n of the Patriotic Fund may have accom-
 hat similar results amongst the orphans of
 rs, but they are not avowed and gloried in.
 n lawful trade is now smuggling, what was
 w piracy; but the result was very much the
 rly the children were bought and ticketed as
 f Catholics, now they are stolen and disguised
 no one will pretend to say that there is a
 ality on one side or the other. The Reports
 tables are abstracts, vary considerably in
 e schools are favourably dealt with, and others
 ated. The description of one of the latter class,
 not school, is worth preserving:—"There
 s in the school," says the inspector, "when I
 hose about two-thirds were healthy looking
 the rest were delicate and puny; of which
 had a broken back, another a scrofulous scar
 and a third a tumour over his right eye; some
 n had eruptive pimples which I thought was
 he master said it was heat of blood from the

t upon the Lintown factory upon the Pococke
 e inspector says—"The catechist visitor
 ed me that as far as he could learn, the lads
 oman Catholic parents by both sides, when
 d their apprenticeship relapsed to the Romish
 and farther on he details a characteristic
 which will be found to run through some of
 the present Commission, with reference to
 ular education in Scriptural schools. "An
 e says, "was lately made to the Society to
 class, who had read all the present school
 the Roman and Grecian histories, but it was
 Society, they not considering such books

fitted for charity schools, but they desired the master to select any of the *religious* books which should be sent. saw their secretary's letter dated the 17th August, 1806 on this subject." App. p. 84. That the same idea with reference to secular education prevails to a large extent amongst the patrons of the "Scriptural schools," is manifest from the report of the present Commission. The clergy of the Established Church would seem to consider the communication of any degree of knowledge to a parish school boy over and above what is necessary for stumbling through the verse of Scripture, a most inconvenient, not to say a revolutionary and radical proceeding. There should be a sliding scale of knowledge in every well regulated parish. The minister should naturally have, or get credit for having the greater portion; the squire might possibly come next, the apothecary and attorney next, at a sufficient distance the parish clerk next, and the parishioners at large last. Some curious instances of this fact, and particularly curious in relation to the passage we have just quoted, are to be found in this Report, and in the reports of her Majesty's inspectors of schools in England, where the clergy of the Established Church have their own way in the national schools belonging to their own denomination. We first quote a passage from the general report of Mr. Abraham one of the assistant Commissioners.

The school-books are of an inferior description, being, in fact, the old stock of the Kildare-place Society, every way out of date, and behind the time. The only geography in the hands of pupils is a compendium of about twenty pages; and their spelling-books give them no assistance whatever in learning the derivation of words. Indeed, I have not visited a single Church Education Society School in which the pupils had been taught any thing with respect to the roots of words, or the nature and power of prefixes and affixes, with which the pupils of the National Schools are so familiar.

I have found the local clergy to attach far less importance to the secular instruction given in their schools than it would seem to claim, viewed even as nothing more than a medium of religious teaching. I have generally observed that in entering their visits in the Report Book they make no allusion to the result or nature of the examination they hold, beyond mentioning occasionally that they heard the pupils reading a chapter in the Bible or New Testament. In many schools the Bible was the only reading book. The following circumstance will serve to illustrate the views of the clerical superintendents of the parish schools. The master of a school is

in filling up the printed form of return sent, wrote what follows under the head of The Holy Scriptures is (*sic*) compared to a to give light and teach; and as the (*sic*) salvation, the (*sic*) are taught here daily, Roman Catholics. From the above I am love him, to feed his lambs, together with and mensuration." I drew the attention Clontibret, the rector of the place, to this that the author was quite illiterate, invaluable teacher, and one whose loss could had occasion also to notice before another Monaghan, the ignorance of the meaning of ted in a school in his neighbourhood; but and that it was a *Scriptural* school—as if the a knowledge of the meaning of words,

reports of the Assistant Commis-
sional schools, we might refer to them
of contempt of secular learning in
uments; but before closing the paper
"spicilegium" of short extracts bear-
shew, however, that it is not confined
voluntary poverty of the Established
not enable the rectors to procure the
ters, but that it extends equally to
ablished clergy enjoy the advantages
; the following specimen of writing
er to a question from the Church cate-
place beside the specimens in the re-
, and the other Assistant Commis-
from the general report for the year
inspector of schools, the Rev. W.
on the schools inspected in Kent,
e Channel Islands.

the inspector, "is not that the Church
that it is not taught; not that time and
ence are spent upon it, but that they are
t sound, or an approximation to the sound,
stances attained,—that two children of
ey were such), of about eleven years each,
and reading tolerably well, who wrote
telligible, and sensible, about an omnibus
ould, after the irksome, the weary, the
or five years, half an hour a day, day school

and Sunday school, write such an answer as the following to question—"What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?"—"My duty is to love my Nabers to love him as thyself and to do to all men as I would have them do to me to love onner and suke my farther and mother to onner and to bay the queen and all that are pet in a forty shilling der her to sm^{it} myself to all my goodness teaches sportial pastime and mastures to oughten mysilf lordly and Every to all my betters to hut no body by would nor deed to be trew in jest in all my deeds to bear no malis nor ated in your arts to kep my ands from peccand and steel my turn from Evil speak and lawing and slanders not civet nor desar othermans good but to lern labor trewly to git my own leaving." Here is another sample, taken, it is stated, from the slate of an intelligent boy at a good school:—"They (my godfather and godmothers) did promise and voal three things in my name—that I should pernounce of the devel and all his walks, pumps, valities of this wicked world, and all the sinful larsts of the flesh &c.

Notwithstanding the narrowness of our intellects and enslavement of our souls, we are not quite prepared to do this sort of thing as yet, and are perhaps even less able to appreciate its advantages now than we were in the time of the Charter Schools. There is no part of the Charter School system, not even excepting the broken backs, sore eyes, and scrofulous humours, that some of those who now advocate to alter the National system of education would not gladly see revived; nay, the very affectation of a desire in all parties to liberalize their policy and soften down objections should be jealously watched, as the alterations are all made with a view to the original end, and not by any means for a wavering or change of purpose. The Committee of the Incorporated Society itself—whose express business is the promotion of Protestant schools in Ireland—were anxious to continue any part of their system that was shewn to be superfluously odious. They were quite satisfied to suppress an objectionable book, or a book with an inconvenient name, although that name was borrowed from its own peculiar function, from their very reason of existence. Thus in the report which we have already quoted, the Commissioners of Education state their belief that "the impressions of Popish parents adverse to the society, will subside in proportion to the confidence that must result from general good management. From the liberal principles which admission is now regulated, and from the Society having removed a well founded objection to the course of religious education by the discontinuance of the forms ca-

chism." Those liberal principles, this added objections, and this denial of the were not founded on any diminution of desire to corrupt and protestantize the parents, but from the very opposite before that unless those who seek to tutional system do give distinct pledges they have abandoned the end which they stance to it, any reformation of the syst at least, must be opposed and defeated. sion later to return to this branch of the

ter schools were gradually suppressed nts in land re-conveyed to the various ge endowments had been given by in- ciety, without reference to the Charter l important endowments yet exist upon The estates vesting in the society are and its schools are for the most part well education given in these schools is and their general merit is such that they ate Solicitor-General for Ireland, one of nmissioners, as illustrating the superiority xed education. They make no pretence resent, and it is believed have far less of it than the common parish schools. r, to the general history of school en- that in 1791 a report was made by a ated in 1788, under an act of the Irish eo. III., c. 15, enabling the Lord Lieu- ommissioners for inquiring into various The act itself was passed in conformity the Irish House of Commons, recom- of educational reform, so comprehensive tablishment of a second University, and nmar schools, such as the Diocesan and ght be if properly administered. The Commission made, as has been stated, in hat the charter, parish, royal, and diocesan swered the intentions of the founders; d diocesan schools, with very few excep- little use to the public, and that the bene-

fit derived from schools of royal foundation had been totally inadequate to the expectations that might have been justified from their large endowments; that in many of the charter schools the clothing food, health, and education of the children had been shamefully neglected; and that that great national charity had not yet produced those salutary effects which the public expected from the institution." They gave it, too, as their decided opinion "that when the peculiar constitution of a school or the intentions of founders did not interfere, no distinction should be made between the professors of various religions, and they further recommended that Roman Catholics should be admitted to the parish schools, and that the clergy of all persuasions should have access to those schools to instruct the children belonging to their respective communions in the principles of religion." They also recommended the establishment of classical schools, and they further proposed the establishment of a species of polytechnic institution, to be called the professional academy, for the purpose of giving professional training to those intended for the army, navy, or commerce.

We have dwelt thus long upon the report of 1791, because its recommendations are not generally known, and because it embodies the principle of the present national system of education, although in a very rudimentary form.

The remaining history of educational endowments is traced by the late Commissioners through four periods. The first of these extending from 1791 to 1807, includes the removal of Catholic disabilities in respect of education; the appointment of the old board of charities; the establishment of the Hibernian Society for founding schools and circulating the Scriptures in Ireland; the incorporation of the Society for Discountenancing Vice, and the establishment of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, commonly known as the Kildare-place Society, and which may be considered as the immediate predecessor of the National Board. The next period from 1813 to 1827, embraces the establishment of the Clare-street Board, the first considerable suppression of the Charter Schools, and the commencement of Parliamentary grant in aid of the erection of school houses, which was placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, and continued to be so

of that office for a series of years. This fund was rarely made until a provision raised by private subscription and on land, or a site for the building at all perpetuity, or for a considerable term to

This was in point of fact, nothing more than an endowment of the Established Church; a large proportion of the parish schools were supported by this fund, and out of the private funds of the land, attracted by the Parliamentary grant of as ninety percent of the school houses in the minister of the parish, either by agreement with the landlord or the church. This period, extends from the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1828, which recommended the National system, to the Select Committee of the House of Commons presided over by Mr. Wyse (1835-8;) and which recommended the adaptation of the present royal and system of county academies or grammar schools, and the establishment of provincial colleges, and a University for Ireland. This last recommendation, has had its effect in the establishment of the Queen's University. To the fourth period, between the Report of Mr. Wyse's Commission and the present time. The want of schools was urged upon the late Lord of the Queen's University and the Commission was connected with the Presbyterian Board. Her Majesty was voted in the House of Commons an inquiry into the endowment funds, and a list of all schools endowed for the purposes of the land, and the nature and extent of the endowment in schools;" and the address was formulated of the late Commission.

This is a general history of educational endowment, a history of special classes of endowment, a history of the diocesan schools, and giving a short account of the establishments as are in existence. In the Commission's notice the incongruity of the machinery which the Government support of those schools, in the support of the beneficed clergy, and of pre-

sentments by the Grand Juries of the various counties building or repairs. It also notices the complete neglect of these schools by the Clare-street Board, observing that "since 1833 it does not appear that they (the Board) have taken any step to check the increasing decay and inefficiency of those schools." The Commissioners state it to be their opinion that those schools are essentially non-exclusive in character, and recommend that they should be placed under the government of a proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools. They also recommend arrangements for the admission of free pupils which are in themselves liberal and conceived in a right spirit, and suggest several reforms in detail with which it is not our purpose to concern ourselves at present, as it is with principles we mean to deal. The report proceeds similarly with the Royal Schools, the most important class, and arrives at the conclusion that they also are completely non-exclusive in character, and consequently fall under the jurisdiction of the proposed Board. We think it unnecessary to refer to the particulars of the re-distribution of income, and to the various reforms administrative, or otherwise, suggested by the Commissioners; but it may be right to say that the Commissioners recommend an increase in the number of exhibitions to be granted out of the funds of the Royal Schools, and suggest that they should be given in connexion with the Queen's colleges as well as with Trinity College, Dublin. The Royal Schools are evidently treated as of a better class than the Diocesan Schools, and their teaching is more directly subordinated to University education, but in other respects they are dealt with exactly as the Diocesan Schools. With reference to the schools upon the foundation of Erasmus Smith, their character is exclusively Protestant, according to the intentions of the founder, and the terms of the charter. The history of that class of schools is likewise given at considerable length, and it would appear from the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners that they are generally in an unsatisfactory condition, and that those for whose benefit they were intended derive very slight benefit indeed from them. The proceedings of the Board of Governors appear also to be of a most slovenly and perfunctory character, more perhaps than even those of the Clare-street Board,* and attended with the same evil consequences. We cannot say that we take any interest one way or the other in the

* Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Appendix, p. 5.

ended by the Commissioners for the division of schools. To the nation equally odious in their founder, theirelves. Although of private foundation necessarily governed by the will of the not be regarded as ordinary Protestant established out of Protestant funds, for testaments. They were endowed out of lands ed, through confiscation, and the founder ot, whose spirit fortunately interfered to The Incorporated Society schools next and as they, being exclusively Protestant, a the jurisdiction of the proposed Board, as of the Commissioners in their regard t bearing upon the question of mixed ems, by the consent of the Commissioners public, to be the real question, for the h, the facts, if not the recommendations t be made available. It seems to have by the three Commissioners who signed as by the two who dissented from their each other. Mr. Ferguson also, who e as one of the Assistant Commissioners, appears on the title page of a pamphlet seems to take a similar view, and Mr. is colleagues, reports, as we shall after- on to observe, that it does not appear the objections of Catholics to the system , which it is proposed to administer in cesan Schools.

t proceeds to deal with the schools under r Discountenancing Vice, an association *pro formá*, and exercises no visitorial or ority. The Report recommends the trans- hools as may happen to be non-exclusive ard of endowed schools. The Report next ect of extreme importance, namely, the between the Board of Charities and nments. We have nothing to do with the e former Board of Charities, although its in the Report. The constitution of the sufficiently well known. The Commis-

sioners of charitable donations are thirteen in number, three being ex-officio, namely the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Baron, and the Judge of the Prerogative Court, and ten nominated by the crown, of whom five are Catholics. The Protestant and Catholic members respectively are standing Committees for the consideration of matters of discipline and usage affecting their respective Churches, and the Commission is served by two secretaries, of whom one is necessarily a Catholic. The Board is a corporation, to which endowments may be devised, in trust, for charitable purposes, but the Catholic body is altogether unwilling to vest its charities in a government board, and prefers resorting to what is considered the less objectionable though cumbrous and costly machinery of trustees. There is, however, one function of the board, the exercise of which, so far from being objectionable to Catholics, they would be gratified to see favoured and strengthened. The board is empowered to sue for charitable donations withheld, concealed, or misapplied; and this provision applies not merely to charities vesting in itself, but to charities in whomsoever vesting. Their jurisdiction, however, appears very defective in this respect, and the Endowed Schools' Commissioners illustrate its defectiveness by reference to the case of the Elphin Catholic diocesan seminary, for which the late commission succeeded in recovering a sum of £350. The defect of jurisdiction in the present Board lies in the fact that in order to make their jurisdiction attach, complaint must have been made that the charity has been withheld, concealed, or misapplied. They have no original jurisdiction to see from the outset that a charity be not withheld, concealed, or misapplied, and even where it has been so dealt with they have no authority to set on foot an inquiry until complaint shall have been made. The Commissioners' refer in the following terms to the Elphin case.

The facts relating to this endowment, as reported to us by our Assistant Commissioner, are fully stated in the Tables of Schools and Endowments. We think it right to direct attention particularly to them, as furnishing a remarkable example of the evil effects which result from limiting the duty of superintending and controlling the administration of educational charities to cases where the intended endowment has been "withheld, concealed or misapplied." Such a restriction operates, we think, injuriously in two ways. In the first place, the action of the public authority is gener-

and far beyond that when its intervention has been not infrequently, until the benefit intended to be obtained is seriously compromised, or even lost. In the next place, even this tardy protection may never be extended, since it may be for the advantage of all concerned that the estate should be administered to disregard the wishes of the testator. The present case illustrates both these defects. It now stands; for a lapse of thirteen years after the death of the testator, before any portion of the bequest was secured. Moreover, the steps by which this defect was remedied by the Board of Charitable Bequests, only made it more evident in consequence of the circumstance being pointed out by the Report of our Assistant Commissioner. He has not been able to learn that either of the trustees ever acted in the trust, or interfered with the execution of the charity."

From whose report they quote, has put the matter in a different light, and there can be no doubt that this is the case, but that in very numerous instances the bequest is totally lost by this want of jurisdiction on the part of the Board.

As Mr. Abraham, "appears to me to be a victim of the defective working of the Bequest Board, and is inclined to be attracted by the abuse, and too much by the charity. Were that, or any similar Board, established, the influence of charities from the moment their administration of the kind I have had occasion to mention would be impossible, and it would be an acceptable and faithful way to have their responsibility sheltered by the establishment of a Board, under whose protection, even if it failed to establish its claim, the failure at least would be without suspicion."

In the report, the Commissioners refer to the defect of jurisdiction—jurisdiction of the same defect of jurisdiction—Trinity School in the County of Galway. It is long, and the illustration it supplies is very full.

The endowment, which, after the lapse of nearly thirty years, is still in operation, presents a remarkable example of the want of public supervision. If such a control existed, with adequate powers of inquiry and control, the result would be more effectual, and, in all probability, the defects would be less frequently occur. This endowment, made by Mr. Persse, in 1812, consisted of a legacy of £25 (Irish). The lapse of twenty-seven

years which occurred between the testator's death and the institution of legal proceedings by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, in 1839, caused the loss of the legacy and considerable arrears of the rent-charge, extending over the long period from 1812 to 1830. The particulars of this case are stated in the extract from the report of our Assistant Commissioner, which will be found in the Tables of Schools and Endowments. We concur with him in regarding it as a striking instance of the insufficiency of the powers given to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests under the 12th sec. of the 7 and 8 Vic., c. 97, whereby the funds of a charity must have been withheld, concealed, or misapplied, before they can be brought within the jurisdiction of the Commissioners. This limitation is productive of evil in two ways; first, because such a postponement of interference on the part of the public authority tends to render it nugatory; and secondly, inasmuch as one of the best modes of protecting public charities consists in stimulating private interest to efforts in their behalf; and this can only be accomplished by insuring a prompt and efficient attention to the representations of persons locally acquainted with the circumstances of each case."

This case, however, like many other cases in the report, would seem to illustrate something more than a want of jurisdiction in the Board of Charities; for upon reference to the report of the Assistant Commissioner upon which the above has been founded, it appears that four entire years were wasted in negotiations between the Commissioners and the opponents of the endowment. Nay, there is one case in which an endowment created by a will dating so far back as 1776, was not brought under the notice of the Commissioners of Charities before the year 1848, and even then the Commissioners thought proper to accept a compromise from the owner of the property, out of which the endowment issued, in virtue of which a perpetual rent charge was given up for an allowance during the life time of the then proprietor. We copy the entire case, as it exemplifies nearly all the prevailing defects in the constitution, and to some extent in the practice of the Board of Charities.

Monaghan Edenbrone School.—This school was endowed by Edward Lucas, the elder, of Castleshane, in the county of Monaghan, October 17, 1756, the date of the will of said Edward Lucas. Probate was granted to Francis Savage and Edward Lucas, Esqrs., April, 28, 1757. After various other bequests, the testator bequeathed to his executor the sum of £30, Irish, to be applied in building a schoolhouse on the lands of Edenbrone, near Castleshane, for the use of the poor children of parents residing, or who have resided, or near Castleshane. He further bequeaths to Francis Savage the

the site of the intended schoolhouse, and charges the ar and Carrivekeel, near Monaghan, with a rent of able to his executors half-yearly, in trust for the use and schoolhouse, and of the teacher or teachers to be same. He next appoints the minister of the parish of Luckwallis, for the time being, and the proprietor of the estate, patrons and managers of the school. A power of n to Francis Savage and his heirs, and the rent is e from the date of the building of the schoolhouse t of the master by the managers, at whose discretion ent of the rent charge is declared to remain. The r and Carrivekeel aforesaid, subject to the rentcharge er charges as the testator shall make, pursuant to a in the will, are devised to Francis Savage in trust he proprietor of the Castleshane estate for the time

ers neglected to build the schoolhouse, and conse- dition upon which the rentcharge was made to vest to existence. The matter was brought before the of Charitable Donations and Bequests in the year rrespondence was entered into with the Right Hon. r, proprietor of the Castleshane estate, in the course r Lucas stated that, although prepared to dispute at law e charity, he was willing during his own lifetime, 20 per annum to the salary of the National school- istrict, provided the National Board would agree to e sum. This arrangement was acceded to, and it ith some degree of alacrity, by the Commissioners, school has been in operation since 1848.

ans of learning upon what grounds or under what advice ers accepted the compromise proposed by Mr. Lucas, e perpetuity secured to the charity by the will of his een reduced to a life interest at best. The only rea- d by the Commissioners would hardly appear to sus- n at which they arrived. "The Board," they write, essed to Mr. Lucas, and which closes the correspon- ering the liberal proposal made by you, do not feel ss a claim, now, for the first time, as far as they can against your property under a will of so old a date as t pretending to measure the discretion of the Commis- ritable Donations and Bequests as guardians of the arity, I believe I am warranted in saying that nothing g opinion from the legal advisers of the Board against charity, or the practicability of their enforcement, compromise of this description. It is extremely pro- Commissioners have used a sound discretion, and mpetent advice; but as this is a case involving nice y, it is to be regretted that there is no record of the guided the Commissioners.

s we are not quite disposed to agree with Mr.

Abraham, whose report we have quoted, as to the existence of any extreme probability or vehement presumption that the Commissioners of Charities had used a sound discretion and acted under competent advice in this matter. We are bound to assume that the case had never been submitted to the Attorney General, as the Commissioners of Endowed Schools were unable to discover any trace of his opinion; or rather it appears highly probable that no such opinion does in fact exist, as in case it ever had been given, the solicitors of the Commission would have an entry of it in the cost-book. But if that be so, is it not natural to suppose, without any disparagement of the distinguished persons who compose the Board of Charities, that overworked judges, eminent practising barristers, and men in high office, have neither the physical power nor temper of mind requisite for deciding upon a difficult point of law, without the assistance of the Attorney General. It would seem to be no improper function for a properly qualified barrister to sit as paid commissioner for the purpose of giving his undivided attention to questions of law, and of suggesting or discountenancing compromises such as we have just noticed. On the other hand we are sensible that the Commissioners have a very delicate duty to perform in relation to small charities especially, when they have to decide upon legal proceedings. The entire expense must be borne by the charity, even where successful, if the opposing interest have not wherewithal to meet the costs. Great judgment, caution and tact are plainly necessary on the part of the board in the early stages of its proceedings with a hostile or reluctant party,—but such prompt acceptance of a compromise like that suggested by Mr. Lucas in the foregoing case, is something that we cannot understand, in the absence of all proof that there was anything to justify it.

With respect, however, to the recommendation of the Commissioners that the duty of “superintending and controlling” the administration of educational charities should not be limited to cases where the endowment has been withheld, concealed, or misapplied; it must be observed that the terms “controlling” and “superintending,” are not those which we should prefer to use in defining the jurisdiction of the present or any future board of charities.

at any attempt to extend the powers of Charities so as to give them a interference in the administration of any should be what the lawyers call "at actually resisted. The people of this as well as Catholic, are averse, and any thing like an administrative action is in what must be considered purely the powers of the Board of Charities advantageously be extended so as to powers to originate inquiry and every the discovery of a charity, but they kept within those limits. If the enabled to discover a charity, to take recovery, and to lodge it in the right done a very handsome amount of or may safely be left to the regular ry. To have a perpetual Board of control intermeddling in the manage- educational or otherwise, after that have reached the proper hands, is what all permit.

ence of this question and its bearing t, have taken us somewhat out of our all close this branch of the subject ions of the Commissioners, regarding powers to the Board of Charities, and on towards the proposed Board of En-

e in Ireland should be required, in all cases ests for educational purposes, to make re- School Endowments, showing the value of s estimated, with a view to the imposition with the names of the representatives who ne succession and legacy duty office should any case where the representatives apply of probate duty made, or to pay an in- me officer should return the exact sum or s made for educational purposes, whether of real or of personal property, which it rtain, with a view to the collection of the

and the Succession and Legacy Duty Office take like returns, in respect of any wills in that country, which should contain gifts o be applied in Ireland.

There was no roll, so that the attendance at other times could not be ascertained. The children answered admirably in the course of instruction, which included mensuration and geometry, besides the ordinary branches of English education.

The instruction given in drawing in the Christian Brothers school was the best that we found in any schools that we visited.

The Christian Brothers have established six schools in Limerick which are now very numerously attended. It was stated in evidence before us that in one of these institutions many of the middle classes of the city of Limerick received their education, until a short time previously, when a classical school was opened as a private speculation, and proved very successful.

Our Assistant Commissioner inspected these schools. Some of them appeared to be endowed with sites only, and in other respects supported by funds of the Christian Brothers, not appropriated to any one of the schools in particular. There were present in the school at the time of inspection 1,458 pupils, all of whom but one were Roman Catholics. Most of the pupils paid 1*d.* or $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a-week for stationery and other school requisites, and as a fund for premiums; but these small payments being optional all the pupils are practically free. Some of the schools are reserved for the reception of very young children, and as these advance they are removed to the other schools. The state of education is noticed as excellent. Several of the pupils could draw very well; their writing was generally unexceptionable; and the answering in Euclid, mechanics, arithmetic, and all the ordinary departments of English education, including dictation, was of a very superior order.

In May, 1855, the Christian Brothers opened a school in Tralee. The principal stated in evidence before us that the school had been originally under the National Board, but was then no longer in connexion with it. The attendance, he stated, had been about 150 when he commenced keeping school, but had since risen to more than 400, the increase being partly composed of the sons of the neighbouring shopkeepers. The course of education comprises 'reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, use of the globes, mensuration, shorthand, book-keeping, all that is included in an English and commercial education.'

Our Assistant Commissioner visited the school, which was represented to us as been an endowed one, but he learned that the alleged endowment had not as yet come into operation; and that in any case it did not appear that it was intended for the Christian Brothers School. The endowment consists of about nine acres, which were granted in 1855 by a Mr. Mulchinoch to trustees for the building of a school for sons of poor and industrious Roman Catholics resident in the parish of Tralee; the rents to be applied, until the building should be commenced, towards the clothing of girls receiving instruction in the Tralee Presentation Convent. The trustees cannot obtain possession of the lands for building purposes so long as a lease to which they are subject subsists.

t of endowments belonging to the Christian
 very moderate. Several of them were inspected
 missioners, and are returned in the Tables of
 ents. In their general reports, some of our
 ers notice the state of instruction in these

d says :—"The most efficient schools, in my
 aged by the community of Christian Brothers,
 iciency to the excellence of their system, the
 rs, and their zeal in the cause of education."

s :—"In the school under the management of
 Christian Brothers, which I was directed to
 ning efficient, and the masters zealously devoted

—"I was much impressed with the general as-
 e schools, and particularly with their discipline
 with the cheerfulness and docility of the pupils.
 he Christian Brothers' Schools have in general
 gree of proficiency in the different branches of
 are instructed.

these schools is doubtless, in a great measure,
 extraordinary personal influence exerted by the
 s—an influence based on the distinction, that
 voted their lives to the cause of education, for
 gain or reward, but solely in the discharge of
 ed duty.

s cause, the Christian Brothers who teach in
 o have been remarkably well trained for the
 n ; not merely that they are themselves good
 have acquired a great aptitude in the art of
 ary skill in devising the most efficient method
 d discipline of their school."

e schools under the care of the Christian
 no complaints. Our Assistant Commissioners
 favourable opinions as to these schools, in
 ur.

b believe that the managers of these schools
 a or other control over them, exercised by an

stances we are of opinion, that it would not be
 ontrary to the wishes of those most interested

ndowments should be registered by the Regis-
 ments, so as to afford to them the protection
 tration would secure."

nnexion with the National Board, and
 with the Church Education Society, are
 pon ; but, as we shall have occasion to
 a of the inquiry in particular, we reserve

our analysis of this portion of the Report. Various Classical Schools of private foundation, comprising Catholic Diocesan Seminaries, have also their place in the Report; the schools of the Society of Friends, and numerous schools besides, which though falling under one or other of the classes already mentioned, seemed to require particular notice; are individually reported upon by the Commissioners. The remainder of the Report includes observations upon the "Tables of Schools and Endowments," contained in the third volume of the appendix, remarks upon the course of instruction and discipline in endowed schools; and lastly the recommendations of the Commissioners for the promotion of intermediate education, the protection of educational endowments, and the general furtherance of the objects for which the commission was nominated. Upon an analysis of the "Tables of Schools and Endowments" it does not appear as a result of the inquiries of the Commission that there are very many floating or unattached endowments which can be dealt with at the discretion of the State. The Royal and Diocesan Schools are, perhaps, the only endowments so circumstanced. The total number of schools in actual operation, say the Commissioners, is 2,828, with permanent endowments amounting in the aggregate to £76,465 1s. 1d. The endowments not in operation amount in annual value to £7,170 11s. 11d. The contingent endowments which may or may not come into operation amount to £1,883 7s. 6d., and the annual income which has been lost to educational purposes, whether fairly or unfairly, has been fixed at £2,574 18s. 7d. The tables also contain what are called "alleged endowments," by which we are to understand endowments which cannot be satisfactorily brought to proof. Under the heading "Course of instruction and discipline in Endowed Schools" the Commissioners enter at considerable length into the requirements of education generally, and more especially of primary and intermediate education. Their views as to the necessity of adequate instruction in modern languages, and first of all in English literature, are such as to recommend themselves to any man of even moderate experience. Their observations also regarding the standard of instruction which it may be desirable to maintain in primary and intermediate schools, upon various branches of knowledge, such as history, geography, mathematic

n, and so forth, are also well considered
e are very far from adopting all their
bject of classical education, although
most of them. The Commissioners,
sufficiently impressed with the dignity
studies, and we think with them that
attention is given at present to minute
speculation, and to burthensome, and
tten learning of etacism and iotacism,
ccents, and particles.

of *me* or *te* or *aut* or *at*
or sink in "*cano*" *O* or *A*,
up Cicero to *C* or *K*.

examination of the ancient languages
hut out the entire field of view that
particle, the time so spent is certainly
nd if we leave school with unenlarged
taste, without any perception of the
uts, or any knowledge of the canons of
have profited little by Bopp, Viger,
Clinton, and their entire tribe.
to account for every bead in the boss
lus, and for every spoke in the chariot
r to construct a system of heraldry
gainst Thebes; and yet have learned
to no account. But we think that
ons of the Commissioners are founded
orrect appreciation of the use of certain
cal teaching that exist in the superior
rescription. Thus they seem to treat
d contempt the practice of writing in
e, and describe the time so employed
g else. Were it intended by instruc-
qualify men for acquiring fame as Greek
uld of course be impossible to bestow
but it is well known that no such
a the composition at school of Greek
or is it a thing of which we are at
the abstract, or upon which we are
as completely as the Commissioners
f you had to deal with the education of
or Short Horns; what would be good for

one might safely be applied to all ; but there does not exist anything like this happy uniformity in a class of books, and it is not because the same studies affect individuals differently that you must either abandon those studies altogether, or break up one class into five or six. The study of composition in Greek and Latin verse may actually develop poetical genius in one member of a class ; he may catch the very spirit and exact expression of the original, another, not so fortunate, may nevertheless acquire an intimate acquaintance with the structure of the ancient metre, a third, less fortunate, and unable to acquire even the mechanical faculty of making verses, will at least know why he cannot make them, and will rarely be caught in a false quantity. And if such be the application of this practice to individual cases, we think, on the whole, it will be found to give a high breeding, a spirit, and a finish to classical teaching wherever it is followed, that we should be sorry to miss. We confess, moreover, to a strong dislike for anything that tends, however remotely to deteriorate the quality of any branch of instruction, but more especially that branch without which it is impossible for us to have a literature at all. At all events this is a matter which must be left to the general taste and judgment. State interference will be suffered to alter or regulate, or almost to suggest the course of studies in this country such as this. That may answer for the meridian of France. The minister of public instruction there issues his programme of the year's studies, like a general order to the semi-military lycées of the Empire. The standard of classical studies is not maintained at such a height in this country that we should be warranted in taking it as a model ; and notwithstanding the exemplary attention which is devoted to the study of the French language, and literature in every school in France, no one can pretend to say that it is not a state of degeneracy which we at least have no difficulty in connecting with the shallowness and narrowness of classical studies throughout the Empire. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. It is not our wish to speak slightly of France, or of French systems. We acknowledge great merit in many of them, and it cannot be doubted that the special schools of France for military, scientific, theological studies, are in the highest degree efficient, and even

best results. In a little and in much we
 e like unto France excepting always

o not see that the middle classes ask,
 ey are entitled to, a separate education
 ass. Neither must drag down the educa-
 sses to any level they may fix. The
 asses that can be recognised in educa-
 distinction of calling or profession.
 ething intolerable that a boy should be
 for a third class or middle class school,
 ppens to be a shopkeeper or farmer.
 ore student that made his way from
 Paris, or Padua, or Oxford, with his
 chumming on the road, perhaps
 oemaker on his probationary round,
 hes with the son of a prince or a Pala-
 perhaps lectured from the chair that
 ulerus or Albertus Magnus. Nothing
 olic, nothing more insular or petty,
 ssification. It is the besetting vice of
 nd reacts injuriously upon the English
 sted, for instance, that all our soldiers
 our officers gentlemen. The non-com-
 in, must belong to a certain class, and
 en work, and his wife must belong to a
 or washing; but to think of encouraging
 include gentlemen among the rank and
 e regard to merit in promotion; to have
 fine, of the system according to which
 mposed of boors, clerks, and gentle-
 mutable proportion; that would be such
 else could match. There are lectures
 ses; sermons for the working classes;
 e think they are called, for the working
 st confess we should be sorry to see
 the working classes. People in this
 down to other people and to patronise
 ar inclinations in this respect are grati-
 be for us all.

re to have middle schools under a State
 middle in relation to primary and supe-
 ot with reference to this or that class

of the community. Your middle school must be such as give the best classical, and best English, education, to its rank, namely the middle rank, in the educational system justifies. Classical studies must not be degraded or displaced for the convenience of one class, or English studies neglected for the prejudices of the other. Should taste and inclination so develop themselves in the son of a shopkeeper as to lead him towards literary or professional, instead of commercial, pursuits, the quality of his classical education should be the very best that could be provided by the State. On the other hand, to exalt classical studies at the expense of English and modern languages, is a substitution of the means for the end, and should not be tolerated for one moment. Look at our primary schools, those under the National Board, the Christian Brothers, or religious communities of women. Their system of education is not calculated according to the requirements of this class; the education given in these schools is, so far as it goes, quite good enough for the heir to the throne, and very much better than many gentlemen receive at present, although it is not pretended that it would be necessary to send the children of gentlemen to the National, or Christian Brothers' schools. We, therefore, have primary education almost fully developed in our schools as it is possible it should be; why not give a similar opportunity to secondary education? Why cramp or stint it in any particular to meet the wants or tastes of one class when it may be made ample and pliable enough to suit itself to all? If commerce be in honour, commercial tastes prevail, book-keeping is not a very abstruse or black-letter science; and we may rely upon that a man will find his way to the counting-house from Eton or Harrow just as readily as from a commercial academy in Finsbury Square; and, on the other hand, did the heads of Eton and Harrow condescend to teach book-keeping or Tare-and-Tret, it certainly would be no disqualification for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to have studied there. Nor is it not unlikely from a statement in the Report itself, that we have already in one institution, of an unpretending character, the very union of primary and intermediate of classical and English, education, that will give to every boy, from what class soever, his chance of promotion in a branch of the public service or of literature. The "Hewitt Institution," noticed by the Commissioners, is intended

departments of education, English and Irish to be entrusted to the brothers schools, and the Classical, to competent teachers. It is much mistaken if the operation of this system by the highest expectations of its promoters. An institution built upon so solid a foundation of Irish teaching of the Christian Brothers, is to qualify a student for any studies or such circumstances may lead him.

to preclude state interference in the regulation do not mean to say that the State, in this country, should not promote reform, or to do so, nor do we insinuate that it was an admission to recommend an interference which objection has been made. Un-educational bodies like the Universities are the State and the servants of the public, and by divine right, and if they will, exclude private responsibility, and in contempt of public necessity, the State is called upon to dissolve the public Corporation, like the University, to render accounts for audit; and if its governing body refuse, to make another inquiry by censure, and to purify the University. If, then, of course, it becomes necessary to interfere at the call of the country. To our notions, and to our general course of action in this country, it is not for the State to reform the teachers, unless in very extreme cases. It is for the teaching body reform itself, and come to the wishes, and feelings, and interests of the public. The State administers a trust, and nothing more. To the State: We want to learn French or to get good training for competitive examinations, but the College accounts, but the University is to be reprimanded and censures; we ask them to give us a stone, we ask them for fish and salt; it then becomes the duty of the State to reform the University or any similar body reform its own ways, but by no means to usurp the duty: for it will be sure to execute them and perhaps not more honestly.

objections may be held over in presence of

the serious difference of opinion between the Commissioners upon the subject of mixed education, and the controversy to which it has given rise. The recommendations of Commissioners, with reference to the appointment of Registrar of school endowments, and to the various other expedients for the discovery and preservation of educational charities, are such as to recommend themselves to the experience of every one of us. Their other recommendation as to improved systems of inspection, and similar matters are more or less connected with the point upon which they subsequently differed, namely, the possibility of extending the system of mixed education, now prevailing, or supposed to prevail, in the National Schools; to schools for intermediate education. This the majority prefer to do, by means of a Board of Commissioners, with ample powers of visitation and inspection, to which every school not necessarily exclusive, that is to say, confined to pupils of one religious persuasion, should be subject. The late Solicitor General for Ireland dissented from his brethren upon this one point, Mr. Stephens upon that and several others. In order better to understand the controversy it would be desirable to give shortly the opinions of the Commissioners in their own words.

**RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO SCHOOLS AND
ENDOWMENTS GENERALLY, IRRESPECTIVE
OF THEIR SPECIAL NATURE OR OBJECTS.**

The General Government of Schools.

We are of opinion—

1. That the intentions of the founders of all private trusts should be adhered to.
2. That the chief causes of abuse and inefficiency in endowed schools of all kinds are the following:—
 - a. The want of inspection, conducted with authority by duly qualified inspectors, visiting at short and uncertain intervals.
 - b. The want of properly trained masters receiving adequate remuneration, and animated in the discharge of their duty by the prospects of promotion and of retiring pensions as the reward of faithful service.
 - c. The smallness of many of the endowments.
 - d. The incomplete and unsafe modes at present in use of keeping the accounts of school funds and revenues, and the want of a proper system of audit.
 - e. The want of a clear definition and public announcement of the qualifications and rights of pupils to free admission.
3. That it is possible to separate the courses of secular and religious

enable scholars of different religious denomination of the former kind in the same premises of opinions or risk of offence ; and that recommendations of day schools, and of the great prepossession over boarding schools, consists in the ground for combining home instruction in principles with school instruction of a purely

of all boarding schools should be enabled to give department, and to employ the endowment pupils as residents in families specially selected holding the same religious belief, and where the children can attend day-schools approved guardians, and where they can also enjoy the care of the clergy of the same denomination. It is reasonable for the master to be allowed to conduct with any other office or appointment.

In the appointment of masters in vacancies in various, as the education of the children is at risk incurred of the school being entirely

should be required to record the infliction of punishment of the school, and that the observance of the rules should be strictly enforced.

As the founders, as to free admissions, are very often the trustees, and others charged with the duty, it is necessary to take steps to define clearly the rights of free admission, and to guard, by examination or otherwise, the privilege of nomination, so as to secure to the benefitted the full and fair opportunity of free admission.

It is desirable that a well-regulated system of distributing the endowment should be established in connexion with all endowed schools.

REMARKS RELATING TO THE PROMOTION OF INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION.

The establishment of a system of primary education by the effect of greatly diminishing the resources of the State, scanty and imperfect, formerly enabled the State, to a certain extent, to provide a suitable education and that there seems to be no prospect that the State can be supplied by exertions of a purely voluntary

It is not desirable to admit to exist in the system of intermediate education in Ireland cannot be supplied by a redistribution of the educational endowments already in

The demand for intermediate education is so considerable,

especially in the North of Ireland, that we are called on to suggest means of supplying it in accordance with principles that we approve of, in those localities where it is required by the inhabitants without providing a Government system of intermediate education in places where it might not be acceptable to the majority of the population.

4. That this may be effected by the union of local funds, under management of local trustees, with grants of public money.

5. That the provision for local management would enable trustees to make suitable regulations, for religious instruction, provided that the school, as a condition of its partaking of the grant of public money, admit of the united education of persons of religious persuasions; and provided, also, that the local management be subject to the direct control of the proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools.

6. That it is expedient to continue to hold competitive examinations for appointments in the public service, from time to time, in Dublin but open to all your Majesty's subjects; and that this measure would constitute an effectual method of promoting intermediate education.

7. That the educational tests best adapted for examinations in the public service would be, of all others, the most general in their character, and therefore those best calculated to direct the efforts of teachers to that course of mental discipline and moral training, attainment of which constitutes the chief object of a liberal education.

8. That with a view to the maintenance of this just standard of school education, and in order to avoid the serious evils which would arise from directing the attention and efforts of masters to what would be called the special requirements of the public business, it is so important that the same generality which has hitherto characterized the public competitive examinations should continue to prevail as the application of the system is extended to more numerous branches of your Majesty's service.

9. That school scholarships, such as already exist at the Enniskillen Royal Free School, might with advantage be established in connexion with all schools for intermediate education under the proposed Board.

The importance of the reasons assigned by Mr. Hughes for his dissent from those recommendations, will more than justify, our giving his letter in full.

LETTER FROM HENRY GEORGE HUGHES, ESQ.,
Q.C., TO THE MARQUESS OF KILDARE, RE
CHARLES GRAVES, D.D., AND ROBERT A.
DREWS, ESQ., LL.D., Q.C.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I have read with great interest and the utmost attention, the Draft of the Report which you propose to submit to Her Majesty

opinion, that the demand, in Ireland, for "instruction" is considerable. I believe that it is not only that the demand is rapidly increasing, while the religious are diminishing, and it is therefore of the most importance to the State to devise and carry out a system of education that increasing demand.

The State, of the most correct theory on the subject, is unsuited to the condition of the country in which it is intended to promote. The mere effort to do so is opposed to the religious convictions of a large portion of the population; and the difficulty of providing for their education; and it is, essentially, that any theory the Commissioners may be right in principle, but suited to the condition of the country.

You state your "belief in the possibility of a system of secular and religious instruction, so far as different religious denominations to receive instruction of the same kind in the same school without compromise of principle;" and you then proceed to suggest the adoption of a system of "intermediate" education on the basis of a union of local funds, under the management of the State, and the grants of public money."

A Report which proposes to establish a system of education, wrong in principle, and impossible in practice; and that I should state the reasons which induced me to concur in your proposed Report.

I believe, that education must be conducted on either the "separate" system. That either for the united education of persons of different religious denominations in respect of secular instruction, or for the education of the members of each religious persuasion.

Secular instruction should form a portion of every system of education. I am persuaded that the religious belief of the people is a necessity, and, perhaps, even unconsciously, in the mind of the pupil, and that the wiser and better the religious instruction is, that influence to the faith of the pupil in religion.

It is proposed on some of the officials of this country to declare that they believe the religion of the State to be "idolatrous." It is not unreasonable to expect that a teacher of a Government school would teach his pupils to believe in the truth of that declaration. On the other hand, Catholic divines have pronounced the Protestant doctrine "heretical." A Roman Catholic religious instruction is not willing to dispute the soundness of that doctrine. If pupils thus instructed shall receive their instruction from a teacher whose religious faith is liable to be denounced. The pupils find their secular

teacher a wise man, and they believe him to be a good man; they remain under his tuition, and subject to his influence for many years daily: Their religious instruction occupies but a small portion of the week's work. The secular teacher is constantly before them, the religious teacher seldom. Is it safe to leave the mind of the pupil to waver between the wisdom and virtue of the secular teacher and the doctrines of the religious teacher? I fear that under such circumstances the pupil would, in a short time, regard his secular teacher with a deference involving the sacrifice of faith or an approach to indifferentism. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the teacher and the pupil should be of the same religious persuasion.

In your Draft Report you state—"That such may be done by competent teachers towards imbuing the youth of both sexes with a high sense of moral and religious responsibility, and inspiring them with an elevated tone of feeling and character." "To do this," you say, "in the daily course of secular instruction, requires qualifications which are not easily met with; and this consideration gives additional weight to the view we have already insisted on, as to the great moment of securing the services of teachers superior by nature as well as in point of acquirement."

I heartily concur in these opinions, but what is to become of the faith of a child who is placed under the tuition of a teacher of a different religion, who is, "superior by nature, as well as in point of acquirement," and who "does much" in the course of secular instruction, "towards imbuing the youth with a high sense of moral and religious responsibility"? If the child respect and trust his teacher, he may adopt his views of religious responsibility, and the faith of the child would thus become shaken or altered. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that it is dangerous to separate "religious" from "secular" instruction.

But even if the "mixed" system were right and sound in principle, I believe that it is incapable of being carried out in Ireland. It is admitted that the education of the middle classes, or, as it is called, "intermediate education," ought not to be effected altogether at the expense of the State. It is felt that the middle classes should be made to contribute to the expense of the education of their children either by donation or by local assessment. I think it is manifest that voluntary contributions, either by temporary or permanent endowment, would not supply the requisite funds. It would, therefore, be necessary to have recourse to an educational assessment to be enforced in the localities that would receive Government assistance. In the north of Ireland, the majority of the inhabitants of each district shall receive from the Government a grant for "mixed" education, on the terms of providing a local assessment, the Roman Catholics of the district will be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of schools from which they will be practically excluded. What I have said of Roman Catholics in the north of Ireland is equally true of Protestants and Presbyterians in the south and west of Ireland, if they shall be opposed to education on the "mixed" system. Of course, Protestants and Presbyterians will determine

they will adopt or repudiate the system of
 at the most authentic documents prove that
 determined opposition of the Roman Catholic
 eve that a new tax, involving questions of
 distinction, could now be enforced in Ireland.
 ced, and "Ministers' Money" has been abo-
 f the resistance to the collection of these an-
 uld involve this country once more in ran-
 w assessment were imposed in aid of a system
 ch Roman Catholics would be practically
 assert that the "mixed" system, if requi-
 ssments, would be impossible.

Leslie Foster, then a member of the Board
 a letter to the secretary of the Board, in
 whatever plan may appear to this Board
 be laid before the heads of the Roman Ca-
 to our Report." "No person," he adds,
 discipline of the Roman Catholic Church in
 on the sentiments of the bishops will depend
 or co-operation which such a plan would
 inates of their religion." I believe that the
 es, and that the same results would inevitably
 s of the Roman Catholic Bishops on the
 cation are beyond doubt. The documents
 Commissioners, and some of which accom-
 nstrate that the Roman Catholic Bishops of
 d condemn the system of "mixed" education.
 ject are not peculiar either to their order or
 lar views have been entertained by the most
 rotestant Church,* and have been advocated
 d statesmen in the British Senate.†

inion, that under these circumstances, the
 oppose cannot be made to provide for the edu-
 tholics. If it does not include them in its
 y provides for the education of the fewer and
 e of the many and the poorer. It not only
 e richer, but it contemplates that a portion
 be levied from the funds of the excluded and

" system will not be adopted by the Roman
 y the "separate" system? The latter prin-

p of Canterbury, 3rd May, 1839; Hansard,
 e 764; 5th July, 1839, *ibid.* vol. 48, page
 of London, 10th June, 1839, Hansard, 3rd

June, 1839, Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. 48,
 John Manners, Hansard, 3rd Series, vol.
 139, 1140. Lord John Russell, Speech at
 per, 1857, Reported, *Times*, 26th September,
 . W. E. Gladstone, Hansard, vol. 80, page
 Hansard, vol. 80, page 1143.

ciple is that carried out in England under the Privy Council, and it cannot be said that it would not succeed in Ireland, because it has been tried here and has succeeded. The existing schools in Ireland, that have received the highest commendations of the Commissioners are those of an essentially "separate" and exclusive character. They are the schools of the Christian Brothers,* the schools of the Incorporated Society,† and the schools of the Society of Friends‡. In these schools the managers, teachers and pupils are of the same religious persuasion. In these institutions religious instruction is not only incorporated with secular instruction, but the latter is made subservient to the former, and it has been ascertained that in these "separate" schools larger numbers receive a better education, at less expense, than the pupils of any other schools that came within the scope of our Commission.

I am convinced that the "mixed" system is wrong in principle, and cannot even if right, be carried out in Ireland. I believe that the separate system is sound in principle, and if that is doubted, I think it is worthy of being submitted to a fair trial, as to the only alternative the State can adopt, if it proposes to legislate for the education of the middle classes.

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

HENRY GEORGE HUGHES.

29th January, 1858.

Mr. Abraham appears to have been led to similar conclusions, although he has stated them with some reserve in his general report, and as the result of his inquiries merely.

"I have taken pains," he writes, "to ascertain the feeling of such of the Roman Catholic clergy or laity as I have had occasion to meet, with reference to the advisability of Roman Catholics resorting for education, under proper guarantees, to institutions like the Royal Schools. That feeling I have found to be invariably hostile; and, for my own part, having regard simply to what may be possible, and omitting altogether the consideration of what might be desirable or the reverse, it would, I apprehend, be quite hopeless to think of making the Royal Schools available for Roman Catholic education. It has constantly been urged upon me that the absence of tampering with religious belief and the most absolute respect for conscience are purely negative advantages, and that it seems strange to leave a boy without positive religious instruction, at the precise age when the best and worst qualities of mind and heart are in process of formation."

* *Vide*, p. 132, 199, 207, 213, 214, 216, *supra*.

† *Vide*, p. 97, 98, 99, *supra*.

‡ *Vide*, 140.1-2 *supra*.

by Mr. Stephens for his dissent from
ren, and that of Mr. Hughes, are em-
er to Sir George Grey, published apart
a his introductory observations, Mr.
n matters of fact in a way that would
nothing like overreaching on the part

at draft, extending to 284 folio pages, were
vals between November the 27th, and De-
I immediately entered on a careful examin-
d finding that it embodied principles and
d strenuously objected when they were under
han a year ago. I informed the majority of
ld not concur in their Report, nor make
sible for it.

Report were too strong to allow me merely
ny name to it, without assigning the grounds
I could not do justice to the views which I
nary limits of a protest at the end of the
raw up a statement of my objections for
brother Commissioners. I furnished them
of my objections; but time did not admit of
te the detailed statement previous to the
fter the Commission had expired, I discov-
ected copy of the Report (then for the
e) that alterations had been made in it, of
ormed when it was tendered to me for sig-
nce led to a further and unavoidable delay
ations.

uracy of Mr. Stephens' statement in
hich is more than we are authorized
o amount to nothing more than
er he had declined to sign the Report
lf of all responsibility in its regard;
ht proper to make alterations—not
d as might have induced him to change
allowed the opportunity—but altera-
tent, nature, or gravity of which we are
ames of the Commissioners who signed
rantee to the public for honour in their
other, and with the Country, so that
notice an insinuation or imputation of
r colleague found it necessary to make
made, it would have been well for his
rded against the possibility of being

affects the Church and Protestant hardly trust ourselves to characterize specially when taken in connexion with and by Mr. Stephens in a subsequent barely does not say in terms, what pregnant implication, namely, that his defining definition for the purpose of proposing confiscating Protestant endowments. I am sorry that the definition was framed of improperly classing certain Catholic exclusive and independent schools; but the non-exclusive class the schools in Society; and of thus removing them from that body. That is a fair statement, argument. It cannot be denied that such an intention is highly injurious. Let that pass, however. It is only to be asked, whether, if the Commissioners, in person and gentleman as Dr. Graves, have been kind ascribed to them, they did not view by the definition upon which they are far more willing to impeach Mr. Stephens' candour, but his argument looks to its plausibility. It is he who attacks the Church Education Society's definition, and yet he wishes it to be believed so regard it. It will be necessary to consider their non-exclusiveness presently for it will be worth our while in the first place to see whether such of the Irish Church Education Schools as were endowed under the Lord's Association for Discountenancing the Secular School Society, do in truth come within the definition, that, namely, which makes it a test of the exclusiveness of the Church Education School at random from 1846, the Kilmore Bottle Hill School; and "Object of the School," and upon the ground of endowment," that the "object" of the school-master to teach children select English, or master, English and arithmetic "master:" and under the head "appoint-

ment:" we find upon the same authority, that the appointment of the master rests in the "*Minister*." Now this is not, we venture to say, one Table in the entire volume which does not contain mention of similar schools; and this be not a school in which the trustee has power to compel all the pupils to receive religious instruction in his own tenets, it is impossible to conceive a school in which a trustee could have such a power. We must assume the object of the school and the right of appointment to have been correctly abstracted from the "definition of endowment," in as much as Mr. Stephens has not taken exception to them, and it is to be supposed that they were submitted to each of the Commissioners in proof. Mr. Stephens' course of reasoning is as good a specimen of what Dr. Whately would call "undistributed middle" as could possibly be selected. He argues that these schools are non-exclusive under the second branch of the Commissioners' definition, if the trustees have no power to control the instruction of the children in their own tenets. He then affirms that the trustees have no such power, and concludes that, therefore, the schools are non-exclusive under the second branch of the definition. In proof of this minor premiss he adduces a rule of the Church Education Society, according to which children of all denominations are admitted to these schools, on condition of reading the Sacred Scriptures. Here lies the fallacy, we hope unintentional, of Mr. Stephens' argument. He tacitly applies the term "trustee" to the *Church Education Society*, while his colleagues understand it, as they, and we are bound to do, of the *Minister* of the parish, or of the minister and church-wardens, as the case may be. Had the Commissioners been actuated by the motives ascribed to them, they could not in the case of the parish schools have more effectually defeated their own object than by the definition they adopted. In the proposed distribution of endowments among the various boards in existence, or to be brought into existence, they assign to the new or mixed board, only of the present Church Education Schools as are non-exclusive in character, thereby distinctly affirming that some of them are exclusive in character; while it must be evident that if tested by the Commissioners' definition, schools, the trustees of which are either the minister and churchwardens

with power to appoint, direct, and re-
e exclusive in the most absolute sense
efore withdrawn from the jurisdiction
Mr. Stephens insinuates, the Commis-
s to aggrandize at any cost. We do
obliged to call in the aid of all the
r, to enable us to account for a proceed-
Stephens on the part of a gentleman,
bly, a graduate of one of the English

upon to notice the case to which he
nt of his charge, [for after all it assumes
unfairness against his colleagues. He
e the Rathvilly school in Carlow, and
school in Mullingar, and states "that
in all *essential* respects analogous (the
his colleagues treat the Rathvilly
tant trustees, as non-exclusive, and the
r Catholic trustees, as exclusive; we
or, argument call it, in *extenso* :

e Rathvilly schools with *Hevey's* schools :—

RATHVILLY SCHOOLS.

ned "to the *Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns*,
chwardens of the parish of Rathvilly," 1,000*l.*
nd to the same persons 2,000*l.* for the ex-
o be applied by the said *Bishop of Ferns, and*
ardens of the parish of Rathvilly for the time
purposes of said school, which it is my wish
ducted on the most enlightened and liberal prin-
d superintendence of the said *bishop, minister*
uch person or persons as they may think
e purpose."

HEVEY'S SCHOOLS.

ed his property to the Right Rev. John
olic Bishop of Meath, the Right Rev.
an Catholic Bishop of Ardagh, the Rev.
Catholic Administrator of Mullingar, Sir
stown Bart., and Gerald Dease, Esquire,
wers of adding new trustees, &c., for a school
l, however, that no difference of religion shall
or not selecting, excluding, or expelling any
his bequest."

case the trustees are "of one religious per-

suasion," it seems at least as strong to say that "no difference of religion shall be the ground or reason for not selecting, excluding, or expelling any child" from a school, as to say that it shall be conducted on the most enlightened and liberal principles."

Yet Hevey's school is declared to be "exclusive," and Rathvilly school is claimed from the Church as "non-exclusive."

There may be various opinions as to what is "enlightened and liberal." The framers of the Report appear to differ from the opinion of the testator, for *they* do not think it "enlightened and liberal" to put a "non-exclusive" school under "bishop, minister and churchwardens." It is unwarrantable that an arbitrary construction should be placed on the words "enlightened and liberal," so as to violate the intention of the founder, that his schools should be in strict connexion with the Church.

The majority of the Commissioners pronounce it an "objectionable proceeding" to have placed Rathvilly School under the inspection of the Church Education Society.—Rep. 120. They have perhaps overlooked that clause of the founder's will which directs that the school shall be conducted "under the care and superintendence of the said bishop, minister and churchwardens, or such person or persons as they may think proper to appoint for the purpose."

If Hevey's school be treated as a Roman Catholic school, I cannot comprehend why Rathvilly should not be treated as a Church school.

This, as it stands in Mr. Stephens' letter, has every appearance of a complete case against his colleagues, and would be a triumphant case, were it not that Mr. Stephens has suppressed the *most essential* circumstances of the Hevey endowment, while he states that the two endowments exist under circumstances, in *all essential* respects analogous. Upon referring to the Tables of schools and endowments, vol. iii, p. 4, we find the object of the Rathvilly school to be as stated in Mr. Stephens' letter; but will anyone say that the trustees are empowered by the terms of the will creating that endowment to enforce the teaching of their own tenets; at least until it has been so decided by competent authority? If however we turn to the same Tables, page 224, for the objects of the Hevey institution, we shall find that it was intended by the testator for a school simpliciter, but for a school or college to be under the superintendence of the Roman Catholic priest of Mullingar for the support, maintenance, and education in literature, science, and THEOLOGY, under the regulation of the trustees, of poor children resident in the parish of Mullingar to be selected by the trustees; the great majority of the children to be Roman Catholics. Then follows the provision upon which Mr. Stephens relies as constituting the Hevey

usive school ; namely, that the school
en of all religious persuasions. Accord-
therefore, the divinity classes of Oxford
clusive, because a Catholic can have ac-
y be trained a Protestant upon payment
It would argue uncommon simplicity
with the circumstance of *theological*
e superintendence of a *parish* priest,
ation of the trustees, including *two*
pon the face of his letter as the object
o class such a school as non-exclusive ;
what the omission of this circumstance
n by Mr. Stephens would argue, if we
ations open or covert. We fear that
newhat sunk the Commissioner in the
sly we believe, and that he has been
ef ; but there are circumstances which
bound in good faith to disclose to the
ell against his cause ; when once he
al honour to the disclosure of all that
ision of the question.

er argues that the Royal and Diocesan
nd properly Protestant establishments,
f their establishment it was thought
nd their exclusiveness by all the safe-
nt state of the law would require. At
ishment of many of them it was little
matter for a Catholic to act as school-
we think, ourselves, there can be no
ce of a Catholic as master or usher in
contemplated by their founders. But
n why, when the disability of Catholics
er or teacher was removed, a Catholic
act in a Royal or Diocesan school, if
at he should. Those establishments
ce to the intention of the founder, be
e light as private endowments. The
is a mere abstraction—he is the State ;
e the creatures of the State, and may
elled out, or abolished at its pleasure.
argues upon the construction of several
at according to law a Catholic cannot

officiate in those schools ; and, holding the opinion, upon the subject of mixed education that we do (our opinions in a general measure corresponding with those of Mr. Hughes) ; we cannot say that we have a very particular interest in the question of law thus raised by Mr. Stephens. Whenever the question of mixed education, primary or intermediate comes to be finally adjusted, it will be time enough to dispose of the Royal and Diocesan Schools. Neither shall we concern ourselves at present with the recommendations which Mr. Stephens was prepared to offer, and a draft of which has given in his letter to Sir George Grey. We are admonished that our space is narrowing, and that the question, whose determination solves every minor difficulty, remains to be argued upon the issues raised by Mr. Hughes.

Mr. Hughes' propositions are two in number, first that the system of mixed education, as applied at least to intermediate instruction, is not right in principle ; and secondly, that if right, it is not practicable in Ireland. He is supported in his belief that the system is not right in principle by eminent authorities, Protestant and Catholic, whom he refers, and he considers that were all these authorities on both sides in error, yet, there are certain living authorities, namely, the Catholic clergy, so confirmed in their error, and so resolute in their opposition, and so well supported by their flocks, that they never will permit the system to come into operation. Now suppose we take up the last of Mr. Hughes' propositions first, there can be little doubt that mixed education has no sincere friend in Ireland. The National system is generally adopted by Catholics because as a rule it affords separate education accompanied by some distasteful conditions, but not by any means because it affirms the principle of mixed education ; the Established Church opposes the National system because it keeps him out of his neighbour's preserves ; and the Presbyterian who if the truth were known, objects perhaps to the sign *plus* because it is in the form of a cross, would gladly have a freely and avowedly Presbyterian school. When the Catholic can do so he establishes strictly Catholic schools ; and upon the testimony of Mr. Stephens as well as that of Mr. Ferguson, the schools of the Christian Brothers, being what chemists would call a concentrated exhibition of Catholicity

ational schools in the centres of population since they actually closed the Tralee, although the Catholic bishop of great advantages which the people national system in the rural parts of Ferguson speaks "of the admirable an Brothers, a wide spreading institution the great centres of population in the bidding fair to extinguish the National er," p. 77. Mr. Stephens makes the *most in hæc verba*, and there can be no mind in Ireland is as little reconciled to fixed education, primary or secondary, time these hundred years. Taken as admitted upon all hands, and hard to admit it than the Commissioners considering, that the religious element very well-ordered system of education. not only a constituent part of any art diffused in no matter what proportion re of that substance. Oxygen is an water, nor can you find a particle of air or so ever into which that element does manner if we suppose religion to be an a there is no part of education which pervade and penetrate. Religion is ent of education if it be laid upon a shelf, ce to the wall, during the greater por- time, and just aired for half-an-hour in y, or perhaps of the week. You could ig of lavender you throw into your noths is a portion of your dress, and absurd to say that religion fills in the place she ought to occupy. See how it an Brothers. Look at their reading raphies, their histories; everything igious spirit. That spirit is professedly tional system, and therefore the Na- at as are our obligations to it, does gitimate requirements of Catholic or Ferguson has put it fairly and forcibly the subject of National Education in ars in our head list.

"If it be asked," he says, "Is it right to refuse relief in an hospital to a patient who will not listen to our spiritual instruction would it be endured to obtrude a religious lecture at the hospitable board of a friend? I should answer, that an hospital is founded professedly for temporal relief,—the hospitable board is spread for festivity; and it begs the question to assume that a school is an institution designed or proper for secular instruction merely, and not for education in a sense that comprehends something more than secular teaching. Clergymen and Christian laymen are agreed that education, without religious instruction, is not a contradiction in terms, "an unreality," is at least essentially imperfect, and wants its better part, and perhaps a majority of reflecting men think it positively mischievous."

We frankly accept this statement of the case, as an expression of our own views and of the views of the country generally, but when we come to the question, how are those views to be met by the State, we are beset by all the difficulties that have tried and foiled the ingenuity of the greatest and best statesmen of the country.

Mr. Hughes suggests the adoption of separate education, the "denominational system," as it exists in England and in the minutes of the Privy Council. That is probably the simplest solution of the difficulty, and under proper precautions would no doubt content and gratify reasonable men. We have already expressed our private preference for this system, but the clergy of the Irish Establishment look for something very different. They pronounce in favour of education at once mixed and religious, but they must be the compounders themselves, and the religion must be of their own providing also. Nay, they protest that theirs is the only true mixture, and modestly seek to have it protected by patent, and to have the appearance of their name upon the government stamp. Did the clergy of the Establishment merely seek to have the advantages of the National system extended to their schools, on the understanding that the teaching in these schools should be purely Protestant, and that a similar privilege should be extended to Catholics, we could have nothing to object, and should have reason to be thankful; but their object is very different. They ask to be endowed side by side with the National schools as they are constituted at present, a second system of schools, into which they may be at liberty to draw Catholic children, and subject them to the process of what is called Scriptural instruction; what kind of instruction that is in reality we shall

lect from the Report. We may have badly, but that is their avowed object. ask an endowment for the Church condition of their adopting the books inspection of the National Board, but ing their present system of religious g to which it is competent for the to cause the Scriptures to be read in , and to give Scriptural instruction nominations. Such is the substance of proposes, and (it is believed) not without atur from the highest Protestant aphlet upon the subject of National s published shortly before the report of His views are best stated by himself.

nal System of Education as a settled institu- g a great deal of good to the Roman Ca- mmunities, though still excluding from its sections of each, let us, lastly, consider or enlargement of the system can—without g its essential constitution, or infringing the who have already joined it—admit the co- shed Church—the Wesleyan Methodists—ood—the Sisters of Mercy and Charity—resbyterians.

e the public, with more or less of authority he first plan was that which Lord Granville, vernment, opened to the Committee of the 1854. He suggested that the Church Edu- d, I suppose, *exempli gratia*) should receive and school requisites from the National benefit of inspection by the officers of the s training-schools, should be extended to

s that proposed by the Earl of Derby, and giving, in addition to these advantages, an ers for the actual progress of the pupils, of the Inspectors of the Board.

at submitted by Mr. Walpole to the House 1856. It sought for such a modification of s would extend the advantages now enjoyed o any other than vested schools, whatever s of the school as to the mode of religious he condition that no child should be required reeds, or formularies, to which his parents

that Mr. Ferguson declares absolutely

in favour of any of those plans, but all of them embody the principle that by State subvention, the Established clergy should be enabled to force what is almost profanely styled Scriptural instruction on the Catholics attending their schools. At present Mr. Stephens commends them for their liberality in *admitting* Catholics into their schools, and pathetically complains that their liberality should be drawn into a pretext for confiscating their endowments. We have already seen the truth of this insinuation, and that it is of about as substantial a texture as the liberality of the patrons of the Church Education schools.

Now it is worth observing that in the Report upon the Charter Schools, the Commissioners whom we have already quoted spoke in exactly the same style of their "liberality," although the teaching in those schools was avowedly as heret would be covertly Protestant. The Established clergy do much more than *admit* the poor Catholics to their schools, they exercise all their influence, and all the influence they can command to draw the Catholic children from the National school, and into their own. They exact one only condition of attendance, and that is the reading of the Scriptures. Neither have they exacted this at all times. The Commissioners of 1806-12 to whom Mr. Ferguson appeals, and with some reason, as the originators of the present National System, recommended in their fourteenth report, the establishment of a number of schools, supplemental to the existing parish schools, and the governing principle of which should be a total absence of interference with the religion of the pupils, on the condition, however of scripture extracts to be read in common by Protestant and Catholic. This, of course, was considered a proposition of extreme liberality, as coming from two bishops of the Established Church, together with Mr. Lovell Edgeworth, and Mr. Leslie Foster; but they tacked a good consideration to it in the shape of additional parish schools, so that there should be one for every parish in Ireland under the care of the Established clergy. Now considering that many country parishes in Ireland would not furnish a single Protestant to the projected school, the modesty of this proposal is not its most remarkable feature, and Mr. Foster himself dwells upon it in a letter to Mr. Corneille, the Secretary of the Board. "There are parts of Ireland," he writes, "where the population is almost exclusively Roman Catholic. In the returns from some

of Waterford, may be observed 400
s without a single Protestant among
e inducement could the Commissioners
the establishment of a Protestant to
atholic in those places?"—Fourteenth
op. 3. The parish school extension
acted upon formally, although it was
degree in the application of the Lord
fund; but the scripture-extract nos-
series of years, and was only finally
the retirement of Dr. Whately from

d even dignitaries of the Church, seeing
g theologically wrong in the practice,
ent to it, not without an uneasy sense
dishonour. But at length the thing
the essential weakness of its prin-
down in the assumption that the
d any right, under any circumstances,
element of Catholic education. It
d would undoubtedly be wrested to
imed by the Protestant Primate in 1824
Commissioners of that period, "As to
superintendence the education of the poor
find that in the Report of the Commis-
sion of the State, by the statute of
a. III., to commit this important charge
gy. I am happy to express my concur-

It appears to me that such is not only
a of the statutes referred to, but the ob-
thing. If the superintendence of a
moral education be entrusted as a duty,
ally devolves upon the Established
er hand, it be regarded as a privilege,
confidence, they seem best entitled to

And at a later date he observes, "I
ed my opinion in a former letter, and
much to repeat it now, that the State,
like ours, where so much depends upon
a immediate interest in the moral and
s members, that this interest gives it a
ses upon it an obligation of providing

a system of national instruction, *and that the trust of superintending the system is most consistently reposed in our Established clergy.*"

Now, to defer in any particular, however trifling, to the wishes of the Established clergy, in respect of the religious education of Catholics, would be to admit to some extent that those gentlemen were responsible for the religious education of Catholics. But if so, it would come to be asked "in what right are they responsible?" and the answer to Catholics would be—"in virtue of your own recognition." Scripture extracts are not only innocent but profitable; one of the most characteristic prayers of Catholics, the "Hail Mary," is a scripture extract; but if the acceptance of a scripture extract at the hands of those gentlemen were regarded as a kind of feudal service, nay, a sort of minor or incipient Protestantism, as a kind of "step in the right direction," then it ceased to be innocent, and became infected with the taint of its origin. It would go to keep up the desperate delusion which law, or the fiction of law, now encourages in the Established clergy, namely, that they are the pastors of parishes and not the ministers of mere congregations. Those results were not all at once taken in by those of the Catholic clergy, who at first accepted the conditions tendered, but they soon came into evidence. It really is not pretended that the Protestant clergy effect much in the way of proselytism by their scriptural instruction to Catholics. They think, however, that they have attained a sufficient triumph when they induce a poor child to live in contempt of the directions of the only clergyman he thinks himself bound to obey. Upon the evidence of this Commission, and of Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in England, the Scripture that is profanely gabbled, whether as a lesson or a punishment, by the pupils of the Church Education schools, does not seem to have much more relation to the real thing in the comprehension of its reader, than the old crambo, "*forte dux fel flat in guttur*," has to the English words that are imitated by its sound. We abstract now from the circumstance that by Catholics the authorized version read in the church schools is regarded as falsified of purpose. It is enough for us that a thing which might be indifferent or praiseworthy in itself is adopted as a symbol of apostasy, or of an approximation of

It was not more essentially wrong in us to say "Domine Cæsar" or "Tolle" than it would be for us to say, "God save the Queen," or "God save the Sepoys." There was no necessary strain of frankincense into the fire or in the incense itself. As there is no original harm in treading on a crosswise if you want to get admission to the reading of the Scriptures by a Protestant clergyman, then it became the duty of the Catholic priest or layman to admit in compliance with the suggestion, or in compliance with the suggestion of the Protestant authorities to inter-

fer a matter and a very serious matter to be

It is found convenient upon questions of the Protestant clergyman in Ireland. What is the incumbent of a parish in Ireland? He is a gentleman of education, with a fine estate, an excellent husband of a comely wife, a large family, and in the enjoyment of a modest, sometimes of a good income. He preaches in a Geneva gown without a surplice or hood, according to the custom of the congregation, lives peaceably, and allows the same. We believe that to be an average of the Protestant clergyman in the abstract. In concrete, that is to say, what is the Irish Protestant clergyman to alter the National System? He is in a state of active hostility with the National System and people around him. He gives no support to one or more societies, but is a Protestant propaganda. He is not amongst Catholics inviting them to the National System in which it will be proved (*God willing*,) that idolatry, theft and lying are the most sacred ordinance of the Church.

he calls it "A consecrated paste and water hocussed by priest." In common and intimate conversation he is known to apply any other than the nickname of Romanist, Romish, or Papist, to the Catholic Communion; and in public life, with a few honoured exceptions, he is the unabashed famer we have described. Now it is not to be conceived that the Catholic clergy could yield anything to the importunities of men of this kind, no matter how indifferent or laudable the thing might be in itself. It is not at this instance that the National system can be set as an example. "Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriam. Qui enim scit illum intelligere potest, nonnisi aliquando grande bonum a Nerone damnatum." We do not make a literal application of this tolerably plain Latin of Tertullian to the Protestant clergy of Ireland. That body contains some venerable and great names, although we have seen from any one of them a repudiation of the abominable ribaldry, the unavoidable defilement of which, we were obliged to extract, from a writer quite unlike Tertullian. We may simply to state, that any proposition coming from enemies so determined cannot be well meant, well understood, or accepted at all. Let them keep to their black flag; we do not fear it; but let us have no piracy under the National colours at all events. Considering the authorities under which Mr. Ferguson is supposed to have put forward his views, it may be worth while to extract one or two passages from his pamphlet. In the first may be seen what the real grievance of the Protestant clergy in this matter is. It is that Catholics have the strongholds of education in their own hands. That they are firmly intrenched in several thousand schools. It is not pretended they have encroached upon Protestant ground, but the complaint is simply that they are the guardians of their own schools.

Lapse of time, and usage have, in a manner, established the present system. It has conferred great advantages on the Roman Catholic population, and the State has derived corresponding advantages from it, which it would be unwise to throw away. Anything which would annul what has been done since 1831, by supplying the Roman Catholic priesthood with an adequate motive and moving power to withdraw the Roman Catholic population from the National Schools would be regarded as little short of a national calamity. The p

ate proselytism might be as spurious as the
the Sepoys, but it might be one which would
most souls of the people, and should not
the other hand, let us not exaggerate, and
er we fear; let us not so far give way to
become insensible to the claims of justice and
on. To propitiate the Roman Catholic priest-
uiet, it is not wise to deliver over the rising
estant brethren to their mercies. It is not
t a dangerous experiment to take the educa-
gether out of the hands of Protestant clergy-
commit every educational stronghold in the
Catholic priests. We may rest assured that
aten, so long as the Roman Catholic priests
ominion of the great majority of the National
their interest nor their policy to withdraw
em. The rebellion against the Kildare-place
e priests had not the control of them. As
schools, the Roman Catholics are securely en-
3000 of them; and the danger that is to be
hat, by practising on the compressibility of
shall get the command of all the schools, and
al machinery of the country as regards prim-
fresh instance of undue deference to their
he more with an inordinate estimate of their
, and of the facility and weakness of the
s their expectations, and increases their de-

Synod of Thurles, and the Pastorals of the
e a determination on the part of the Roman
effect a total overthrow of the system of Na-
its two fundamental bases—first, as a system
Protestants and Catholics; secondly, as a
uction sanctified by a moral and religious ele-
y disregard these fulminations, and imagine
un the sympathies of the laity and inferior
ge the proprieties of educated and independent
are vain and harmless as stage thunder. No
possibly take possession of the mind: these
their way, and accomplishing their purpose
The moral and religious element they have
man Hierarchy are now struggling to insulate
children from the wholesome influences of com-
estant patrons and teachers. They are tramp-
mixed education; and the National Board
g to the same end, by excluding its warmest
he result is rapidly developing itself in the
schools—the appropriate seats of mixed edu-
sphere for religious neutrality—are rapidly
n-vested school, which is essentially denomi-

national and exclusive. Out of 5192 National Schools, in the year 1855, no more than 1526 were vested. Out of 154 new schools added in that year, but 17 were vested; while of the old vested schools an unusually large number had been in that year 1855 suspended or struck off the rolls.

The next extract will show that the Protestant clergy aim at an entire supremacy over parental and family authority, and that the parent must have no conscience in presence of the patron of a school.

But then the scruples of the clergy of the Established Church are so clearly inconsistent with religious liberty, and so plainly in derogation of parental authority, that they cannot be entertained or countenanced for a moment. The parent must be the judge as to what is for the spiritual interest of his child: and if he objects to the teaching of the Scriptures, whether right or wrong, his objection must be attended to. This is true,—neither Christianity, nor Protestantism, nor Scriptural knowledge, can or ought to be diffused by physical or moral force; and there ought to be no interference with the religious scruples of Roman Catholics or Protestants. But there may be another side to the shield; and we shall fall into error if we look exclusively at the brazen side, and overlook that there is a golden side as well. The relation, duties, and responsibilities of patron to his school, may be taken to be the golden side; while the rights and privileges of the pupil and the parent are—not in point of actual inferiority or comparative unimportance—the brazen side. A school requires something more than books, and maps, and a salary for a teacher; these are not its most essential or valuable elements. It requires pupils, an intelligent and proper instructor, organization discipline, management and a manager. Nobody for a moment supposes it to be possible to concede to the parent of each child in a village school the right to direct the nature or amount of the secular instruction his child is to receive, or to select the books to be used or omitted. Sir Thomas Redington (a Roman Catholic Commissioner of National Education) says:—"The parents cannot exclude from the hour of combined instruction any book except the 'Scripture Extracts' and the 'Book of Sacred Poetry.'"—"Evidence," p. 689, Q. 5213. True it is, when we come to religious instruction, the motive and the excuse for parental interference become higher and stronger; but the sense of duty and responsibility, on the part of the patron, becomes, in the same degree, more intense and imperative? and if every parent were to exercise the right to enter into every school that he meets, and arbitrarily to cut the course of instruction short when it ceases to be secular; and to "demand" and "insist upon"—for such are the phrases used to express the parental right—the patron giving so much as the parent pleases and no more: this, instead of being religious liberty, may become the rankest tyranny and license, and would, in fact, compel many a patron to dispense what he must unaffectedly regard in his conscience to be nothing less than moral poison, without its moral an-

school is the school of the National Board—Model and Vested Schools—the parent has a right in terms as the State, which is the patron, in Vested Schools we are told, on the highest principle, not so much the Schools of the Government as the Schools of the Government and managers, who submit voluntarily to the State to entitle them to receive aid from the State for the education given in these Schools, though supplied by the State, is provided through the intervention of the individual patron. He is the party responsible for the instruction given in the School: it is the moral right and duty of the patron to see that the instruction given in the School is proper and wholesome, and that it is the result of his judgment and conscience. When we are in religious matters there ought to be some responsibility in it; and the parent's unquestionable right to give such instruction to his child must be exercised. It would be a fair price for the highest contribution the Board could make to require that the direction of the school should be submitted to every peasant in his

takes us over the pleasant subject of the competency of the Established Church, and of the very conceit of its carelessness about its duty to serve to beguile the seriousness of

is again urged, that possibly Roman Catholics have an advantage in this open competition, because that they may be supplemented by subscriptions, and so may be able to make inducements in the shape of food and clothing to attract them. To this the answer seems to be, that the Board to any Protestant school—whether it be under its existing plan, or under any other plan, if abused, it can be withdrawn. The most serious danger still to be current in regard to the Roman Church. They were formerly reckoned by the parochial income is about £357,000, and affords the parson an average income of about £190, leaving the poor with less than £100 per annum. Two per cent. of the parochial income (the maximum impost concessioners of 1806 for schools) would give no more than £7,140 per annum, and it would certainly be no exaggeration to say that that amount is contributed by the clergy to the parochial Schools. After all, the schools are not supported by the State, and there seems little available for bribes. In the management of a school, every person must see that

the great superiority of numbers on the part of the Roman Catholics ought more than compensate any imaginable superiority of wealth on the part of the Protestants. A school supported by fifty or sixty children, each paying even a penny a week, will in ordinary cases have a more substantial and reliable endowment than one depending on the precarious benevolence of a few wealthy patrons. Under Lord Derby's plan, the more numerously attended schools would have the greater number of chances of support, in the shape of proficiency allowances. Besides all this, the Roman Catholics are increasing rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and independence; they not only erect costly cathedrals, and chapels, and hospitals, but have even aspired to found an University, to supersede that of the Queen, and I have no doubt that under a more judicious administration of the funds of the National Board, the Roman Catholic body could be brought to give more liberal contributions to the National Schools than they do at present.

The last extract we furnish is a specimen of a practice referable perhaps to Mr. Ferguson's forensic habits, according to which it becomes the duty of counsel in a losing case to abuse the opposite attorney.

I have endeavoured to show how far the Fundamental Rules of the National Board, in regard to religious instruction, were in accordance with the views of the Commissioners of 1806, and necessary in a plan of education of Roman Catholics undertaken by a Protestant Government. I have also shown that the application of these same rules to the Parochial and Scriptural Schools was against the views of these Commissioners; was open to grave objections of a substantial character, on the ground of duty and conscience; was uncalled for by any wise purpose; and, that while it has been a source of painful and gratuitous irritation, and of injurious exclusion, it has in its results gone far to defeat the legitimate aim and object of the rules themselves. I have shown that their application was, as to a considerable number of the schools, nugatory, and as to some of them—the Convent Schools—illusory and mischievous, and that there was no semblance of fair dealing in aiding schools of so exclusive and sectarian a character, and refusing aid to the Scriptural and Parochial Schools; and lastly, I trust I have made the proposition clear, that a persistence in the present course,—while it tends more and more to depress and deteriorate the standard of national education, to alienate its best friends, to divorce the Church of England and Ireland from its co-operation with the State, to expel those of its clergy and laity who had confidently trusted the Board, and to obstruct the advancement and lower the social position of the poor Protestants,—wholly fails to propitiate or to satisfy the heads of the Church of Rome. Having for the last five-and-twenty years done no little service to that Church in sheltering the Roman Catholics from the influence of Scriptural light and truth, it is now being made the slave of a more uncompromising and exacting task-master, who banishes contemptuously the mild element of moral

as if heretical ; who rigorously interdicts with Protestants, in respect even of the rudiments of Christianity ; and would fain convert the land into nurseries of a bigoted and intolerant

proposed that Mr. Ferguson has any more of what "ultramontaniam" means than he of the word "Catechumen," when he applies it, or than he has of a great many other words noticed in his pamphlet. Certainly for the care of the Christian Brothers, or for the form of a National School, who does not use the term so comically applied by Mr. Ferguson perfectly illustrates the incongruities which connect themselves with no man's mind. But as Mr. Ferguson was a man, who knew perhaps almost less about the words he did himself, he acted judiciously in the use of those mysterious terms. This vigorous and Latin words of four and five syllables might possibly make us waver in our purpose to understand the words, just as our purpose is not to understand them. And we know their tactics likewise. We know nothing coming from "the princely munificence of the king" and of other lords and ladies, which is mentioned in the Church Education Society ; nor can the use of parliamentary coin be precipitated by any authority. We know well that as soon as the Government is in sustainment of the things called "National Schools," they are at liberty by the application of parliamentary money to the same object, they would be thrown upon their own resources, and knowing this we are perfectly resolute to resist it.

It can be inferred that we desire to see the Protestant fellow subjects, belonging to the lower classes, in their present lamentable condition. We shall have to meet them as mechanics, or as law clerks, or merchants' clerks, or shopmen, as soldiers, or as officers ; and it can be no gain to us that they should be educated and ill-bred as they are. The truth is that they do not care about *them*. They not so much as the Protestant pupils to our level, as we do not care to bring them down to theirs. They have utterly and

totally neglected their schools, and upon that very neglect they ground a claim to drive us from what they call the strongholds of education. It is too late for them to plead poverty. The statistics of this report show that the parish schools are poorly endowed, that is to say poorly endowed by the State. The State offered them conditions which we and the Presbyterians reconciled it to our conscience to accept, although we do not like them in the least. The Protestants of the Establishment have not chosen to do so; but they might have had *good* schools of their own, had they been that way inclined. According to their own boastful assertion, whenever it answers their purpose to make the assertion, the Protestants of the Established Church have five-sixths of the property of the country; and their Church itself is known to be endowed as no other Church in the world is endowed. The curate may have less, and the rector may have more, and the bishop may have something startling; (we have nothing to say to the division of the spoil), but their church is at our expense the richest in the world. Are we to be told that if they cared for education there is anything to interfere with their making their schools respectable, if not equal in merit to those of the Christian Brothers? They send round the begging box in England for missions to the Roman Catholics, while they allow their own schools to starve for want of support. The small number of Protestant children in a parish cannot be pleaded in excuse, for when by accidental zeal in a rector, or by accidental qualifications in a teacher, good instruction is provided, we find a parish school successful with no more than twenty-eight pupils on the roll.* The disgraceful condition of these schools can be attributed to nothing else than the neglect of the Protestant clergy, not as individuals perhaps, but certainly as a body—possibly not through inclination, but undeniably through policy. We shall not be induced to believe that a church whose internal government is in the most abject subjection to the State; a church that cannot frame a collect without an order in council; that cannot hold a synod without incurring the penalties of *præmunire*; and that has not virtue to incur any penalty whatever—a church that dares not attempt the most insignificant act of self government, and cares not to do it even if it durst—a church that will accept any bishop, no mat-

* Freshford Parochial School, County of Kilkenny, see vol. iii., *Tables of Schools and Endowments*, p. 149.

at the order of the State—we must not church would object to State control in it may dispense religious instruction to the religious instruction had reference to and were a matter of purely internal so Protestants would no more require to discipline of a national school than with that prison, or workhouse school. The truth deny themselves the pleasure of tor- ture, of Catholics whom the law prepos- sessioners, the clergy of the Established schools in order to run after proselytes. pitiable than the description given by and Assistant Commissioners of the superintendence of the Established clergy. art to the stage trick of parallel columns; schools of the Christian Brothers is too re the benefit of contrast, but it may specimens of the management of their established clergy, upon which they copy the strongholds which are occupied education not of Protestants children but give one or two samples from several we taken those with a few exceptions

Urban School.—There were only two children the day of my visit, who were learning to read. und their reading bad; they were able to ble only. The school is at a low ebb, and —[19th of August, 1856.]

School.—I examined a class (the most ad- three girls and two boys, in English dic- taphy. In writing from dictation two ac- rably well; the rest, very badly. None of a sentence, or even to distinguish the parts the answering was tolerable.—[4th August,

Boys' and Girls' Schools.—These schools a very large annual income. Do the public, commensurate with the extent of the endow- must, I apprehend, be answered in the nega- ther as regards the amount or quality of by no means above the average of other do not possess a tenth part of their endow- ight but the ordinary branches of reading, apathy, and arithmetic—no mathematics, men- g.

With so large an income applicable to the support of the schools, one would have expected that the exclusive services of a teacher would at least have been secured. This does not appear to be the case, so far as the master is concerned. He is not only parish clerk and sexton, but also clerk of a savings' bank. It was explained to me that the latter employment only occupies an hour a-week of the school time, and that during that period the children are catechised by the curate of the parish. It would be better, however, that his entire time were devoted to the school, the emoluments accruing from which, to him and his wife, are ample.

I examined a mixed class (consisting of the most advanced boys and girls from each school) in reading, geography, grammar, arithmetic, and English history. The proficiency displayed in reading and geography, was only middling, and in grammar low. In history and mental arithmetic, the answering was fair.

The amount of instruction given is quite inadequate; it should embrace some mathematics, mensuration, and book-keeping.—[20th October, 1856.]

Clontarf, Parochial School.—From Mr. Litton's register of the Lord Lieutenant's School Fund, it appears that a grant of £92 6s. 2d. was approved of on condition of private contributions to the amount of £144, and a site being granted by Mr. Vernon; but that Mr. Vernon who was to make the grant died, leaving a son ten years old; and as nothing further is said on the subject, we are left to the inference, that no conveyance of the site was ever, in fact, executed, and it does not appear that money was issued from the Lord Lieutenant's Fund. The supply of books and school requisites is very deficient; there is no report-book or time-table kept in the school; there are no examinations of the scholars, and no premiums allowed, and the amount of instruction given in the school embracing only reading, writing, and arithmetic) is quite too limited. Even in the branches taught the state of instruction was very indifferent. In the boys' school or senior room I found, on the day of my visit, but two pupils present, of whom one only was able to read. I examined him along with four other boys and two girls (selected from the female school or junior room); of these, only three made any attempt at reading—the rest were obliged to spell the words before pronouncing them. One alone could answer any questions in arithmetic.

The condition of the school, as I saw it, is by no means creditable to a locality so wealthy and highly favoured as Clontarf. It will hardly be credited that needlework, so important to children in their rank of life, is not taught to the girls of the school, owing to the want of a supply of the necessary materials.—[20th October, 1856.]

Rathmichael School.—The state of this school was wholly unsatisfactory. Of books and school requisites there was a very deficient supply. No report book was kept, and there was no record of the daily attendance of the scholars. I examined a class of six (comprising three boys and three girls), being the most advanced in the school, in reading, grammar, and geography. They read (from the Dublin Reading Book) very badly. None of them were able to parse, and in geography only two were able to answer any questions

edge was of the most limited character. Neimensuration is taught in the school, and there learning Euclid.—[17th October, 1856.]

Infant Girls' School.—The state of education in satisfactory. The reading of the girls whom I saw their knowledge of grammar very limited, and in the use of words very little intelligence was exhibited in the answering was better.—[8th October,

There were but two children present on the day and they could only spell words of one syllable. at a low ebb.—[27th May, 1856.]

Boys' School.—I examined three boys (being the best of the school) in English dictation, and the result was favourable. Of English history they had very little, but in geography their answering was better. The school was learning Euclid, and he knew but little, 1856.]

Girls' School.—This school is in a low condition. I examined, though the most advanced in the school, and were quite ignorant of geography. In English they did not extend beyond the multiplication table.—[1856.]

Boys' School.—As regards the state of instruction, it is almost as backward as any I have visited. The reading is imperfect or slovenly than the reading of the best of the school; it is ridiculous to speak of their knowledge of English grammar. I was told, that the phrase "former time" "former" is an adverb; nor could any one in the fourth year give the meaning of the word "recent." The geography was more satisfactory, but in arithmetic little knowledge of principles here as I have seen elsewhere. The handwriting of nearly all the scholars is very bad. I know how to account for the great ignorance observed. The number of pupils on the roll is certainly subject to the same fluctuation as in country schools. It is difficult to secure the smallest degree of regularity in the books in the hands of the pupils, I have seen less advantageously circumstanced, where the books are not to have been learned. This I am inclined to attribute to the accident of the schoolmaster being a parish clerk, although the level is very low. The inferior books, ill-informed teachers, and inspection of the schools I have everywhere had to notice, present a very different state of thing.—[2nd

Girls' School.—I examined the most advanced, twenty-one present. Their style of reading was very bad, and their knowledge of parsing very imperfect, although much better than the boys. Their manner of writing from dictation

was tedious and slovenly. In one sentence there were several false spellings, which included every variety of spelling for the word "seems," such as "seams," "seames," "semes." The mistress, however, I consider diligent and zealous, and as she has hardly been four months in her present engagement, she is not altogether accountable for the shortcomings of the school.—[2nd July, 1856.]

Clara, Parochial, Boys' School.—I found the style of reading in this school extremely bad, and so little idea have the pupils of parsing, that "fertile" was given to me as a noun and as a verb. There is, however, one feature in this school which I have not usually found in parish schools—the pupils appeared to understand what they read. The books were of course very elementary, but it was satisfactory to find that the pupils were not altogether in the dark as to the matter of their studies.—[22nd April, 1856.]

Kinnitty School.—Nothing could be worse than the style of reading in this little school. The pupils had never been taught to parse; and as far as I could ascertain, they were quite ignorant of the meaning of the generality of words in their reading books. The only meaning suggested for the word "*unobstructed*," was "*showing the way*;" and the answering of all whom I examined was equally bad in every respect.—[21st April, 1856.]

Tullamore, Charleville, Erasmus Smith's English Boys' School.—The pupils of this school were extremely deficient in knowledge of the meaning of words upon the occasion of my visit. The word "impostor" was explained to mean "brute," and no one could be found to give the meaning of the word "active." All whom I examined were very ill-prepared in geography, and unacquainted with the principles of the rules of arithmetic. This last is a defect which runs through nearly all the schools of this class, National or parochial; and is one which would seem to call for particular notice from the inspectors. As far as my experience enables me to judge, I think it is completely overlooked.—[22nd April, 1856.]

Dundalk, Erasmus Smith's English Girls' School.—The state of instruction in this school was very unfavourable. I examined the most advanced class of the pupils. They read (from the Third Part of the Dublin Spelling Book) very badly. Their answering in geography was very indifferent, and they knew little or nothing of grammar. In mental arithmetic their answering was better.—[6th September, 1856.]

Termonfeckin School.—This is a poor school, and in a declining condition. The state of instruction was by no means satisfactory. I examined a mixed class, comprising four girls and three boys, in reading, geography, and grammar. The reading was indifferent, and the answering in geography (with the exception of one boy) bad; none of them were able to parse, and in explaining the meaning of words very little intelligence was exhibited by any of the pupils. The school being situate near the coast, and only a few miles from the flourishing port of Drogheda, it would be desirable that some instruction should be given in the principles of navigation.—[8th September, 1856.]

Parochial School.—The state of instruction is indeed; the pupils have a style of reading as to be met with in schools of this class and they have not been taught the meaning of their class-books. One grown boy stated, in that England was an island; and upon my and merely was surrounded by water, proper; but in answer to my further inquiry was an island, he replied, after some consideration. The girls were in a state of almost their only reading-book is the New Testament and read a portion of the 13th chapter of St. John. Under examination could tell the meaning but although a girl of evident natural acuteness better meaning to the word "vineyard" as grow," and to the word "husbandman," was any one present able to explain how he called Judea, or to say in what part of the country necessary to state that a knowledge of geography was not to be expected in a school of October, 1856.]

School.—I found only twelve children present have seldom met with more absolute ignorance. All under examination attempted to explain and gave "to hurt" as its meaning; another error, although asked to define it as the opposite to entry in the report book, under the signature of Dean Kennedy, in which it was stated that he had been swelling his roll by fictitious names, from the schoolroom during school hours, by Dean Kennedy, complaining of similar error torn from the report book. A letter having which the serious charges of profane swearing and obscenity, were preferred against the master, the writer of the letter in question, Mr. John O'Sullivan, a shioner and tenant-farmer in the immediate neighbourhood of the matter of these imputations. There is truth in the statements of Mr. Graham, respecting certain particulars, as they do, from other sources, saying that the schoolmaster is, in every respect, neglecting the care of youth. The circumstance of his neglecting in consequence the duties of the schoolmaster by Mr. Graham. It appears, from the fact that he does farm some fourteen acres, and that the school is utterly neglected: a matter, from the state of instruction amongst the pupils, stated to me in terms, that the man was unfit for his charge; and it also appears that in taking this opinion, have endeavoured to inform Sir Charles Coote on more occasions than

siderable neatness. The teachers do not appear competent to give an improved education.—[30th November, 1855.]

Antrim; Bow Lane, Erasmus Smith's English Girls' School.—I examined in the girls' school the head class in geography and arithmetic; the answering in the former was very poor, and the answering in the latter was indifferent. The mistress attributed this in a great measure to the children being unaccustomed to be examined by a stranger. The ages of the girls examined were from nine to eleven.—[E. P., 13th March, 1856.]

Ballintoy, School.—The condition of this school is a disgrace to a civilized society. It enjoys a house and plot of ground, and an income which, though small, might be considered a very fair endowment for a village school. The schoolhouse was an extremely substantial and commodious building; but it is almost roofless. The master is suffering under the complaint of asthma, and is unfit for his situation physically, and has not had an education for the office, being educated for the sea, and placed as a schoolmaster because unable to follow a more active pursuit. Three of the children present were labouring under heavy colds, most probably taken in this large and uncovered building. There are no privies. The school is wholly without superintendence of any kind. Neither the proprietor of the estate (who is an absentee) nor his agent, so far as I can collect, look after the school. None of the clergymen of the district visited it. There is no supply of books, nor regular course of instruction. The attendance is very small, and it is so much lost time to those who do attend.

Keady; Tullyglush School.—This school is in a lamentable way; the infirmity of the master, the want of books and school requisites, the dilapidated state of the house, and the absence of any salary for the master, all contribute to render this a very inefficient school.

The schoolhouse would require a good deal of repair to put it into moderate order. The school can be called nothing but a hedge-school.—[23rd November, 1855.]

Anna; Drumaloor School.—The pupils present, although quite of an age for greater proficiency, were hardly able to read the Second Book of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, or to get through a verse of Scripture; grammar or geography was therefore quite out of the question. The master has only been recently appointed; but this is not sufficient to account for the low stage of proficiency, which it is all, it seems, that can be reached in a school of more than thirty years' standing, having fifty-nine pupils upon its roll, and an average daily attendance of twenty-two. It is more satisfactory, of course, to see the pupils in a class suited to their knowledge and abilities, than to find them forced upwards by injudicious promotion, as I have most frequently noticed them; but, at the same time, there must be a want of energy and zeal, on the part of the managers and inspectors of the school, as it is unreasonable to suppose that they should not be able to qualify some at least of fifty-nine pupils for the reading lessons of the Third Book of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and to fit them for the light studies which usually accompany it, and which are so much less trying than those followed by the third class in National Schools.—[12th March, 1856.]

Smith's English School.—The pupils were deficient generally, and understood little of what they were taught. They were kept under scarce any restraint, as during the master's absence, they whistled, talked aloud, and interrupted each other. I have, however, visited several schools where the amount of instruction was smaller than here.—

School.—The schoolmaster is very ignorant. When he should teach grammar, when he said to the children, "on Saturdays." I examined the children in the Apostles, and no one could explain the meaning of the word "consenting," in the passage, "And Saul was consenting."—[26th January, 1856.]

School.—The state of instruction is very deficient. The pupils could not give the meaning of the words of Scripture. In geography they answered that Europe was in England; and another, that it was in St. Lawrence. Altogether, I have met with several schools where the amount of instruction was smaller than here.—[18th January, 1856.]

Smith's English School.—The situation of this school is very bad. There is a cess-pool on the premises which is full of filth. The house, which was originally built for a school, is in a very wretched condition. The necessary arrangements have been made for its repair. In all other schools under the Erasmus Smith bequest, I have been unable to form any safe estimate of the state of the school. The visitor very rarely finds any record in the school register of his visit, or of what he wished to have remedied. Where no record is made, or the information of a board or commission is not sufficient; but when the primary object is, or when the neglect of the master and pupils, some of which would always be before the master's eyes, the visitor on his next visitation might refer, to the state of the school, and have attended to; without this, the school is lost sight of.—[8th October, 1856.]

Girls' School.—In the girls' school there are several who cannot read. I examined in geography, in which the answers were very bad. Two only of those present could read. One was well done by one of the girls and badly by another. I can only say there was any answering in arithmetic. The answers do not at all correspond with what one would expect to see from the return made by the mistress of the number of books.

The school is in an unsatisfactory state. The master and mistress are not fitted for their places; they are much too far from the school. Removal is now under Mr. Ker's consideration. The school does not commence at the hour directed by the board; the mistress; and the girls are not classed.

The mistress was removed in July, 1856, and trained for her place.

The taking in lodgers by the mistress during the assizes ought not on any account to be permitted, and, I understand, will not in future be allowed.—[30th January, 1856.]

Enniskillen; Derryheehan Boys' and Girls' School.—The mistress is daughter of the master, and has no salary as distinct from him.

I examined a class consisting of six children—three boys and three girls, eldest aged fourteen, and youngest eleven years—in writing from dictation, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. The answering in grammar and geography was very indifferent, in arithmetic very fair. The writing of three of the children was scarcely respectable, two others very bad, and the sixth did not write.

I consider that the quality of the instruction given is very wretched, and that neither the master nor his daughter is qualified to conduct a school with success, or to afford even the low degree of instruction which the neighbourhood desires to have.—[10th June, 1856.]

Clondermot; Culkerragh School.—There is neither discipline nor instruction in this school. It is, in fact, a school but in name. I do not think it answers any of the purposes of a school, and I consider that the annual endowment bestowed by the Irish Society towards its support is thrown away. It virtually has no books. The Holy Scriptures are converted into mere reading-books, for want of books proper for that purpose. There are no maps, and, when I visited, but one slate pencil. The other ordinary requisites of a school were equally deficient. The roll (if there be any) was not in the schoolroom. There is no register or report-book. There is no visitation, except by the members of the family of the proprietor of the estate, who, I doubt not, discharge their duty to the school in the most exemplary manner; but they can never supply the want of external visitation.

The school is, in fact, a private school for the tenantry of the proprietor of the estate, supported entirely by a grant from the Irish Society. It appears from the master's evidence, that no part of his miserably small salary comes from the proprietor, whose tenants' children are educated in the school; and neither a suitable house nor the commonest school requisites are provided, nor is the school placed in connexion with the Church Education Society or the National Board, whence proper supervision and direction might be had. I therefore am obliged to say, that the grant of the Irish Society is not judiciously bestowed in this instance; and further, that no grant should be given in such a case as this, but in aid of some equal or adequate contribution given by the proprietor.

When a teacher's salary is limited to £10 and the trifle which school fees can produce, it is a mere pension or superannuation, and it cannot be available for the advancement of education.

I asked for five pupils who could write. Only one was produced, aged about twelve years, who wrote from dictation very indifferently. He answered in English grammar very badly: I examined him and three others in geography, but could get no answer, and scarcely any answer in arithmetic. I asked them to read—they did so rapidly, indistinctly, and badly. The school was like a bear-garden during my visit.—[3rd October, 1856.]

Kilmore, Parochial School.—Nothing could be much worse or more

...ding of the pupils. Their ignorance of par-
 ...wn pupil in the fourth class stated the nu-
 ...erb, and no other pupil ventured a different
 ...understand, and cannot ascertain, upon what
 ...of this school promote the pupils; because,
 ...emotion, where although the pupil could not
 ...r as yet with the business of his actual class,
 ...ing of what had qualified him for promo-
 ...ayed was so extreme, that in no instance
 ...sufficiently advanced for the class he had
 ...ned by examining him in the text book of
 ...3th July, 1856.]

Parochial School.—The pupils read in the
 ...ut of a class of fourteen not one could give
 ...d “disengaged”—one only offered a guess
 ...adjective, but could assign no reason; and
 ...peninsula of Europe.—[16th July, 1856.]

Erasmus Smith's English School.—With
 ...have only to observe that it seemed to be
 ...ay. The pupils were ignorant of every-
 ...mined them. One girl only seemed to have
 ...reading and spelling.

...there is no life or vigour in the inspection
 ...chool, and the season of the year is insufficient
 ...ed attendance on this, not a market-day.—

...is school is the one mentioned in the Second
 ...oners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1826, p.
 ...GLISH, endowed under the Lord Lieutenant's
 ...ot a well informed man, but he can hardly
 ...the pitiable state in which I found the school,
 ...r weeks appointed.

...ate of utter ignorance, unless that they can
 ...ough the trifling books in their hands.—[17th

...ool.—The answering in everything, except
 ...or. The pupils were nearly quite ignorant
 ...ely ignorant of derivations. In attempting
 ...only one pupil spelled “operation,” correctly,
 ...mistakes in a single sentence.—[17th Decem-

...ere was only one pupil, a mere infant, present
 ...so that I am not in a position to speak from
 ...e state of instruction in the school. Seeing,
 ...r is an illiterate man, without any knowledge
 ...able to read and write; that the school is
 ...ure, and requisites; that there is no roll, no
 ...on, and that it is visited not oftener than once
 ...an; I believe I am warranted in concluding
 ...essentially a bad one; and that it would be diffi-
 ...s profitable application of so considerable a

sum as £20 per annum than to the support of such a school. I confess to having heard, with much surprise, from the Rev. Mr. Stoeckley, that *the master is an efficient teacher, and most successful in bringing up his pupils*. I, of course, had no opportunity of ascertaining how far he had brought them on; but he must be a more remarkable man than I supposed, if, without knowledge of his own, rules for his guidance, books for his pupils, advice, direction, or control, he could have had any measure of success whatever.—[23rd October, 1856.]

Drumcliffe; Muninean, Erasmus Smith's English School.—It is right to state that the school has hitherto been under the conduct of inefficient teachers. Appended to a somewhat unfavourable notice of the working of the school, from the Church Education Society's inspector, appearing in the report-book, is a comment of the late master, to the effect that the report was malicious and untrue. My experience of these cases leads me to consider this circumstance as a proof sufficient of the unfitness of the late master for his place; and an additional proof is furnished by the ignorance of the pupils in the most elementary branches of instruction. The Scriptures may be said to be the only reading and general lesson book in use. The style of reading is as bad in this as in any other parish school, and the meaning of words as little known. All were alike ignorant of grammar; and I could not obtain the name of a single European island. The master, in reply to the question, what punishments were resorted to, in the course of examination upon oath, enumerated amongst punishments to which he resorted, the practice of making offenders read verses of Scripture. I expressed my surprise that he should resort to the Scriptures as a means of punishment, when at once retracted his statement, and said he had made it through inadvertence. I was not satisfied with this explanation, and, accordingly, examined one of his pupils, upon oath, as to the nature of the punishments to which he was habitually subjected, and he swore distinctly that he had been obliged to read the Scriptures by way of punishment. The master, however, having interrupted my examination to ask the witness whether such punishment had proceeded from himself, the witness answered that it had not; but the answer was manifestly suggested by the master's question.—[22nd October, 1856.]

We have treated the subject of education in Ireland not by any means with reference to the subject of endowed schools merely, nor exactly according to the view in which the latter subject was considered by ourselves before the appointment of the late Commission. One feature, at the events, of the inquiry just furnished, is its completeness, and the abundance of the materials which it supplies for the treatment of the question of education generally. There is no class of schools in our country not found to include a sufficient number of endowments, to enable us

a strong conjectural opinion, at least, as to education in that portion of the class which held of the Commission, as well as in that which held of it. There was, moreover, one large sub-class admittedly endowed, the vested schools Board, upon which the Commissioners did not think it necessary to report, but which we have no doubt altogether resembled the remainder of the class. And further, large as was the number of schools by the definition of the Commissioners, it was not the list of endowed schools a class which was of great importance for the purposes of the Commission; but the list of schools which might be considered as endowed; and which were supported by parliamentary grant from the Treasury, so that dealing with the subject of national education, we might still be said to keep within the limits of the subject of national education. The inquiries made into such of these schools as were of great importance to the Commission, and whose own definition furnished us with a complete indication of instances upon which we might form an opinion as to the entire class, and therefore of the National system. The same may be said of the National system, as we have always observed of the National Education system. Again, the Commission held an opinion upon questions of high principle as to unendowed, or temporarily endowed schools, and as to schools endowed in perpetuity. The Commission found that the National system was that of mixed education; and in consequence of the want of better materials for argument upon the subject, no better materials than those prepared for us by the Commissioners, and those furnished by the Commission, not only from their general report, but from the published statistics, and from the special reports of the Assistant Commissioners; that the National system consisted of substantially separate establishments, under the management of the Catholic clergy, although governed by the Government in harmony with the feelings of that Government; and that those schools being of the National system, and under the direction we have described are good instrumental in the diffusion of solid and useful knowledge. We were further taught, that the essential schools of the Christian Brothers were also of the National system, or rather that they form a class apart from, and superior to any schools that we have seen, and that we found them to rank with them; and we found

lastly, that the schools under the immediate care of the clergy of the Established Church were such as have been described in the foregoing extracts. Upon a review of the entire case; while anxious to preserve for ourselves the intellectual superiority communicated to our youth by systems like those of the Christian Brothers, and while anxious to extend the application of those systems to intermediate and upper education; we are far from anxious to perpetuate the degradation to which the parish schools have been reduced by the neglect of the Protestant clergy, and their contempt of secular instruction. If the clergy of the Established church would loyally agree to concern themselves with their own congregations merely, and to embrace frankly the denominational system, we should gladly meet their views. In three of the provinces there is no such thing as united education, and in the fourth it is adopted with great jealousy and with no little heart-burning. If there must be a Protestant and Catholic National school in each parish; be it so; but let them be as emphatically and conspicuously distinct as the Protestant and Catholic churches. If Catholic parents think proper to send their children to the Ministers' school, let it be upon the distinct understanding that the teaching is as Protestant as Calvin could desire. The system of mixed education does not in reality exist; we have only separate education hampered by inconvenient rules. The attempt to extend even the theory of mixed education to intermediate schools would be quite hopeless, and involve the country again in the disastrous controversy that attended the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, and which might have been so easily avoided by allowing open competition to separate and independent universities, with equal advantages and rights. The State has an opportunity of adjusting the long disputed question now, and of reconsidering the entire subject of education. We for our part are not anxious to encroach upon any educational endowments whether of state or private foundation that have been regarded as belonging peculiarly to Protestants. We make no reference at present to the revenues of the Church Establishment. That is an altogether different question. But speaking for ourselves merely, we are quite willing to leave to the Protestants every one of the educational endow-

as theirs, or that Mr. Stephens claims any means, in the case of the schools of as a matter of right, but as a peace and upon conditions. We hold what will be, that in the distribution of favours as well Catholic and Protestant should stand upon an equation. No one can pretend that such relation at present. In respect of the state endowment is nearly all upon for the reasons so abundantly discussed of intermediate education it is all the for our private part are content to leave of superior education we have upon the University of Dublin, a great Protestant secular teaching, and to some of the prizes are admissible, but upon the Catholic absolutely no equivalent; while the Queen's open to Protestant and Catholic alike, antities, and cannot restore the balance. uation by giving to the Catholic interest a ce the University of Dublin. The mate-ur hands in the Catholic University.

years ago since the *Times*, when such an first in contemplation, suggested that if be so fortunate as to obtain for their pro- the services of some of the disciplined and Cambridge that have passed over to n, it would entitle them to some sort of ey have obtained for their University all ed, but they do not receive more counte- on that account, than if the Rector and o many hedge-school-masters. The *Herald* the coming University on the somewhat that Luther was the alumnus of a Catholic now that the University has come, neither respect for the literary training it sup- s "Nium in Italiam portans," nor the ipation of its promised crop of Luthers, t the support they seemed to hold out nent more propitious for the adjustment of he existence of free and recognised univer- e with the State university, and enjoy-

ing every privilege of a University, is a fact in Belgium, why not in Ireland? Mixed education, like the Turkish empire, has no friends, and yet no one is quite prepared to do without it. This is certainly a favourable time, and the rivalry between the great educational establishments of the country for the prizes thrown open to them by competitive examinations, could not fail to promote the general interests of education. And greater than all would be the gain of the country in harmony and good feeling, by the abandonment of theories and frank adoption of realities. Catholic and Protestant must have mixed education in the great school of the world, even if they learn their alphabet and construe their classics apart. They must meet and rub together, and educate each other in the counting house or stock exchange, at the railway board, in the hall of the Four Courts, in municipal councils, in the same or in a different political connexion in the legislature; but the attempt to confuse the boundaries of Protestant and Catholic education, primary, secondary, or superior, we regard as wrong in principle, and if right not practicable. The bare agitation of the question will estrange the fathers, who will bequeath the estrangement to their sons; suspicion and watchfulness far more than wholesome for the peace of the State will be generated between the parties it was intended to unite; and the substance of that union which mixed education has been instituted to forward, will be lost in the worship of the shadow.

JOHN O'CONNELL.

Jeremy Taylor, to Lord Carbery, " reigns of our time. The Autumn with its fruits for us, and the Winter's cold turns them to snow, and the Spring brings flowers to strew the earth, and the Summer gives green turf and brambles for graves. Calentures and surfeit, cold and heat, the four quarters of the year, and all minister to our ruin, and go no whither, but you tread upon a serpent's head. For us, this thought has been ever a consolation, and the death of John O'Connell has been a weight of gravity and force in fuller, and more

as he wrote to us from Aldershot, suggested by the Foreign Relations of England, and to be laid in his grave; honored by an attention which could have anticipated; and thus, amidst the bustle of life, we left him; after a busy life of care, and, he lies in peace at last; so near to the tomb of Tom Steel" that the long shadow of the present falls on the tomb of each, whilst the light shines for ever the hallow and glory of the past.

Let me point out to a young Irishman entering the world, the advantages and disadvantages of the example of John O'Connell would supply the want of a text. Here was a man of surpassing industry, of indomitable perseverance; of great ability; of great energy, and in all matters bearing upon the political, and financial condition of Ireland, one of the best of "ripe and good" scholars; yet few could equal the ability which he possessed, and his example did occasionally compel men, in their private lives, to admit that he had done his country more good than his mission was but too often coupled with

the whole lifetime of his father, John O'Connell, his service in the popular cause, and it was in the trials of 1844, that his special claims to the position of popular leader, were canvassed amongst

the people. He had proved his zeal and ability; he had worked twelve years of anxious national work with his father; he had all the prestige of that great father's name to back his claim to a leadership, but herein it was that the chief bar to his leadership lay, he was measured by the standard of the Liberator.

Men had grown in the belief that Daniel O'Connell was Ireland, and that in him, and in him only, and in his counsels, lay all hope of justice for the country. Monday afternoon, the Conciliation Hall was thronged with followers, who were all but adorers, and that great, towering figure, looming up beside the chairman, thundering invectives, rousing their hearts with great thoughts of what Ireland once was, and might be again through union and peace, now drawing them into tears by a pathos such as few men in all the world could ever command; and then, after the twinkling of the eye, and dimpling smile that told what was coming, setting his auditors "in a roar," with a humour that was all his own,—had become, as it were, the spirit of Ireland for he, and he only, could proclaim to his countrymen as did Cicero to the Romans, "*Togati me uno togato deiecit imperatore vicistis.*"

Who could succeed, as leader, such a man as this? It has been said, had John O'Connell been a man of great genius, he could have held the position left vacant by his father's death. But those who make this statement forget that one who has long served under a great leader, civil or military, can never take the place of that leader. He has had no training in the conquest of obstacles, in the use of difficulty; he has been but a subaltern; he has had no schooling in those phases of life which make men quick and sure in judgment; which enable a man to see, as it were intuitively, the right road to success; above all, he knows nothing of that training which makes a man self-reliant and self-dependent.

John O'Connell had not had this training, and hence when he found the public mind debauched by the slander of the rump of what was once the great Repeal party; when he saw that old friends had grown cold, and that once staunch supporters had fallen off; when he saw himself accused "rattling his father's bones" to gain money; and when he read that he and Maurice had kept back their father's de-

be brought into Dublin "as an election-ringing a general election, he despaired of the national cause, and in circumstance have made the father rise grander and vision, the son succumbed, perhaps wisely, organization was shattered, the work of thirty years to be restored in its strength, that is,

better for Ireland that matters thus concluded was better that the epoch of leaders the era of parties should pass away ; rather that the day of protestations and charades and no performances, of soaring levelling deeds, of private doubts and should come upon poor Ireland. If this be with John O'Connell, he is well out of life.

is dead, the country is called upon to ation of his honor, of his honesty, and of and, before Ireland grew drunk in infamies were great, and even after he had e life he never forgot her, and we are o state that he was the contributor to RLY REVIEW of such papers on Irish he alone could furnish.*

of Mr. O'Connell's papers appearing in the

Subject.	Number.	Page.	Vol.
and.	12.	883.	3.
tion.	13.	103.	4.
s and Emigrant Ships.	14.	430.	4.
ne.	18.	349.	5.
and in the Field.	19.	590.	5.
ure.	20.	912.	5.
and War.	21.	110.	6.
.	22.	347.	6.
	24.	814.	6.
	25.	88.	7.

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also the author of *The Repeal Dictionary*, of *Reports of the Repeal Association*, of *Recollectary Career*, and of an *Argument for Ireland*. volumes of his father's speeches. *The Argument* valuable work ; this book, with the Prize essays of General Staunton and Mr. M. J. Barry, should be to every student of Irish Political History. investigated the question of Irish Taxation O'Connell.

From the list appended in the foot note, the reader will be able to judge how fully Ireland, always Ireland, was in his thoughts. For her he gave up professional prospects and all that could make life prosperous; and as the days of his later life passed on, one can fancy him murmuring the words of his father addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1842. "Who shall repay me for the years of my buoyant youth and cheerful manhood? Who shall repay me for the lost opportunities of acquiring professional celebrity or for the wealth which such distinction would ensure? I flung away the profession—I gave its emoluments to the winds—I closed the vista of its honors and its dignities—I embraced the cause of my country! and come weal or come woe, I have made a choice at which I have never repined nor never shall repent."

It is for the Catholics of Ireland to prove their appreciation of John O'Connell's honesty, it is for them to prove that Daniel O'Connell's grand-children, the children of John O'Connell shall never want; it is for them to prove that in one case at least Ireland did not, according to her custom, forget the dead when dead who tried to serve her in politics, or to illustrate her in literature or art, whilst living. Doubtless the feeling this day displayed at Glasnevin for John O'Connell's family was all that his truest friends could desire, but the country must speak out, or that which should be a national contribution, will become a local semi-eleemosynary subscription.

May 28th, 1858.

THE FUNERAL.

(From the Special Edition of the Freeman's Journal of Wednesday Evening, June 2nd, 1858.)

"The mortal remains of this distinguished Irishman and favorite son of the Liberator, were consigned to their final resting place in Glasnevin Cemetery, on yesterday, followed by thousands of his fellow-countrymen of every rank and of every shade of political and religious belief, who respected him through life, and honoured him in death. On no occasion have we seen more uniform respect paid to the departed, than was evinced at the funeral of John O'Connell, and even those who were most opposed to him in the political strife in which for over a quarter of a century he was engaged, were lost in their praise of his honour and his virtue, as a citizen and a man. The rich and poor, the lowly and the exalted, were present in the mournful cortege to pay a tribute of respect to his memory;—and from the highest judicial functionaries, down to the humble workman and mechanic, were to be seen in the long procession that followed the

Dignitaries of the church and large numbers also there to do honour to him who was always defender of the rights of conscience and the warm admirer of liberty. Such was the anxiety of all classes of people that at the funeral, that carriages were engaged as usual, wherever they were to be had for hire ; and the difficulty was experienced yesterday and the day previous to obtain suitable conveyance for the sad occasion. From early morning, along the road extending from the city to the cemetery, was to be seen but one continuous stream of carriages and conveyances, driving in the direction of the funeral, and as the hour approached for the departure, there could not be less than three hundred carriages up in one long line on the road by which Tivoli-street is reached. Precisely at eight o'clock, the coffin conveyed in a hearse, were brought from the house, and placed within the hearse drawn by six black horses. The coffin is of solid mahogany, mounted, and has within it another of thick lead, lined with cedar shell, upholstered in white silk. On the top of the hearse was a silver shield, bearing the following

JOHN O'CONNELL, J.P., D.L.,
 DIED THIS LIFE 24TH MAY, 1858.
 AGED 47 YEARS.
 R.I.P.

In the hearse, were two mourning coaches and were occupied by Mr. Morgan O'Connell, and Captain Morgan, and by Daniel, John, and Morgan, the three sons, and Mr. Henry Ryan. The private carriage followed, and the civic state equipage of the Lord Mayor, in which his lordship was seated. Behind him came next, were occupied by relatives of the deceased, whom were Mr. Christopher O'Connell Fitzsimon, Mr. French, C. O'Connell French, D. J. O'Connell, Esq. ; Mr. J. H. Sugrue, Mr. M. G. O'Connell, Esq. and Mr. J. H. Sugrue, Esq. Amongst those who occupied carriages in the procession were—Lord Meath, Lord Gormanstown, Lord St. John, Lord Esmonde, the Right Hon. Maziere Brady, the Chief Baron, the Right Hon. Judge Ball, the Right Hon. Keogh, Mr. Justice O'Brien, John L. O'Farrell, Esq., Esq. ; Mr. J. H. Sugrue, Esq. ; Sergeant Howley, the Very Rev. Dr. O'Connell, P.P., Irishtown ; the Very Rev. Dr. Trant, Dr. Gray, T. M. Ray, J. Smith, Esq., Thomas Dwyer, H. Hughes, Q.C. ; Mr. Sergeant ; the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P. ; the Right Hon. P. V. Fitzpatrick, Edward Smithwick, J.P., Esq. ; the Rev. Dr. Spratt, Very Rev. Dr. McEvoy, P.P., William Jennings, Maynooth College ; Very Rev. Dr. M. Kelly, do. ; Lucas A. Treiston, Esq. ; John Leahy, Sir Colman O'Loughlin, T.

O'Hagan, Q.C.; T. O'Meara, B. Gibbons, F. A. Codd, J. O'Sullivan, James B. Kennedy, James Dwyer, James and Kelly, Thomas Dwyer, James Kennedy, Charles Kennedy, Sir James Murray, Christopher N. Duff, P. W. Kelly, F. C. Kelly, the Rev. P. McCabe, Robert Chambers, J.P.; Captain Knox Leet, the Rev. Edward O'Connell, St. Michan's; Rev. Mr. Cavanagh, Kingstown; F. Greene, James Nagle, Clerk of the Crown; P. O'Brien, M.I. the Rev. Mr. Harold, the Rev. Mr. Smithwick, P.P.; Michael Murphy, T. F. Burke, William Connally, Joseph Myles McDonnell, Doo Castle; John Tallon, Francis Coppinger, J.P., Monkstown; Hyacinth Cheevers, T. Carey, E. Burke, J. Bulkley, R. J. Hamilton, P.P., Blessington; H. Carmichael, M.D.; J. Dogherthy, J. Russell, Edward Smith, M. McDonnell, B. Kelly, James Eagar, J. Kelch, J. Keogh, Robert Power, P. Nolan, J. N. Farrell, P. O'Brien, M. O'Kelly, Thomas Kiernan, Dr. Kavanagh, H. Kavanagh, W. J. Dogherthy, J. Dogherthy, Edward Carragher, J. Macnamara, Cantwell, J. C. Josephs, T.C.; J. French, T.C.; P. J. Murray, Rev. Mr. Curley, P.P., Louisburgh, County Mayo; J. Lalor, Kearney, Thomas Kennedy, Rathgar; John Bergin, Major McGavin, Talbot Coale, P. Sheridan, J. Hogan, P. McNally, D. Lalor, John Burke, W. Lynch, P. Grohan, C. Cogan, J. Lambert, J. Cogan, P. McKeon, J. C. O'Beardon, J. J. O'Beardon, John Leahy, Barrister; Rev. Mr. Gaynor, — Missett, King's Dragoon Guards; Owens, B. O'Loughlen, — Fottrell, Solicitor; Michael O'Brien, Hanaper Office; William Flannigan, John Martin, North Wall; William Burke, Rev. Dr. Jennings, Maynooth; Rev. E. Scully, Rev. W. Dillon, Rev. E. Kennedy, P.P.; Rev. Dr. Flannery, B. Mullen, J. Doherty, W. Doherty, B. A. Molloy, Barrister; James Spain, Thomas Smith, Airhill, Philip Dynch, Rev. J. Harrington, All Hallows College; Carew O'Dwyer, T. McGarvey, Rev. J. Mulhall, Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, Rev. P. Segreave, Delganally; John Reilly, John McKenna, N. Y., U. S., D. Crotty, Michael Staunton, R. G.; Rev. Mr. Carr, Carmelite Convent; Peter Sweetman, P. D. Jeffers, J. C. Neligan, Mr. Scratton, Secretary of the Catholic University; Dr. Forest, J. Martin, T.C.; Hugh Keane, T.C.; E. W. O'Mahony, barrister; T. Dolan, Rev. Mr. Gilligan, T. Hayes, John Reilly, James Duffy, Doctor White, T.C.; Doctor Long, Robert Burnell, Dalkey; Dr. Kirwan, James and Patrick Whelan, Rev. Canon Pope, Rev. Dr. Woodlock, President of All Hallows College; Robert O'Brien, T.C.; Rev. Mr. Lynch, High Street Chapel; Richard Kelly, T.C.; — Armstrong, barrister; Lawless, solicitor; John Dennon, John Rafferty, Rev. Mr. Traill, M. A. O'Brennan, Rev. Mr. Farrelly, chaplain of the South Dublin Union; Stephen Curtis, barrister; Rev. Mr. Healy, Alderman Mellan, M. Archer, J. Daniel, J. J. Clarke, Rev. Canon Grimley, T. Sinnott, Governor, Grangegorman, Francis P. Dwyer, J. Darby, Anthony Kirwan, Roddy Keshan, M. O'Shaughnessy, assistant barrister, County Mayo; B. O. Pigott, James Delany, M. W. Murphy, M.D.; William Gernon, barrister; James Fallon, T.C.; Dr. Duff, P. J. Murray, barrister; Messrs. M'Swiney, Delany, and Co.; O'Brien, J.P.; — Cann, R. Reilly, Robert Johnson, barrister.

barrister; Dr. Atkinson, Alderman Mackey, J. Murphy, F. Codd, T.C.; C. M. Ormsby, Esq., barrister; Edward Fitzgerald, John Kelch, Rev. M. Cuffe, Rev. Mr. Farrell, Rev. Dr. Russell, Rev. R. D. Kane, Q.C.; Nicholas Dodd, P.L.G.; James Barrett, Charles Meara, James Kelly, Secretion Board; James Dwyer, Thomas Hayes, James Walsh, Hugh Cavanagh, Edward Fullam, — Coffey, William-square; M. MacDonogh, solicitor; Cap- tain, Fortlands, Merriion; Joseph Neale McKenna, Fitzpatrick, Kilmacud Manor, Stillorgan; Nicholas Mulvaney, Francis Murphy, J. P., Kilcairne House; Temple-street; John Rorke, jun.; A. G. Dillon, Rev. W. Fitzgerald, David Fitzgerald, solicitor; T. Hammond, Rev. James Daniel, Rev. A. Doyle, St. John-street; Rev. Mr. McDonnell, Clondalkin, M. &c.

Members of the Royal Western Yacht Club of Ire- land:—The Commodore, Robert Batt, Esq.; the Vice- commodore, Edward Stopford, Esq., LL.D.; William Cooper, Esq.; J. W. Mackey, Esq., J.P.; J. W. Mackey, Esq.; Edward Clements, Esq.; J. Chute Neligan, Esq.; Mahon, Esq.; Sutton Corkoran, Esq.; Edward William Keating Clay, Esq.; Thomas D. Keogh, Esq.; Mahon, John Harris, Esq.; Frederick Smith, Esq.; J. W. Mackey, Esq.; John Doherty, Esq.; Thomas P. Hayes, Esq.; Daniel Sullivan, Esq.; John Knight, Esq.; T. Slack, Esq.; John King Forrest, Esq., M.D.; J. W. Mackey, Esq.; Patrick Taaffe, Esq.; Thomas Pepper, Esq.; Captain Palmer, Christopher Duff, Esq.; John George R. Gunning, Esq.; and Daniel Corbet, Esq.; and others, whose names could not be ascertained, in the immense crowd on the line of procession. The procession proceeded along Mulgrave-avenue, into Kingstown, where the poor of the locality were collected, who were to receive the bounty of the deceased, and who always were the tried friend. Nearly every shop in Kingstown on the footways were fully occupied by hundreds as the procession proceeded along in the direction of Salthill. As the procession reached Monkstown, the end of it had not yet begun. The shops in Blackrock were all closed, with the exception of a few, and, as the hearse passed by, the persons on the road, seemed much affected, and paid every respect to the memory of the deceased, and many people joined the funeral, and accompanied it into Monkstown, several carriages, which had been waiting for the occasion, took up their places in the mournful cavalcade, and the procession covered nearly three miles. As it drew near to the end, the crowd began to increase, and when it arrived at Ball's Bridge, it was met by hundreds of the people—some on foot, and

others on outside cars. In every house in Pembroke-road, the windows were occupied; and, in several instances, the inmates stood in front of the hall-doors, to witness the long and solemn cortege proceeding on its way. In Upper Baggot-street, everything that could show forth the grief of the people for the loss of the deceased, and their respect for his memory, was displayed. Every shop had its shutters up, and all business was suspended. Baggot-street bridge was crowded, as was also the entire of Lower Baggot-street, up to the corner of Fitzwilliam-street, and on the hearse passing by the late residence of the illustrious father of the deceased, the people manifested deep emotion. The funeral proceeded by the west side of Merrion-square, into Westland-row, through Brunswick-street. From every quarter the people continued to pour in, and large numbers of persons placed themselves on the battlements of Carlisle-bridge, to await the arrival of the funeral. Almost every ship in the docks and the river had their flags half-mast high, out of respect for the deceased, and when the procession appeared at the head of D'Olier-street, the bridge became blocked up by the thousands who had assembled upon it, anxious to see the last of one who had been so long a prominent defender of their rights, and the chosen son of their great Liberator. The funeral passed over Carlisle-bridge in the centre of two dense masses that lined it at either side, but so great was the veneration of all for the departed, despite the crushing and inconvenience which had to be endured, the solemn silence was almost unbroken, as the sable hearse was drawn slowly on its way.

Along Sackville-street, and especially at Nelson's Pillar, where Henry-street and Earl-street open, the same manifestations of sorrow and respect which had been observed along the entire of the lengthened route were manifested. There was a large assemblage of citizens, and while the men lifted their hats, and in brief but fervent terms, expressed their tribute to the memory of the son of O'Connell, and recalled the deeds of the father in the long battle for civil and religious liberty, the female portion offered their heartfelt prayers for the eternal repose of the soul which had just passed so unexpectedly away. The entire exhibition of feeling, so deep and earnest, told in a touching and eloquent manner, that though of late years, comparatively little reference has been made to the name and services of O'Connell, yet that both are treasured fondly in the peoples' hearts, and that it required only some striking occurrence to elicit the popular devotion to the one and grateful remembrance of the other. On every side might be heard the observation that such a display far surpassed anything that the most attached friend of the O'Connell's could have anticipated or desired; and that the people had given another proof that gratitude was still a distinguishing national characteristic. The solemn cortege was constantly receiving additions on its route, and was estimated to comprise over 350 carriages.

At the Rotunda, in Cavendish-row, crossing Dorset-street, through Blessington-street, and along the road leading to the Prospect Cemetery, numbers of persons were assembled, and that the same feelings of grief and affectionate remembrance pervaded all, was evident

. At the cemetery, there was a considerable assembly of professional gentlemen, and merchants, and a vast number of people, and according as those who had accompanied the body in time it left Kingstown, and whose numbers were augmented in passing through the city, came up to the cemetery, the pressure increased, and was frequently very great, and consequent inconvenience was, however, avoided by the people, as they poured in, having been directed to pass themselves through the cemetery grounds, so as to get to the place that were still pressing forward, did so with the best feeling.

The procession was headed by the Very Rev. Monsignore Yore, preceded by acolytes and a crucifer, in soutanes, and proceeded in front of the gate to receive the body. In this procession, attired in canonicals, were Rev. Mr. O'Connell, P.P.; Very Rev. Dr. Woodlock, of St. Mary's College; Rev. Mr. Kelly, Rev. P. J. O'Sullivan, Rev. Canon Collier, Rev. Canon Lynch, Rev. Mr. John Grimley, Rev. Canon Pope, Rev. H. McGee, Rev. Mr. Lentaigue, S. J.; Rev. Thomas Leahy, of the Catholic University, and others whose names, from the pressure, we could not obtain.

For carrying the coffins into the cemetery ground, the servants of the cemetery board, to receive the remains of Mr. John O'Connell, but a band of men pressed forward, and insisted upon having, as they thought, the honour of bearing to their last resting place the body of the so well loved. The body was borne to the chapel, and service was solemnly chaunted, and from thence to the cemetery.

As it was carried along through the cemetery, the people lined the walks, and many of them might be seen offering prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased. The choir of priests chaunted the canticle of St. Luke, the *Miserere*, and the beautiful and impressive *Requiem*. The body was deposited in one of the vaults in the cemetery, from the remains of "Honest Tom Steele." The body of the beloved son, rests all that is mortal of the late Daniel O'Connell; and on this occasion, thousands of people, which was beautifully dressed with flowers, and to mark his eternal rest.

Many young gentlemen took part in the procession, were the students of the University, of which institution the eldest son of the late distinguished alumnus. These young gentlemen

were pronounced by the Very Rev. Dr. Yore.

ORATION FOR THE DECEASED.

The celebration of the funeral obsequies was a public assembly, and a large meeting was held for the purpose of raising money, on which would serve to mark the grateful sense of the patriotism and services to the country of the deceased, and, at the same time, supply

the means which are required for the education and advancement in life of a youthful and numerous family, for whom there is comparatively little provision left. The meeting was held adjoining the principal entrance of the Cemetery, and comprised some of the most influential gentlemen who had attended the funeral; but as the notification could not be made general a great number of gentlemen had previously taken their departure. In addition to the more influential persons with whom the project originated, and who were present, a vast body of the people congregated, and evinced the deepest interest in the proceedings, and the strongest desire to join in whatever might be resolved on as the most fitting mode of testifying the national feeling towards O'Connell, and at the same time, on behalf of the family of his lamented son, Mr. John O'Connell. On the motion of Mr. Carew O'Dwyer, the chair was taken by

The Right Hon. the LORD MAYOR.

Messrs. Bryan O'Loughlen and Thomas Callaghan were requested to act as secretaries to the meeting.

The Lord Mayor said.—I regret we have met on so very melancholy an occasion; but as it has pleased Divine Providence to take from amongst us one whom we have all loved and esteemed so highly (hear, hear)—one who was possessed of so many public and private virtues (hear, hear)—I have no doubt whatever but that the entire community will unite to pay a proper tribute of respect to his memory (hear.)

The Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald came forward, and said.—My Lord Mayor, a resolution has been put into my hand by Mr. O'Dwyer, and as I understand from him this is to be simply a preliminary meeting, I apprehend the less of speaking we have on this occasion the better. It is a period, I believe, of nearly eleven years since we followed the remains of the Liberator to its place within this cemetery, and the multitudinous assembly which has been present on this melancholy occasion has, at least, satisfied us that the memory of the illustrious O'Connell still lives in the grateful recollection of his countrymen (applause). We have met here to-day on a most melancholy occasion—to attend the funeral ceremony—to pay the last tribute of respect and honor to “the best beloved son” of the Liberator (hear, hear), one with whom I have had an acquaintance of a great many years, and every day of the duration of that intimacy has served the more to establish in my mind the high honor—the truthfulness and the amiability of character of John O'Connell, whom it has pleased Providence at a very early period of life—for he had only attained his 47th year—to remove not alone from us, but from the care and protection of his family (hear, hear). Every one will concur with me, I am sure, that the resolution which has been placed in my hand but faintly paints what it is intended to convey to this meeting. That resolution is as follows:—

That the melancholy event which has congregated the vast assemblage present here this day, has revived in the public mind a recollection of the transcendent services and labours of Daniel O'Connell, that rare man, who, with every opportunity afforded to him, professionally and politically, in his lengthened career, of aggrandising himself and his family, died, after a glorious public life, in the enjoyment of unequalled popularity, yet leaving to his descendants little more than the inheritance of a great reputation.

York, every one will concur with me in the word of that resolution (hear, hear); for all the fifty years, nearly, of O'Connell's political life, from the time when he first raised his voice in favour of the Act of Union to the period of his death, he devoted himself to the welfare of his country, to promote the interests of the people, to secure religious liberty and equality to us all. I am glad, that in the language of this resolution, the opportunities opened to him the highest honors of the country, nothing that he might not have acquired for himself, if he only had founded a great fortune and a noble family, but he neglected to do so in his efforts to improve Ireland (applause). One may say too, of my friend O'Connell, that during his political life he in that personal interest (hear, hear.) He thought of his own knowledge, with perfect truth, that the door had been opened to him at an early period of his life, and he had chosen to direct his efforts that way (hear, hear), and this, that when he recently accepted a command, it was only when driven to it by the narrowness of his means, and I believe if it had not been for this he would never have thought of accepting office (cries of approval). The whole of his political life his attention was directed to the interest of his country, and now that he is so suddenly unprovided for, I understand this meeting is convened suddenly with the view of devising preliminary arrangements to record substantially the feelings we entertain for him, and of testifying in the best manner possible to the memory of the Liberator (applause). I have but little speaking upon the occasion of this meeting, and I have to apologise for the observations

My friend Yore said—My Lord Mayor, I will not say long. I quite concur in the just and eloquent remarks of my friend John David Fitzgerald. I need not say to my countrymen my deep feeling for the memory of him (hear), and how I revered the character of the man who has departed from amongst us. I need not dwell on the merits of his conduct. You are all aware of them. He was a man, and you were intimately acquainted with him. His conduct that gratified me this day beyond measure, and the fact that O'Connell is yet alive in Dublin (applause.) When I hear that cheer, that I am speaking to you (hear, and applause). I am confident that throughout the land (hear, hear); and I am confident that the representatives will come forward, in the best manner possible, to testify their respect and gratitude to the Liberator, by contributing to the support of the Liberator's cause. I have great pleasure indeed, in seeing this meeting (applause).

My friend then put the resolution from the chair, and it was

Sir James Power said.—My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, I felt it was my duty to be present on this melancholy occasion, and to take part in the proceedings of to-day. I beg to propose this resolution:—

Resolved, that John O'Connell, whose obsequies we have attended this day, to whom our Liberator, his father, was tenderly attached, and of whose merits and devotion to his country so many sincere evidences have been given, has passed away, leaving a young and numerous family with means too slender and inadequate for the future support of their position in life.

Sergeant Deasy, Q.C., said.—My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, in seconding the resolution that has been proposed by my friend, Sir James Power, I cannot avoid expressing my deep regret for the loss of him whose obsequies we have attended this day. I feel the more peculiarly called on to do so, because I have been intimately associated with him in the outset of his career, which I had hoped would be—as it promised to have been—both long and prosperous. Students of the same college—aspirants to the same profession—we were brought into intimate and close relationship with each other, and I was able at that early period to appreciate those qualities of head and heart, which won for him while living, such universal regard, and to which such abundant testimony has been borne by the almost unprecedented assemblage which has followed his remains to their last resting place within this Cemetery. The last sad duties to the dead have been discharged to-day; but there still remains our duty to the living—and that duty, my Lord, we commence the fulfilment of by assembling here to-day (hear, hear). We cannot hope to fill the blank which has been created by his sudden departure from this life. We cannot supply the place of the husband—the father—the friend; but we can make some attempt to compensate for the pecuniary loss which has been inflicted on them by their sudden and cruel bereavement (hear, hear). And, Sir, it is not merely a personal claim to sympathy, which we are met here to give expression to. There are strong public grounds for appeal to the people of Ireland at large, to make the compensation which we seek (hear, hear). I have mentioned that my lamented friend and I were at one time aspirants to the same profession, and I can state, that if he devoted himself to that profession, there is scarcely one here who would have filled a higher position in it (applause). Not merely his name, but his great abilities, his untiring industry, his grasp of mind, his devotion to business, would, if he had persevered in devoting himself to the pursuit of that profession, have won for him as high a rank as any one who hears me now. But, my Lord Mayor, he thought that there were higher than mere personal considerations to be regarded—he thought there was something else to be worked for in life besides personal aggrandisement, and that regarding the family from which he was sprung, there was a duty imposed upon him in reference to his country—and he discharged that duty, sacrificing all personal considerations, and giving up all the prospects of advancement, which he might fairly have looked forward to, and which certainly would have been realised. His motto was—"through good or ill be Ireland's still;" and he acted up to that motto to the last day of his existence (applause).—Some may differ as to the policy of the

public life, but none can entertain any difference of motives which actuated him (hear). None can—none doubt his zeal—none can dispute the industry with which, from his first entrance under any circumstances, he was forced to quit it, he believed to be the cause of Ireland; and to show that she appreciates his services I do much mistake the nature of my country—wanting in that quality in which Irishmen are, and in which I trust they never will be deficient, and a sense of the duty they owe to the living who have done so much for them, and a sense of gratitude to the dead, if they respond to the appeal made here this day,

then put the resolution which was adopted. Mr. Brady proposed the next resolution as follows:—

Resolved, that the National Education Board, to whose material and intellectual development the labours of O'Connell, to manifest its gratitude to him, by a resolve to raise, by public subscription, a fund to any means already existing for the education of the children of John O'Connell.

Mr. Brady said, which had brought them together, and forced upon their minds a recollection of which the father of the man whose remains lie in the grave, rendered to his country (hear). The services the greatest of all was the establishing of religious liberty amongst all classes and creeds, and for no other, all Irishmen owed a deep debt of gratitude to O'Connell, which they would but feebly attempt to discharge by trying to provide for the children of his favorite country, left comparatively unprovided for. He considered it necessary for him (Mr. Brady) to add another resolution (hear, hear).

Mr. Brady said he hoped it would be permitted to him, to say that he, who served in the same ranks with John O'Connell, and who was actuated with his father, to express on the present occasion his concurrence in the objects of the meeting (hear, hear). He said that this appeal—he thought he might say, that this was the last appeal that would ever be made away—the last appeal that would ever be made on behalf of the family, to that country which they so nobly loved (hear, hear). It was to him most gratifying that such a resolution should have been proposed by a Protestant, and that it should be proposed by a man of the rank and worth of his honorable friend, who had done so much for the country, and it was fit that the sentiments to which he was so attached should be expressed with respect to the achievement of the liberty of which the country could find response in that assembly, and in which the Irishmen; for it was a remarkable fact, that in no other assembly than that of O'Connell's protracted career, during which he had been so long in the public assemblies than any other individual ever known, and in which it was impossible to find in the history of the country one trace of intolerance—one word that did

not breathe the largest toleration, Christian charity, and respect for the opinions, on all religious subjects, of those who entirely differed from him (hear, hear). They needed no sermons, standing where they were, to remind them of their mortality, but it was a sad and remarkable precedent that no later than that day fortnight the man whom they had now laid in the earth, accompanied one of the best and purest of our fellow-citizens to select a grave for a beloved child, and he was now lying there himself. But let the prayers of his countrymen ascend with his pure spirit to plead to God for his salvation; and let his countrymen, of all classes, go to his grave and learn from his mild and tolerant character the course which all Irishmen should pursue (applause). He (Mr. O'Dwyer) entirely concurred in the resolution, and he felt extremely obliged for the patience with which the meeting had listened to the expression by him of sentiments which were too warmly felt to be calmly expressed (applause). Mr. O'Dwyer concluded by seconding the resolution.

The Lord Mayor then put the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Patrick O'Brien, M.P., said—My Lord Mayor, in coming forward to move the resolution which I hold in my hand, I can alone attribute the circumstances of my being intrusted with it, to the fact that I am one who owes the position that I at present occupy to the exertions of the man whose son we have deposited in this cemetery (hear, hear). It was, perhaps, from a feeling of that character that I have been put forward here to do what I believe is the duty of every man in Ireland—to express my gratitude on this occasion for the benefits which we have all received, and, I trust, will all acknowledge (hear, hear). The statements made by the previous speakers renders it unnecessary for me to eulogise the man whose remains we have just deposited in their last resting place; but I can testify to this, if it were necessary, but it is not necessary, for the large numbers that have attended here to-day, irrespective of religious or political opinions, testify fully that we have interred to-day, not only the patriot, but that we have also interred the man of private worth and good feeling, who had identified himself not alone with Catholics, but with every man who could appreciate kindly feeling, thorough sentiment, and the best possible social disposition. After what has been already said, I will content myself with moving the resolution:—

That a subscription be accordingly commenced with this object, and that Sir James Power, Bart., and Denis Moylan, Esq., Alderman, be the treasurers of this fund, and that a Committee, with power to add to their numbers, be appointed to take charge of the sum to be raised, and to vest it in such a manner as shall insure its proper application, and carry out the object of this meeting; and that the Committee be requested to open communications with the various localities in Ireland and elsewhere, likely to assist, so as to produce a general concurrence in this national design.

Sir E. M'Donnell briefly seconded the resolution.

Mr. T. M. Ray said—My Lord Mayor, may I be permitted the melancholy gratification of supporting the resolution and observing that this spontaneous outburst of sympathy for my ever dear, departed friend, John O'Connell, is most creditable to the Irish people. I had the high honour to be his associate in his triumphs and his trials. I

now that every impulse of his kind heart beat for his beloved country (cheers). After what has been said, by the gentlemen who preceded me, it seems to me to add more (hear).

He then put from the chair and passed.

Mr. McKenna, Esq. (Kilkenny), said a resolution had been proposed which he begged leave to move, and in doing so he esteemed it a high honor to be permitted to take the proceedings. He was sure they were all, as Irishmen, in the memory of the great man who had rendered so much to his country; and he felt it was a duty on his part to take part in the proceedings, and afterwards to promote the object in view (hear). He had to say that the list which he held in his hand con-

cerning the resolution was put he would read the list proposed to be appointed under the resolution. The list is:—

Of the foregoing resolutions:—The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor; the Rev. Monsignore Yore, P.P., V.G.; Right Hon. Mr. Bart.; Mr. Sergeant Howley; Henry George Smithwick, Esq., J.P.; Francis William Brady, Esq.; A. Carew O'Dwyer, Esq.; John H. Talbot, Esq.; P. V. Fitzpatrick, Esq.; Charles Bianconi Esq.; James Kennedy, Esq.; Right Worshipful the Mayor of Waterford; the Right Hon. Mr. McKenna; the Mayor of Wexford; the Mayor of Drogheda; Mr. Loughlin, Bart., Q.C.; Edward Clements, Esq.; John N. Farrell, Esq.; John Leahy, Esq.; C. N. O'Sullivan, Esq., Barrister; J. Kennedy, Esq.; and

After he had finished the reading of the list, said—If any gentleman wishes to have his name added to the Committee, he will have it moved and seconded. After a short pause he moved that Dr. Gray's name be added to the

He then expressed his hope that the Lord Mayor and the meeting would have acted on the suggestion of Mr. O'Dwyer to add his name to the Committee. However, regarding the objects of the meeting, he wished to say that he would not be guilty of that indelicacy as to say that the resolution would not be put.

He did not wish to convey that Dr. Gray had been omitted from his name. It was suggested to him that he should say to the gentlemen around him.

He then adopted.

He then announced that the subscription list was being prepared and he would be happy to hear the names of gentlemen who wished to contribute.

Mr. Fitzgerald—I beg my name to be put down

He then proceeded to announce the subscriptions:—Sir

James Power desires his name to be put down for 50*l.* (loud cheers); the Right Hon. Judge O'Brien gives 50*l.* (cheers). I am desired to put down the names of Mr. Charles Kennedy for £10.; Mrs. Kennedy, 10*l.*; Mr. J. Kennedy, 10*l.*; Mr. C. Kennedy, 10*l.*; and Mr. E. Kennedy, 10*l.*, making in all 50*l.*, (loud cheers); Mr. H. Tabot gives 20*l.* (cheers); the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor gives 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. Richard Kelly, T.C., gives 10*l.*; Mr. E. Smithwick subscribes 10*l.*, and Mrs. Smithwick also subscribes 10*l.* (applause); Mr. W. F. Brady subscribes 10*l.* (cheers); the Right Hon. Judge Keogh, subscribes 20*l.* (cheers); Sergeant Deasy gives 20*l.* (cheers); Mr. J. Leahy gives 20*l.* (cheers); Mr. Christopher Duff subscribes 20*l.*; Mr. W. J. O'Doherty gives 20*l.* (cheers); and Mr. J. J. O'Doherty, 20*l.* (cheers); Alderman Moylan gives 10*l.* (cheers); Doctor Corrigan subscribes 20*l.* (cheers); Mr. M. B. Mullen gives 20*l.*; Mr. E. and Mr. G. W. Fitzgerald give 10*l.* (cheers). I have the satisfaction to announce a subscription of 20*l.* from the late, and, I hope, the future, Lord Chancellor, (cheers); Mr. Henry G. Byrne gives 10*l.*; Mr. Charles Meara subscribes 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. P. J. Murray subscribes 20*l.* (loud cheers); Mr. J. Barrett gives 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. J. Spain, of Abbey-street, 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. R. A. Molloy, 10*l.* (cheers); Mr. P. V. Fitzpatrick, 10*l.* (cheers); David and Thomas Fitzgerald, Esqrs., 10*l.* (cheers).

Dr. Gray—My Lord Mayor, though I declined acting on the invitation of the secretary, to suggest that my own name should be added to the list of the committee, now that you are preparing a different list, I beg leave, as one of the few surviving fellow-prisoners of John O'Connell and his father, to have my name added to the subscription list for 50*l.* (loud cheers).

Mr. O'Dwyer announced the following other subscriptions:—Mr. Philip Lynch, 5*l.*; Mr. Michael O'Shaughnessy, 5*l.*; Mr. J. S. Mulvany, 5*l.*; Mr. Thadeus Murphy, 5*l.*; Mr. Thomas Smith, Air Hill, 5*l.*; Mr. P. Gogarty, 5*l.* (cheers); Mr. J. Dillon, 3*l.* (cheers); Messrs. J. Russell, and J. O'Hanlon, 1*l.* each; the Right Hon. Sir T. Esmond, 10*l.* Other Subscriptions were announced, and the whole amounted to nearly 1,000*l.*

On the motion of Mr. O'Dwyer, the Lord Mayor vacated the chair, which was then assumed by Sir James Power.

Mr. O'Dwyer said, the citizens of Dublin had many excellent Lord Mayors, but he believed the civic presidential chair was never more worthily filled, than by its present occupant (hear). He was a gentleman who was ready on all occasions to maintain the honour and dignity of his high office, besides being ever foremost in promoting works of public utility. For all these reasons, he (Mr. O'Dwyer) begged to move that the special thanks of the meeting be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for his dignified and proper conduct in the chair that day, and on all other occasions, (applause).

Mr. C. Kennedy said, he felt great pleasure in bearing his humble testimony to the worth of the Lord Mayor, and expressing his entire concurrence in all that had been said of his Lordship. The Lord Mayor had always proved his thorough identification with the interests of the city—he was a true patriot; and what had been so well said of him was but the simple truth. He begged to second the resolution (applause).

expressed the gratification he felt in submitting the resolution to the meeting. He was sure it would be carried. He then put the resolution, and it was carried unanimously. The meeting then terminated.

DESCRIPTION FOR THE FAMILY OF LATE JOHN O'CONNELL.

interment of the remains of the late John O'Connell, at Glasnevin Cemetery, on the 28th instant.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin in the Chair.

Resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. That Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P., and seconded by the Hon. J. D. V.G.

an event which has brought together the vast assemblage of the public mind a recollection of the labours of DANIEL O'CONNELL, that man of rare opportunity afforded to him professionally and political career of aggrandizing himself and his family, died, in the enjoyment of unequalled popularity, yet leaving little more than the inheritance of a great reputation.

2. That Mr. Power, Bart.; seconded by Mr. Seargeant Deasy,

whose obsequies we have attended this day—to whom so deeply attached, and of whose merits and devotion to his country, the evidences have been given—has passed away, leaving numerous family with means too slender and inadequate for their position in life.

3. That Mr. Brady, Esq., seconded by Carew O'Dwyer, Esq.: country, to whose material and intellectual development the genius and labours of O'Connell, to manifest its name, by a resolve to raise, by public subscription, respectfully to any means already existing for the education of the family of John O'Connell.

4. That Mr. O'Brien, Esq., M.P.; seconded by Sir Edward

be accordingly opened with this object, and that Sir Denis Moylan, Esq., Alderman, be the Treasurers of a Committee, with power to add to their numbers, be in charge of the sum to be raised, and to vest it in such a manner as its proper application and carry out the object of this Committee be requested to open a communication with the Government of Ireland and elsewhere likely to assist, so as to produce the national design.

5. That Mr. Smithwick, Esq., and seconded by P. V. Fitzpatrick,

gentlemen be now named as members of Committee :

The Mayor, his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron, the Right Hon. Justice O'Brien, Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, D.D. V.G., the Mayor of Cork, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Waterford, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Clonmel, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Wexford, the Mayor of Kilkenny, the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Drogheda, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., D.L.

the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P., Viscount Gormanstown, the Hon. Thomas Preston, Sir James Power, Bart., D.L., Sir C. O'Loughlen, Bart., Sir Timothy O'Brien, Bart., M.P., Sergeant Deasy, M.P., Patrick O'Brien, Esq., M.P., Sergeant Howley, Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., Henry G. Hughes, Esq., Q.C., Francis Brady, Esq., Carew O'Dwyer, Esq., Sir E. M'Donnel, James Martin, Esq., John D'Arcy, Esq., Michael O'Shaughnessy, Esq., Doctor Nugent, Alderman Moylan, Alderman Hackett, J.P., Clonmel, Matthew Darcey, Esq., Edmund Smithwick, Esq., John H. Talbot, Esq., Michael B. Mullins, Esq., P. J. Murray, Esq., W. J. Doherty, Esq., Robert Johnston, Esq., Edward Clements, Esq., Thaddeus W. Murphy, Esq., Kennedy, Esq., P. V. Fitzpatrick, Esq., Walter Sweetman, Esq., Christopher N. Duff, Esq., John Leahy, Esq., D.L., Richard Kelly, Esq., T.C., Charles Bianconi, Esq., J.P., Patrick Nolan, Esq., J. N. Farrell, Esq., J.P., J. P. Barrett, Esq., J.P., C. Meara, Esq., C. Sugrue, Esq., J.P., Joseph Burke, Esq., Charles R. Barry, Esq., George W. Fitzgerald, Esq., Charles Bianconi junior.

With power to add to their number.

The following sums were at once subscribed :—

The Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M.P., 50*l.*; Sir James Power, Bart., D.L., 50*l.*; the Honourable Justice O'Brien, 50*l.*; Charles Kennedy, Esq., 50*l.*; Mrs. C. Kennedy, James Kennedy, C. Kennedy, junior, P. Kennedy, 50*l.*; Dr. Gray, 50*l.*; John Darcey and Son, Anchor Brewery, 50*l.*; Charles Bianconi, Esq., J.P., 50*l.*; John Nolan Farrell, Esq., J.P., 25*l.*; the Very Rev. Monsignor Yore, D.D. V.G., 20*l.*; the Right Honourable Maziere Bradstreet, 20*l.*; the Right Honourable Justice Keogh, 20*l.*; the Right Hon. Sir Esmonde, Bart., D.L., 20*l.*; Sergeant Deasy, Q.C. M.P., 20*l.*; Sir Edward M'Donnel, 20*l.*; Robert Johnston, Esq., 20*l.*; Michael B. Mullins, Esq., 20*l.*; John H. Talbot, Esq., D.L., 20*l.*; Dr. Nugent, 20*l.*; E. Smithwick, Esq., 20*l.*; Mrs. E. Smithwick, 20*l.*; John Leahy, Esq., J.P., 20*l.*; W. J. O'Doherty, Esq., 20*l.*; Patrick J. Murray, Esq., 20*l.*; Patrick V. Fitzpatrick, Esq., 10*l.*; the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, 10*l.*; Charles Kelly, Esq., Q.C., 10*l.*; Francis W. Brady, Esq., 10*l.*; Richard Kelly, Esq., T.C., 10*l.*; James Barrett, Esq., J.P., 10*l.*; Bryan A. Molloy, Esq., 10*l.*; Edward and George W. Fitzgerald, Esq., 10*l.*; J. Spain, Esq., 10*l.*; Christopher Duff, Esq., 10*l.*; Alderman Moylan, J.P., 10*l.*; John O'Doherty, Esq., 10*l.*; Dr. Corrigan, 10*l.*; Henry G. Byrne, Esq., 10*l.*; Charles Meara, Esq., 10*l.*; David and Thomas Fitzgerald, Esqrs., 10*l.*; Charles Bianconi, junior, 10*l.*; Henry Hodgins, Esq., 10*l.*; Miss Power, Carin's House, Dalkey, per her brother, Sir J. Power, Bart., 10*l.*; Michael O'Shaughnessy, Esq., 5*l.*; Daniel Ryan Kane, Q.C., 5*l.*; Edward Maguire, Esq., J.P., 5*l.*; Francis M'Donnel, Esq., J.P., 5*l.*; Michael O'Loughlen, Esq., 5*l.*; J. F. Mulvaney, Esq., 5*l.*; Thomas Smyth, Esq., 5*l.*; Thaddeus Murphy, Esq., 5*l.*; John Dillon, Esq., 3*l.*; Michael J. Barry, Esq., 3*l.*; Thomas M'Mahon Esq., Registry of Deeds Office, 3*l.*; P. Gogarty, Esq., 1*l.*; J. Russell, Esq., 1*l.*; J. O'Mahon, Esq., 1*l.*; Patrick J. Kearney, J.P., Miltown House, Clonmellon, 100*l.*; William H. F. Coghlan, M.P., 25*l.*; Master Murphy, 25*l.*; Sergeant Howley, 20*l.*; James Perry, D.L., 20*l.*; David Mahony, Esq., 20*l.*; Master Flanagan, 10*l.*; Thomas Laphen Kelly, Esq., 10*l.*; James Martin, Esq., 10*l.*; O'Neal Segrave, D.L., 10*l.*; Henry Smith, Esq., 10*l.*; J. Matson, Esq., Upper Sherrard-street, per P. V. Fitzpatrick, 10*l.*; Rev. A. Costigan, P.P., Lusk, per do. 5*l.*; Mrs. Margaret Higgin, 5*l.*; Jeremiah Dunne, Esq., J.P., 5*l.*; Joseph Burke, Esq., 5*l.*; John M'Gauran, Esq., Westland row, 3*l.*; William Gernon, Esq., 2*l.*; Timothy Greene, Esq., 1*l.*; Francis Coppinger, Esq., J.P., Monkstown Castle, 20*l.*; David Mahony, Esq., 20*l.*; Nicholas Coppinger, Esq., 10*l.*; Joseph Missett, Esq., Essex-quay, 5*l.*; Joseph W. Coppinger, Esq., 3*l.*; Robert O'Leary, Esq., 1*l.*; James P. Tyrrell, Esq., 1*l.*; Gerald Bellew, Esq., 1*l.* Total, £1246 *ds.* 0*d.*

The Lord Mayor having left the chair, and Sir James Power having been called thereto, it was moved by Carew O'Dwyer, Esq., and seconded by James Kennedy, Esq.:

grateful thanks of this Meeting be given to efficient and dignified manner in which, on his Lordship has discharged his duties.

MS POWER, Bart., Chairman.

AN O'LOGHLEN, } Hon. Secs.
MAS F. CALLAGHAN, }

to be addressed to the O'Connell Committee, Dublin, and Subscriptions to be lodged to the Power, Bart., and Denis Moylan, Esq., Treasurers, Cork-hill, Dublin.

NAL SUBSCRIPTION COMMITTEE.

Daily Freeman of Wednesday.)

the committee was held yesterday at their meeting.

LORD MAYOR in the chair.

Power, Bart. ; Sergeant Howley, Alderman Brady, Carew O'Dwyer, J.P. ; John Leahy, P. V. Fitzpatrick, Richard Kelly, T.O. ; John M'Gauran, Charles Meara, Thomas F. O'Loughlen, Esqrs.

James Perry, D.L. ; Wm. H. Cogan, M.P. ; O'Neal Segrave, D.L. ; Alderman Hackett,

donal subscriptions were announced :—

Stown House, 100l ; Charles Bianconi, J. P., 50l ; 25l ; Master Murphy, 25l ; David Mahony, Esq., 10l ; James Perry, D. L., 20l ; Henry Hodgins, 10l ; Master Flanagan, 10l ; Thomas L. Kelly, 10l ; James Segrave, D. L., 10l ; Miss Power, 10l ; Henry Smith, 10l ; P. V. Fitzpatrick, 10l ; Rev. A. Herrard-street, per P. V. Fitzpatrick, 5l ; Joseph Burke, per do., 5l ; Mrs. Margaret Higgs, 5l ; Timothy Westland-row, 5l ; Wm. Gernon, 2l ; Timothy

ed the total subscriptions, including those previously, 185l. 5s.

men were added to the committee :—Joseph Burke, M. P. ; Wm. Gernon, Esq. ; Jeremiah Dunne, J. P. ; giving the clergy, the gentry, the professional and mercantile to give not only their individual support, but their furthering the national designs of the committee was to be extensively circulated.

that the treasurers be authorized so to invest The O'Connell's Stock, according as the balance in bank may, from 5000l.

ed on meeting daily at two o'clock, at their rooms, 54, subscriptions will be received.

has been received :—

Connell's favourite son is no more ! Will Wexford, as Connell and his principles, lead once more in showing Connell left poor John to the protection of Ireland. If

our county consider it a duty to raise a pecuniary tribute for his large please put down my name for twenty pounds.—Your's truly,

“JOHN H. TALBOT,

“One of O'Connell's oldest supporters.

“Ballytrent, 26th May, 1858.”

The following letter, addressed to the Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald been received from his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen :—

“Tara, May 28, 1858.”

MY DEAR MR. FITZGERALD—I shall feel happy to co-operate in my power in carrying out your views to make a provision for Mr. O'Connell's family. If I was in Dublin I would assist at the meeting. I was not able to be present, I beg to wish you every success, and to assure you that I shall do everything in my power to promote the interests of so deserving a family.—Believe me to be, Sir, &c.,

“+ PAUL CULLEN

“Right Hon. J. D. Fitzgerald, M. P.”

June 16th, 1858.

Since John O'Connell was laid in his grave, just nine days ago, more than £2,300 have been subscribed by men of all classes and religions, because they believed of O'Connell, as Sydney Smith believed of Henry Grattan, “He thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free; and in that straight line he went on, without one side look, without one yea or nay thought, without one motive in his heart which he had not have laid open to the view of God and man. He is gone!—but there is not a single day of his honest life which every good Irishman would not be more proud of than the whole political existence of his countrymen's annual deserters and betrayers of their native land.” We thank God that one Irishman is thought of by his fellow countrymen.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

XXX.—JULY, 1858.

LAST OF THE REGENERATORS.

*Contemporains Illustres ; George Sand, Honore
par un Homme de Rien, (M. Lou  nie.)*

*by : George Sand, Honore de Balzac, Eu-
genie Wey, Louis Veron, Gustave Planche ;
Mirecourt, Paris, 1856.*

... who finds it a difficult matter to keep
his balance account at a low figure, ob-
... absorbed in the perusal of '*the Initials*,'
... ties for the day are discharged in a manner
... In the usual evening *causerie* to which
... elligence contribute so pleasant a zest, he
... rested listener ; and judges from her dis-
... her mind is between the marbled covers
... side table. He sees her cast a longing
... thising volume as she retires to carry out
... ns, and he is moved to try the quality of
... e Egyptian Hachis, affects the faculties
... species of refined inebriation, and makes
... animents of common life appear like a
... tograph beside a drawing over which a
... light and shade, and the contrast and
... ring, have spread their charms. He takes
... sheer curiosity, and is soon enjoying the
... he Bavarian Highlands, conversing with
... nd enjoying the echoing of their *jodels*
... is presently domesticated in the *Rosen-*
... dering whether the well intentioned but
... z and the sincere, hasty-tempered *Hilde-*
... t the close of the third volume. He has
... t of a tender and interesting conversation

between them, but some misconception or some interference of those around, drives away the welcome chance, and everything is immediately in the wrangling category, and he claims against the silly impressionable *Crescent* or the coquettish Mrs. State-Physician *Berger* that will not let them unfetter their thoughts to each other in peace and quietness.

A pleasant opening occurs. The old people have gone on a visit, and the younger folk have the house to themselves under the mock tutelage of an indulgent duenna; and to improve the occasion by resorting to the kitchen and preparing a little feast, *Hamilton* reading in recitativo from a cookery book, while the ladies superintend the various processes described. Delightful day!—delightful evening, preparing for the masquerade for visiting which by the way had got no sanction. Alas! there is a rival in the case, cousin of *Hildegarde*. A mask is observed to watch their movements; she is separated from her sister, lover, friends. *Hamilton* is searching for her, wild with terror and self accusation, when Pater Familias's candle expires, and he closes a three hours study, during which he had got more than one uncomplimentary hint from an adjoining room, concerning the very unusual liberty he is taking.

Passing over his uncomfortable first half hour after taking possession of his pillow, we find him when breakfast is over making a hypocritical apology to *Miss Adelaide* for taking the second and third volumes to his office, as he has correspondents in *Innsbruck* and *Saltzburg*, and wishes to see what is said in the work concerning those places and the surrounding districts. He has to answer a letter just arrived from *Leibnizburgh*,—but *Hildegarde's* father is seized with the cholera, and common humanity will not suffer him to quit his bed-side to answer a mere business despatch. The hero is watched through a fever by *Hildegarde*, his long tresses being cut off of course. She is observed afterwards to wear a bracelet of dark auburn hair, and while the attention of the family is engaged in guessing whose chevelure matches it in hue,—our merchant is requested by a clerk to look over an account into which some error has crept. So he will, but let us first be sure if *Hildegarde* has slyly stolen some of the sick man's brown hair, and therefrom fashioned her precious talisman.

It is now after two o'clock, and bank accounts and various directions given as to

oods, while he would give a great deal for
 accompany the lovers in their journey from
 ce, and afterwards down the Rhine, sitting
 the deck-awning, listening to their dis-
 notice of the "castled crags" as they are
 tful voyage. How uninteresting appear
 d the ledgers beside the fever-exciting little
 he approach of visitors on business! At
 s interval, truth and constancy are rewarded,
 ures wakes out of a restless dream, finds a
 n in thoughts and feelings, and wonders
 him forcible enough to cut off three hours
 , and cause him to neglect his affairs to a
 xtent.

ndoubtedly worthy of a niche near *Belinda*
Ivor, and Miss Austen's *Emma*; and per-
 o edition is published, he will purchase it,
 etly, and a little at a time, for the beautiful
 ery, and the liveliness of the domestic pic-
 im opening a new novel again for the next
 when he wants to see if it is fit for his daughter's
 a journey, or when taking a day's rest in the
 red out with dull accounts, or &c. &c.
 d the *Norelo-mania* in its least unhealthy form,
 one of the liveliest, and purest, and most
 tales; but let us make a not very unlikely
 position, that some ladies who are heads of
 s who aspire to be such, generally receive
 hree volumes of the literature called light,
 -four hours, and replace them by three others
 , without in many cases enquiring whether
 e infidel, socialist, or anti-matrimonial views,
 perused. Were we personally to propound
 dram-drinkers whether they find it consistent
 their Creator and their families to spend
 hours of the twenty-four in such an un-
 ting occupation, we fear that we should
 ous answer, or be shewn to the door by John
 we are convinced that the query should be
 this general and inoffensive mode through the
 arterly.

M. W. Reynolds and Co. prepare their poi-

sonous weekly potions for the wearied and ignorant tradesman and labourer, may success wait on the issuers of *Chamber Journal*, of *Household Words*, and of the *Lamp*, who do they can to substitute for the villanous and intoxicating beverage, a healthy and refreshing draught for the mental palate; those who would otherwise pass their period of relaxation in the foul atmosphere of the tap-room or the cassino. Has that community where a lively spirit of christian faith and piety is found at the hearths of the working class, and where the ever open doors of the churches, and the devotional exercises within, arrest wandering feet, and afford occupation and development to the pious affections of the mass of the people during their time of relaxation from severe labour. Useful and harmless reading is good; so are pleasure grounds for walking or other exercises; so are instructive exhibitions and lectures; but let a disposition to embrace the good and reject the bad be infused through a blessing on zealous christian teaching, and the face of society will be renewed.

We have more than once protested against the feuilleton with its thrilling or horrible incidents of daily occurrence, and its nine combinations. Mirecourt, though a determined Anti-Sueite and Anti-Janinite, does not disturb himself or his readers by dwelling on the ill effects of the system as much as we might expect from his principles. He ascribes the daily recurrence of the startling vision or, the "death struggle on the rocky ledge," to Francis Wey. Those who have seen the gentleman's sketches of English society, described from personal observations, and with only a moderate use of French spectacles, will be surprised at this circumstance; but he has long given up the "Raw-head-and-bloody-bones" line, and employed his talents on useful and agreeable subjects.

Francis Wey was born at Besançon, 12th August, 1811; he received his education (such as it was) at the college of Poligny, a picturesque little city of the Jura. His tutor was

"A young priest who was so annoyed at not being a colonel of cavalry, that he often shut his eyes on his real profession. He performed his priestly functions in Wellington boots, and rode like a centaur. He occasionally led his pupils up among the hills to enjoy the life of a camp. They were preceded by a band, and the professor rode by his troop like a brigadier, each soldier pupil having a moustache marked out on his warlike lip. With warm heart, and kindly but eccentric disposition, the Abbé Reffay de Sulignan professed profound contempt for classic studies, and in the matter of poetical

to Racine senior and Racine junior to go

conducted his pupils up a sombre defile, till they
the Alps and Mont Blanc. All was calculated
moment when the rays of the early morning
vapours arising from the lakes. They threw
their knees, the morning prayers were repeat-
ed professor entertained them with an appro-

arrival of the inspectors was announced, the
classes, reminded his pupils of all his efforts
and insisted in return on two or three weeks of
the honor of the school. The gratitude of the
sunders.

years of this species of education, our student
at an end, for he could rob the eagle's nest,
in, empty a bottle at one breath, and build a
light mason."

to the paternal waste-books or legers, and
tal, where he acquires a taste for close
lian opera; but even at twenty years of
of literature as a profession.

composition among the lost traditions of the
the noble employments of a vanished race, he
with past literature. He had never heard of
sidered Charles Nodier as a State-Councillor.
ignorance, he took to writing at last, as trees
flowers when the sun flings his rays on them,
scend."

literary attempt to *Achille Ricourt*, the
whom he finds with his hair dressed a-la-
lan's casquet settled jauntily thereon, a
girding his body, and a host of young
ourt.

at; what is your business with me?" demand-
d abashed to find himself all at once in what
erati of the middle ages. It came out that a
the motive of the visit. Mécenas settled the
ty stool, took the manuscript, began to read
, and the mystification commenced. Poor
and every one cast his shaft at the victim in
rant eulogium. One of the great men in par-
face redolent of fat and fun, tormented him
e.

rt, "does not this savour marvellously of
ny friend: Ah! much worse than Balzac."
accent," said he to Wey; "you should be

from Besançon. Do you know Charles Fourier? "His Grand-mother and one of my aunts were cousins," answered our hero with the most unspeakable candor, and Janin began to recite,

"*Monsieur, Je suis bâtard de votre apothicaire!*"

Francis was about taking the road in his hand, when he was stopped by these words of Ricourt. "Your machine is execrable, and we must lose a night's rest to put it straight on its limbs. No matter, it shall appear;" and two days after, the *machine* appeared, without the alteration of a single word."

For two years he led a life of privation, studying and writing in bed, to save firewood, and seldom venturing abroad for fear of "meeting his appetite in the street." At last, he procured a post in the department of the archives, for which he was eminently qualified. He paid his respects in due course to Nodier, at the library of the Arsenal. We refer to our paper on *Les Memoires de Alex. Dumas*, IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 10, for a picture of an evening re-union with the author of *La Fée aux Miettes*.

Victor Hugo was a constant frequenter of these evening parties. He was at this time young, and blessed with a good appetite. The first time he dined there, he so distinguished himself at his knife and fork, that *Madame Nodier* could not help complimenting him on his prowess. "Oh! Madam," said he, "I was a little shy to-day, but when I come to feel more at ease, I will be found much worthier of your encomiums."

"At the Arsenal they chatted—they read original poems—they danced and sung to the piano. But whether they were under the influence of music, or in the quadrille, or at play, or unreservedly talking scandal, as soon as Nodier approached a group and took the word, all was interrupted. Every one gathered round the story-teller and profound silence fell on the group. Every one held his breath, in order to lose nothing of the exquisite harmony of the discourse; and hours glided by without notice, till a warming pan, attached at one end to a servant maid, traversed the salon, and *Madame Nodier*, armed with a chamber candlestick, was heard pronouncing with domestic authority, 'Come, Titi; your bed is warmed; the conclusion on next Sunday.'

Sarcastic but docile, Titi arose, cast his eyes round on the circle of listeners, spoke some cordial words, gave his limp and lean hand to every one within reach, and disappeared."

* This great pontiff of the Phalansterians, was a native of Franche Comte, as well as Nodier and Wey.

urrier, to which we directed our readers in
r, having founded the *Phalange* under the
Considerant, Wey and Raymond Brucker
; but our hero, being a Christian at heart,
the *Phalansterians* by some of his grave

ciated that when the system would be well
ndred persons should assemble in a large
who could dress the finest omelette; the
e being thenceforward to enjoy the style and
d *Omelettier*.

g of a very compassionate disposition, affected
astric labours of the poor examiner, who would
o, to swallow five hundred mouthfuls of omelette,
n an impartial judgment. He calculated how
he would be forced to eat, and made enquiries as
f the residue, and the number of hens put in

g fenilletons numberless, some critic insinua-
understand French grammatical composition.
was that he ceased to write, studied some
authority of the established grammars, and
t his *Remarques sur la langue française*,
composition littéraire.

red a wonderful work for research into the
ius of the language from the time of the
orks to the present, and for the soundness
writer's views.

resented as the reverse of Dumas and Janin,
and modesty are in question; Gerard de
that at his death his skin would furnish
e academicians.

Anglais chez eux he wrote a descriptive
society and manners in the days of Hogarth.
ade, in our former article on this subject, to
n which George Sand welcomed her biography
Mirecourt. Before taking up his brochure
l. de Loménie (*Un Homme de Rien*) for a
relative to this too celebrated writer. They
e *Galerie des Contemporains Illustres*, 1842.
e and movement, he exceeds our biographer
olidity of judgment, and freedom from preja-

dice. We do not warrant the literal truth of his introduction. He says he was under the influence of nightmare, induced by solicitude concerning his coming article, when he was suddenly aroused from his uneasy condition by having a note to the following effect thrust into his hand :—

“Madame Dudevant requests Mr. . . . to call on her concerning a small command which she wishes to entrust to him.” (*Then followed address and date*).

I rubbed my eyes : it was certain that I was not sleeping. Still the contents of the note completely puzzled me. I knew, indeed, several eccentric celebrities who would very willingly give me a command for a biography ; but besides my not consenting to undertake such a commission, the present did not seem to imply any order of this kind.

I was lost in conjecture when it came into my head to cast my eye on the envelope ; I must have been stupid or half asleep not to have thought of it before. The address was M. . . . , Chimney Doctor, and the mystery was at once explained. Deceived by a resemblance in the names, George Sand's Mercury, a sharp boy from La Creuse, and my porter, a lively Auvergnat, to match, had adopted the same notion on the subject. They had probably read somewhere those charming verses of Voltaire on glory and smoke, and had come to the just conclusion that between a smoke doctor and an historian of illustrious cotemporaries the difference is rather less than the diameter of the earth. So, thanks to the similarity of the professions, I ~~was~~ ^{was} now possessed of an autograph destined for my quasi colleague.

“Oh ! happy sweep,” I exclaimed, while I still retained so much honesty of purpose as to intend to restore the precious document to the rightful owner, “you are about seeing genius in dishabille. No one thinks of making a pose before a professor of your rank, while there is always arrangement of drapery more or less before a biographer. Ah ! why can I not be smoke curer and historian at the same time ! But what is to prevent me from becoming a professor of the Black Art ? I have known advocates developpe into ministers of state between evening and morning. I have some knowledge of physics : I will commence this moment to study the Article ‘Smoke’ in the Cyclopædia, and I will soon know the truth or falsehood of all the reports current on the subject of *Lelia*. I am told of her fierce and fascinating looks, and of her deep and terrible accents. They say that like St. Simon Stylites she inhabits a perch accessible only by ladders, and I read in the *Petersburgh Gazette*, that she is five feet six in height ; that she wears a frock made out of her own hair ; that she sticks moustaches on her lip, and has spurs on her boots. These reports require confirmation ; and all that can be depended on is, that she is a great poet, and her chimnies encumbered with soot. What better occasion can I find to verify the rest ?”

The contents of the note seeming to imply no personal knowledge of the professor, I arose, dressed myself in haste, and was glad on

to perceive in my appearance, just the requisite of and elegance befitting a sweep. I perused the top of a superb two-foot ruler in my pocket, and I did not encounter any function whatever, rather the little personal and private details, for which I had such a voracious appetite.

A small ante-chamber very like all other ante-chambers in my name: I hesitated, but summoning up all the courage I boldly told the lie, and assumed the style and manner of a tradesman, who I am sure, little dreamed of the deception. I was told to wait a little, and I was not long, which was barely necessary for conning over my representation.

My stay was long, and I had time to study the matter of the side. A charming little girl with fine curling hair, dressed, and her espiègle and inquisitive glances put me at my ease. It was, no doubt, the little child of the illustrious writer.

If the theft came to be discovered I would cut at the prospect of a chimney to be swept caused me to make my want of skill into account. However, I retired.

Long, I awaited the approach of the great, the impending my scattering senses to some heathen by way of invocation, the flaming dithyrambus in honor. "Lo! here comes the true priestess, the goddess; the ground shakes under the impetuous feet." I had some just cause for my awe, for a moment she uttered an energetic exclamation of the priestess of the servants reached my ear, the door suddenly opened, and my eyes in an access of fright.

When I found before me a lady of moderate height, of an agreeable and not at all *Dantesque*. She wore features somewhat similar to those, we simple mortals of the world, but her fine and perfectly black, whatever evil tongues might say over a forehead large and smooth as a mirror, as seen in the portraits of Raphael. A handkerchief was wound round her neck. Her look, which some painters might have given with force, had on the contrary a remarkable expression of melancholy. The sound of her voice was sweet and particularly expressed benevolence and kindness. In her whole appearance and attitude, a striking quality, of nobleness, of calmness. Gall would have read the breadth of the temples, in the rich development of the forehead, the frank look, the oval visage, and the fine but not too full features, Lavater would have read a sorrowful past, a certain extreme bias to enthusiasm, and consequently a certain severity. Lavater would have read many other things which only would not have discovered deceit, nor bitter-

ness, nor hatred, for they have no place on this sorrowful and composed countenance. The *Lelia* of my imagination disappeared into the reality; and what I had before me was simply a kind, sweet, intelligent, and beautiful face.

In continuing my examination, I remarked with pleasure that great *Unhappy* had not altogether renounced female vanities; under the flowing sleeves of her robe, and at the junction of the wrist with the fine white hand, I beheld the sparkle of a bracelet of gold, and of exquisite finish.

This womanly ornament, which by the way had a very fine effect, relieved my mind from the anxiety caused by the sombre hue and politico-philosophical exaltation of some of the recent productions of George Sand.

One of the hands which I admiringly examined, concealed a cigarito; badly concealed indeed, for the smoke ascended behind the prophetess in thin, tell-tale volumes.

You may suppose that during this mental inventory my time had no holiday. Being set at ease by *Lelia's* gracious reception, moreover, desirous to finish off in the most elaborate manner, a perfidious biography, I purposely involved the economy of my paraphrases and parentheses, while she listened to me with a patient and courteous indulgence.

At last when I judged that the portrait was accurately traced on the retina of my mind, I cut short my confused exposition, and, tired, being delighted to have to inform you that the *St. Petersburg Gazette* knows not what it says, that the three fourths of those who gossip about George Sand are only amusing themselves at her expense; that it is true that the prophetess occasionally smokes a cigarito; that she condescends to envelope herself at times in an absurd frock; and that among her intimate acquaintances the only one who answers to the name of George.

This, however, is not forbidden by the code, and falls very far short of the monstrous puerilities posted to her account; and persons well informed can cite many salons of Paris where the simple and serious author is seen uniting to the prestige of the genius, the simplicity of the modest demeanor, and the becoming charms of the woman.

And now that you are as well informed on the subject of *Lelia's* personality as myself, it remains to explain by what circumstances the poet has been led to purchase glory at the expense of repose.

In the early years of the Restoration the aristocratic convalescent, the *English Ladies* in the Rue des Fosses Saint Victor, which she enjoyed the monopoly of patrician education, opened its little parlour one fine morning to a young and interesting *pensionnaire*, a new comer, who might be about fourteen years old, had just arrived from Berri. Her religious education seemed to have been neglected, for the good sisters observed with pious terror, that she betrayed a very philosophic awkwardness in making the sign of the Cross, as if the exercise was not at all habitual. She was a handsome, black haired girl, her well defined features disclosed a wild untamed pride. She bore with unconcern the unfriendly

well as college, are cast on the fresh arrived
 e was in her deportment such an imprint of
 t her refined and aristocratic class-mates soon
 rçon. But, as to birth and fortune, the new
 equality with the proudest blood of France;
 other's side she could only reckon an opulent
 through her father she laid claim to royal

ows (?) that Marshal Saxe was the son of
 of Poland, by the fair Countess Kœnigsmark.
 elope, the hero of Fontenoy bore a genuine
 daughter, Maria Aurora, born in 1750, was
 nt Horn, and after his death she retired as a
 Abbaye aux Bois, where she presided with great
d'Esprit, the most distinguished of the last
 aréchal de Richelieu was one of her faithful
 Francueil, son of the Farmer General Claude
 second husband, and being named Farmer
 age of Berri, he brought thither his wife; they
 oux, and afterwards at Nohant, a league dis-
 She became a widow in 1760; and her son
 ards enjoyed a high military grade under the
 at La Châtre by a fall from his horse, his
 ora, was entrusted to the care of her grand-

d the *Emile* of Jean Jacques higher in estima-
 allowed her wild pupil to scamper in short
 y long on the banks of the Indre, and chase
 hollows of the *Black Valley*.

he religious reaction following the Restoration,
 ough despising the taste of the day for its
 ings of St. Thomas Aquino to those of Rousseau,
 x and birth of her grand-daughter to give her
 nable to the spirit of the age.

he little country beauty of Berri was obliged to
 y, and enter among the *Dames Anglaises* with
 making the sign of the Cross, and her boyish

nths had gone by in the convent, when the
 ecely to be recognised: that fervent and many-
 hich, at a later period, flashed out in the abrupt
 writer, began to reveal itself in all its power.
 endor of the Catholic service, the uniform life,
 raceable atmosphere of the cloister, wrought a
 in her soul; and Mdle. Aurora found herself
 spirit of devotion, that the rule of the house did
 sufficiently severe, nor the daily life sufficiently
 y Superior was obliged to moderate her religious
 eration of her health, and to impress on her
 as she was, to live in the world, she would at a
 ged to reduce very sensibly the proportions of

All the literary *demi monde* is supposed to know that immediately after her education was completed at the convent, she lost her grandmother, that injudicious guardian to whom Nature and Reason stood in the same relation that Allah and Mahommed would stand to her, had she been born in Turkey. She married a full brother of Parson Trilby, a regular nymph-and-satyr union. It is a pity that neither Heat or Reason, poet nor painter has left us a picture of the domestic life of their favorites after assuming the cares of a household, and submitting their necks to the yoke of the landlord and the tax collector. Ariel must shut her eyes to a desolate future if the thought of wedding Caliban gains an ascendancy in her mind. Mme. Duedevant, after enduring her bitter bondage as long as she could afford, fled from her prison, and took the road to her former asylum.

In 1828, the Father Confessor of the *Dames Anglaises*, who erewhile directed the conscience of Mdlle. Dupin, came one day to ask a favor of the Superior. He related how one of his penitents, a former pupil of the establishment, finding herself in a difficult and painful position, wished to make a pious retreat in her former habitation. She at first refused, alleging the usage and rule; but the priest persevered, and obtained the favor demanded; and the fugitive of Nohant once more crossed the threshold of the peaceful refuge where the years of her pure and fervent youth had been passed. But her destiny called her elsewhere; genius claimed its prey; after some days she abruptly entered that world, to resign herself to all the ups and downs, the passions, the joys, and the woes of an artist's career."

"We are near the dog-days of July, 1830; we are tired of dusty streets, of wearisome desk labours. We must get away to green meadows, to river sides, and the cool shades of forests. We will submit to no King, no priest shall guide us; laws will be made for slaves, religious rites for weak-minded devotees. The human nature is pervaded by a spirit of some kind, not very determined in its operations, nor intelligible in its purposes. Our passions themselves form a portion of that spirit. Why then should we devote our painful worship to that of which ourselves are an integral portion? Mankind is out of its infancy; we'll build no useless Churches, nor lose our time saying useless prayers, and marriage shall become a tradition of painful memory.

The good old days of Solomon will return; Fourier, Proudhon, Joe Smith, and Brigham Young, will teach us to exert our energies, to prolong our lives indefinitely, to create new planets, and to render the passage into the unseen world of no more consequence than making a change in our diet. All the glorious views are yet in perspective, but a beginning is made. Charles X. is in exile; the Parisian grocers have one of their guild on the throne; Christianity is out of favor at court.

the literature of the day, to Jupiter, Bacchus, and the priests and priestesses, are Latouche, Sand."

included Paul de Kock, as fellow-minister of the functions, only that coarseness and laxity were on his path, and he had no need of atonement for them; and in no instance has he laughed on religion, or its sacred ordinances, or contemptible pictures of its ministers.

The devil once gave it as his candid opinion, that a finished man of fashion was only a few degrees more comfortable than his own. What must be the condition and wretchedness at times, to a daughter of the convent, to yield to the impulse of the moment, to the pursuit of joyment, and to drain the intoxicating draught of pleasure to the dregs, striving often in vain to avoid the consequences of her acts, and to escape the penalties, and being deprived by her own free will of the help to endure the necessary results of her practices. The fervent devotional spirit of the convent life was distinguished, could not support such a soul as hers. Hence at times she would on the other hand, and she uttered her yearnings for the paths of Christian duty. Like Byron, she drew from her individual experiences, on the working of her passions, or the progress of her current of feeling, and hence the want of uniformity in the systems she advocates in her books, which are the elements of some recent personal experiences, the loss or rending away of some cherished attachment, or some dreary efforts of English perfectionists to construct a social code out of the overflowings of their thoughts and impulses, as given to the moment. As well might he form a consistent tissue of his feelings of pain, pleasure, or enjoyment coming from the spoiled child during a day made up of a series of variable incidents, of indulgence and restraint. Of joyment, despair, and resentment for ill treatment pressed from her by some happy return of the treatment of ill willers, or of those to whom she had no sympathy or love. With her, reverse of the coin, she sees the existence of tyranny in our

present religious, social, and domestic relations; and will any sacrifice and risk, totally change this state of things, save all future victims. "Marriage shall be dispensed with, save poor women from being beaten with a cane of the same diameter as their tyrant's little finger. To lead a correct life for fear of future sufferings, shews selfish cowardice, ergo there shall be no hell. Proudhon is an honest and charitable man by nature, Proudhon is an atheist, consequently, religion is unnecessary sham. Louis Veuillot is coarse, abusive, uncharitable in his newspaper, *L'Univers*, Louis Veuillot is a bigot, therefore no feeling or thoughtful person should remain in the Catholic Church.

"Communities of Monks, who have given up family ties, are bound down by vows of celibacy and poverty, live more comfortably in their monasteries, while people of the world, some industrious, others the reverse, frequently suffer with wives and children, from want of common necessities. Let a Parallelogram be measured out, and Robert Owen be appointed to preside, and the golden age will return."

It was said of a certain philosopher, that he possessed as good a heart as could be made out of brains; George Sand's brain seems composed of the same material as her too sensitive heart, or else the organs have been changed at nurse.

After throwing on the world so many works hateful to the eyes of gods and good men, which, not caring to wade through the mire by the light of an ignis-fatuus, we have not read, nor counsel our friends to read, the natural goodness of her position, and early impressions from her convent training, overpowered the evil spirit, and she produced such agreeable works as *La Mare au Diable*, *François le Champi*, *Le Peche de Monsieur Antoine*, *Mont Retéche*, *Les Maitres Sonneurs*, &c.

The vapours that passion and self-opinion spread before the mind for such a length of time, have at length disappeared. Her daughter, despite of her education, led the way to the ruin, and if our information is correct, the all-defying daughter has returned to the fold, an humble and self-renouncing penitent.

Mirecourt, as was before mentioned, incurred this lady's disfavor by the publication of his sketch of her life and the tendency of her works. Yet she seems to have little or no cause for bad feeling. Some extracts taken from his brochure are subjoined.

"The life at the Chateau of Nohant is agreeable and of

the Sand derives from ten to twelve thousand
te, and employs the entire revenue in good
kind reception to the villagers, entertains them
r troubles, encourages them, consoles them in
e physician towards themselves and their child-
e themselves to her as to a providence, being ever
our.

ted with a kind of leprosy, presented herself
good offices. 'Come my good woman,' said
s with her own hands, 'I have no false deli-
te you are in.' She took her into a private room,
h her own hands, and took care of her till a
ected. A trait of this kind needs no comment,
n the Gospel."

parison can all the good works in her power
n her own proper sphere, bear in number
mischiefs wrought in society by the perusal
aneful productions!

tle, five or six hours at most, all the rest of the
literary compositions. At eleven o'clock, break-
able is abundant and delicate; herself eats but
good appetite; she takes coffee morning and
tly grave and silent, but she likes to hear chat
d bon-mots, always find her a willing listener.
ake a turn in the park; a little wood opening
favorite walk. In this wood, filled in Spring
ms, butterflies, and birds' nests, she indulges in
gressions on botany, which her guests listen to
rest.

an hour, she returns to her literary occupation,
liberty to find amusement or occupation as best
in the chateau, a library, fishing-rods, and nets

y dine, the blouses seen at breakfast, are now
ss of the ladies has been revised. Strict eti-
omport with the well known opinions of the
re the hostess is the descendant of a king and
rie Antoinette, you cannot be surprised by the
tic manners. After dinner, they return to the
yard to play with the dogs, or sing under the
g.

ake refuge in the salon; Mme. Sand sits down
provises as well as Listz, her friend and tutor),
ozart are played.

romance or play not yet published, is read out,
day for the company.

boxes and books are shut, and they crowd tu-
he domino table. The game gives rise to a
quarrels. They throw doubts on the skill of
raise their voices, they appeal to force; then
ing, and the dice are pitched about. Finally,

with night-taper in hand, and many a jest, they conduct each to their chamber doors, along the corridor, and as they bid other 'good night,' the clock of the Chateau strikes one.

On Sunday evening a piece is performed in the little theatre of the Chateau, and the hall is filled with the honest peasantry of the neighbourhood, whose undisguised pleasure and candid reflection form one of the most agreeable features of the evening entertainment. When the performance is over they pass to the dining-room, and the notables of the neighbourhood are invited to sup with the actors. The Chatelaine occasionally performs in one of her pieces.

Hospitable, kind, and benevolent, she receives many visits, some of them very unwelcome ones. In those cases she never fails to rid herself of the importunate visitor: she merely takes refuge from the inconvenience by a bon-mot or some harmless pleasantry.

An individual named Cadot arrived one day at Nohant, and at once made himself at home in the most free and easy style conceivable. He descended to the kitchen, ferreted out the ordinary culinary routine, and ordered the head cook to prepare for him a peculiarly dressed plate of cabbage: Mr. Cadot passionately loved this *indigestible* legume. Madame Sand finding cabbage served up hot and hot, enquired into the cause, and laughed till her sides ached on hearing of Mr. Cadot's descent to the kitchen regions.

When this eccentric visitor was about to take his leave, which did not occur till an entire interminable week was passed, and an enormous number of cabbage heads was consumed, he addressed his hostess with the most unconscious self-conceit: "I hope, Madame, that as I am now going away, you will condescend to bestow an article, no matter how trifling, to recal to my memory yourself the charming reception with which you have honoured me." "Certainly," was her answer, and turning to the gardener who was at hand watering some pot herbs, she cried out to him, "John, bring me a cabbage for Monsieur Cadot."

It may be objected that the simple and uniform life of the Chateau of Nohant badly corresponds to the idea which such or such of our brilliant works gives of the character of the celebrated writer. However, there is one word to be said on the subject—if the imagination prevails in her works, judgment rules her conduct.

She seems at last fully persuaded that her entire life belongs to literature. We hope she will never again get herself embroiled in the wasp's nest of politics into which imprudent advisers formerly inveigled her.

Be persuaded, Madame, that *progress* is a fruit which arrives slowly at maturity. You were wrong to associate yourself with those who persist in forcing it in a hot bed, for there the fruit grows off rotten. Then a new sap must ascend, new buds spring out, a new fruit ripen in the sun. All this delays the advent of liberty, and so for sixty years, you and yours have retarded its approach.

But let us lay aside politics, inexhaustible source of dispute.

ord as to the substance, unhappily we differ as subject of art it is not so, Madame. There are undivided homages ; and we have written respect due to a queen.

enjoying his "*Otium cum dignitate*" in exile when his biography was written. His attitude is evident towards Sue, Girardin, and however, it would be hard for the most to give an edifying account of the life or of the *Wandering Jew*. Mirecourt thus of the great Proletarian—

deplorable features of our era is the alliance of socialism. Thanks to the publishing trade, up to the public an entertainment on which it is poisoned at the same time, there is not a page through the country, where the socialist is welcomed with guests. The land is infested with a writer, who coins money from falsehood, the ravenous passions of our nature, merely without the slightest thought or remorse for

kind souls exclaim, "do not abuse the poor man ; the objection, but it has been foreseen, and after our conscience, this is our answer. Freedom, of justice, of posterity, when there is no interest or of defence of principle, every sentimentation, every feeling of pity for the individual. But let the reader set his mind at ease : Eugène Sue leads a very agreeable life beyond

square of Annecy, any of the inhabitants will be used to travel so far, a very neat little residence on the slope of the hill :—that is the present of socialism. He is not now awakened by young and gauze tunics. His friends, the genuine, counsel him to conduct his domestic concerns in his present household consists of a comely male attendant.

He takes a bamboo cane from the hands of his servant, and walks under the fir trees of the hill, or on the lake, and re-enters with a good appetite to partake the fresh breeze from the Alps has agreeably on his stomach, and he makes an excellent meal. He replenishes his cup, and when "thirst and hunger study where this fortunate socialist is greeted from the publishers. On a sculptured salver of the bamboo presents his straw coloured kid gloves, as is well known, he never writes ; and at

every chapter a new and perfumed pair is assumed. O people black and rough hands! is it you who recommend to your favorite writers these delicate precautions, these coquettish preliminaries the works you so eagerly devour?

By way of recompense, and for the sake of economy, no doubt he never goes to the expense of gloves for his style. He writes or six hours without scratch or revise, dispatches his manuscript to the publisher, and from the bottom of his dreary exile, gains sixty-eighty thousand francs one year with another.

After labour comes the toilette—the toilette of a prince, and the sumptuous dinner attends the noble author, who has just finished such eloquent pages on the misery of the poor. He partakes of every dish with the relish that justly rewards a duty well discharged, rises from table, and finds ready bridled and saddled at the door, a magnificent Arab. Oh, goodness! what fiery nostrils! what graceful sinewy limbs! He bears his master at full gallop along the avenue of the park, and brings him back to the door in two or three hours with the work of digestion perfectly done. Again installed in his salon, Hebe presents him opium in a Turkish pipe as rich as amber and gold can make it; he smokes and goes to sleep on his silken cushions—wake him not.

And now that the reader is aware that our author's days are spent in tears and despair, we may proceed with some comfort to sketch his past career."

Jean Joseph Sue, father of Eugène, was surgeon of the imperial guard under Napoleon. He afterwards enjoyed the patronage of Louis XVIII. The romancer was baptized with the name of Marie Joseph, but when grown up, he discarded these names dear to every devout Christian. Why should the self-styled *Eugène* think proudly of himself, when a certain section of a philanthropic committee in Manchester thought themselves called on to request the light of his presence at one of their meetings, held to promote the good of their fellow-men. And if he rejected those sacred names, did not the ruling elders in these three kingdoms of ours, calling themselves the loving servants of Christ, but revering neither the blessed Mother nor the Guardian of his infancy, receive his acclamations and open arms, a wretch, who instead of being the protector of youthful purity and innocence, as his official priest obliged him, abused the very sanctuary with such a profanity as none but a demon in human shape would think of.

The Empress Josephine and her son, Prince Eugène Beauharnais, held the future author of *Plük et Plök* at his christening, hence the assumption of the name of Eugène after days. His nurse was a goat, and his biographer attributes some of his flagrant defects to this circumstance.

pupil, Adolphe Adam, studied most assiduously; but to make amends, they bestowed much of Guinea-pigs, and the Botanic Garden of the pitifully ravaged by these pets. So the parents agreed on the selection of a very skilful but being once installed, entertained a very wholesome good situation.

happy youth hinted at the necessity of applications cried out with one accord, 'We've had Old Booty with all versions; if you complain we'll

as too feeble-minded to brave the threat; and and if he was content with his son's progress, he a cry of remorse, 'Yes, Monsieur, he pays great 'Ah, ah!' said the doctor, 'very good, let him neessions (conciones).' 'With great pleasure,' most culpable assurance; and winking at Adolphe, Latin atrocity that came to their tongues' ends, enchanted."

d in his duty through cowardice, Paul de wilful negligence and sloth. Pupil and with sandwiches, quitted the city at an early for the woods and grassy slopes of Romain-etched at ease on the turf, each pulled out, or the younger Crebillon, or some other uthor, and read or dozed till it was time to ng meal, Paul's mother, good easy woman, Hopeful engrossed by Nepos or Homer. ulture and training, we might naturally look the two trees, and we would not be disap- left college after making a very moderate nvives and himself drank half the contents rare wine laid up in an inviolable sanctuary plying the loss by a very nauseous substi- particular entertainment, the theft was dis- s disgusted, and the consequence was, the o away to the seat of war in Spain, to help capacity of assistant surgeon to the force. rian says, that he generally kept out of the ts, and never sought the wounded under the turning to Paris he borrowed at usury in e indispensable luxuries of a tilbury, groom, lly splashed his father who was paying his foot. He received a smart shower of blows he lively old practitioner as recompense. nt by way of penance to Toulon, where he

becomes the terror of the heads of families. At his return to Paris he conquers all before him, being gifted with a handsome face, and health unfailing. Here, Mirecourt requests the readers to look on the portrait accompanying the sketch, to realize the sad change that years viciously spent have wrought in the dark haired Adonis. The readers of the *Curiosity Shop* will please to recollect to mind the face of the keeper, where the single gentleman and Kit's mother arrived in his hall, and Quilp is seen popping his head through the opened parlour door. He will then have the common-place smug, self-satisfied face before him, that our author swears as correct as a photograph. The black-bearded jove of ordinary prints would run a hundred miles from this dangerous, if brought face to face with it.

Eugène the flogger, fearing that his audience may think the treatment of Eugène the floggée too personally spiteful, asks the loan of their ears while he explains his motives.

"We have already said, and we are obliged to repeat it, when a man gets into the pulpit to address the masses, and infuses doctrines into them, we have an absolute right to strip off his assumed garb, and cry out to the public, 'Behold your apostle; examine him, judge him; estimate his works by his acts, his private life, and his general conduct. See if his maxims ought to be followed, if his morality is unimpeachable, his philosophy sound.'"

Ah, poisoners! you suppose that we are going to treat you as celebrated writers, and lay on your brow a crown without the right. Your efforts joined to those of the envious and the unthinking, directed to put us to silence; but while we have a breath to take and a pen at command, nothing shall prevent us from unveiling the source of your disloyal opinions, of your lying theories, of your troying doctrines: all shall know your degrading ambition, your abject materialism: yes, my masters! all shall know them."

Tilbury, groom, daily extravagance, nightly debauch was on, till Dr. Sue once more stopped supplies, and obliged the prodigal son to go to sea. He went round the world, and returned to Brest, where an odd adventure befel him. Being somewhat of a draughtsman, he made a caricature of the ugly sailor on board; and the feelings of the unhappy subject agitated, gazed on it fastened to the mast in the presence of his jealous comrades, may perhaps meet with sympathy. He turned over in his head many projects of vengeance, but all might be put down the cat on his own back, and he bided his time.

One evening when the rain was descending in sheets, our brave *Matelot* was taking shelter under a gateway, and spied our hero in great misery, looking out for some conveyance.

arming lady had promised to dance with
 ayed in a gold-embroidered frock, white
 ored gloves, and thin pumps, and his
 extreme.

e conceived a determined piece of ven-

ken," said-Eugene, "I must have a voiture :
 if you can procure me one. I would not for
 l, where I am to meet a person." "Ah! some
 bound. Oh! what a fine young gentleman you
 and how I love you." "That is not the point,
 re." "Twenty francs, M. Soue! Ah, I'd get
 ould. Sandis, you don't know how much I love
 y." "Ach! you won't get the tail of a voiture in
 ight is got into my head: you have a parpluie,
 have, but the mud would be up to my knees.
 all in a fine condition for the *contre danse*."
 my shoulders, *sandis!*" "Will you be so
 ow?" "Thousand sabres! I'd drown myself
 for you. But how handsome you are, M.
 and open the *riflard*."

conveyance such as it is, and is steering through
 r's shoulders, the rain descending in torrents.
 Soue, you're much heavier than I thought,
 or trudging on for about fifty paces. 'Courage,
 ve promised twenty francs, and they shall be
 do I care for your twenty francs? It's your-
 . Ouf! suppose I let you down for a
 ile of the running puddle?' cried the Sub in
 What would become of my pumps and white
 e luck; but, oh, my eyes! you're more than
 'Bah! never mind. I'll give you two Louis.'
 I'd rather have your regard. I want a little
 ngers through my hair (*cevcux* is the patois).
 o put my fingers through your hair! Are you
 if you refuse me this little favor, I'll unhorse
 and he stooped, feigning to execute his threat,
 t deep.

nt-surgeon thought better to submit; and so
 rs of one straw colored glove through the thick
 'Thank, thanks, M. Soue; you can't know all
 all the same: you're a real bit of lead.' 'Go
 er; you move like a tortoise.' 'Talk is cheap,
 y back bone won't hold. Come, put a little
 moi.'† Me, *embrasse* you, canaille! Me,

ort of Franco-Somerset dialect and pronuncia-
 s) through the ensuing conference.
 may have forgotten that *embrasser* means to
 friend daintily in your hands, and salute the
 s. It is considered among French speaking
 offensive operation. Indulgence is request-
 e translation.

embrasse you,' cried the *Sous-aide* twisting himself in fury. 'If I do me the *injury* to refuse me, I'll shake you off from my shoulder.' 'Accursed scoundrel,' cried the officer, 'will you have done to me what you have done to me? he felt one of his legs loose, and the water invading his pants.' 'Embrassez moi.' 'Never!' The Provençal let go the other and the victim being forced to hold on with the two hands, obliged to perform the ceremony. 'Very nice, I'm sure, Monsieur Soue, very nice: do it again.' They were approaching the hotel, the prefecture and Eugène was obliged to re-embrace his tyrant. Six accolades had been given and received when they reached the porch; and the sailor said to his officer as he deposited him in a dry spot, 'Ah! Monsieur Soue, Monsieur Soue, you find me more handsome than my portrait. I am going to tell my shipmates of your civility: they'll stop making game of me after this.'

All Brest knew the adventure next day. When he attempted to kiss the hand of any of the beauties of the town, she would turn out, 'Oh! what a strong smell of tar!' Two months went by before his persecution ceased, and then he was ordered to the Mediterranean. Twenty-one days afterwards Eugène was listening to the thundering of the cannon at Navarino.

While the combined French, English, and Russian fleet were engaged with the Turco-Egyptian force, our romancer who had been waiting for an opportunity of witnessing a naval combat, and marking its progress, let this good chance completely slip through his fingers. As Mirecourt sought his cellar during the 'Three Days,' so Eugène retired to his room, and held, and listened with what in an ordinary mortal, might be pronounced to be the conclusion of the fight, they sought out Eugène, and with difficulty withdrew him from his retreat, to act in place of the Surgeon-Major and his assistant, who had been struck with the enemy's fire. Till this time Mirecourt's experience had not got beyond blood-letting; and he even sometimes missed the vein. Those who got their limbs now amputated were afterwards of small expence to the state. At his return to Paris he exhibited to his admiring friends the result of his participation at Navarino, the complete spoils of a Turk, scymetar and all included."

His grandmother and father conveniently dying, he inherited a large heir to an immense amount of francs. He quits the service and leads the life of an Eastern Prince. Still not content with the life without celebrity of some other kind, he paints marine battles, and the battle of Navarino among the rest. Mirecourt succeeds as cause of his failure, his want of invention, combined with the fact of his viewing the strife from the depth of the

"During the palmy days of *Mathilde* and the *Mysteries* numerous were the notes delivered to him every morning. They were all grossed on the plan of the following one, communicated to an indiscreet friend.

Paris, 23rd June, 1844.

your works is delightful to me beyond expression. I owe to you the first writer of the age. I owe to you my life; and my bliss would be made complete by him who has written such charming pages. (I fear not) that you would snatch a few moments to devote them to the most sympathetic of your home every evening. Octavia de B. * *

to come to the end of his patrimony, and writing of naval stories to fill the void in his life. At this time, 1830 and 1832, a most determined writer among the flower of the Fauborg St.

of his excellent principles, they were grateful to the Revolution; but they could not digest his ideas, and they whispered, 'look at this little 'bourgeois' I suppose he thinks he is the heir in right line of

evening in a salon, the Duke Fitz-James, towards whom he had been found wanting in respect, by abstaining from the politeness exacted by custom, he accosted him in a

Monsieur le Duc, that what with my literary chases, my cantering in the Bois de Boulogne, my thousand calls made on me by the ladies, I have so much to command, that I am unable to pay a single visit.' 'You, sir,' said the Duke very drily, 'that Monsieur has no time enough to make them.'

They spread all along the left side of the river, with their ceaseless bursts of laughter.

with a wonderful power of invention; and we owe to him the saying that he works without a collaborateur. He writes his daily Feuilleton in the twinkling of an eye, and he goes to the toilette, to the cavalcades in the Bois de Boulogne, to the extravagant dinners, and the other established means of making money."

many too confiding ladies, by sketching their portraits in *Mathilde* and the *Mysteries*. So the public began to consider these acts as evidence of want of art and good taste, and he found his society among the women of the Fauborg who had a character of being lonely and lonesome, and wishing to give himself a fast and decided refusal. He immediately became known to the *Phalange* and the *Démocratique Pacifique*

to fling dismay among the elite of the aristocracy and bring the proud family to his feet. No surrender was announced and a little adventure that just then crossed his path, made him the determined foe of high birth and the apostle of the red republican.

"Being in the salon of a duchess, and mistaking her friendly meanness for a tacit avowal of tenderness for him, he threw himself on his knees, burst out into the most passionate declarations, and would have added manual to vocal proofs of the depth of his attachment when the lady rose and rang the bell. Two stout domestics with lace on every seam of their livery entered at the moment. 'You take,' said she with an imperious gesture, 'Monsieur by the collar—the collar, you understand, conduct him to the door, and never allow him inside the house again.'

The *Mysteries* and the *Wandering Jew* were his first exploits after a change of colours: *The Journal des Debats* produced *Les Mysteres* and Louis Veron's paper, *le Constitutionnel*, *le Juif errant*.

Curious to take his characters from nature, and judging the character of *Rigolette* to require careful study, he scraped acquaintance with a grisette to whom he passed himself off for an ornamental painter. Dressed in blouse and cap, he took walks with her every Sunday and holiday to the barrier Mont Parnasse. They partook of stewed rabbit in the first eating-house they met; *Rigolette*, once put in motion by the fiddle, danced poor Sue till she had not a foot to stand on.

His professor in slang was an Auvergnat, who, drawing the pronunciation of the word *surineur* (*surin*, argot for knife) from the purest sources of the Cantal, called it *chourineur*; and his pupil ignorantly adopted that and many other mistakes of the same kind which swarm in the hapless *Mysteries*."

Louis Veron who has left us the edifying 'Memoirs of a Citizen of Paris,' and the more edifying novel that followed, secured Eugène in the possession of four thousand pounds a-year annuum for fourteen years to come, for the bagatelle of five volumes a-year.

"He judged that France entire was most eager to get a peep into the sanctuary of the temple, where the god of the feuilleton performed his miracles; and at once served up to his subscribers this delicious apple pie, the residence of his Magnus Apollo.

"He occupies in the upper part of the Fauborg St. Honoré a little mansion overrun with trailing vines and flowers, which almost cover the porch. The garden is carefully arranged, fresh and sweet smelling. A jet d'eau murmurs among rocks and reeds. A long covered gallery full of sculptures and plants, leads from the house to an outer entrance concealed by artificial rock work. The dwelling consists of three apartments, kept in an agreeable half light by creepers and plants that mask the windows. A deep red relief

among the articles of furniture, the bed-chamber subdued blue is the dominant color. The apartment is crowded, and not without confusion, and tapestry. You perceive a mixture of styles, and fantastic French. Rock and shell-work on the walls are completely concealed by objects of junk, curiosities, family portraits, and the portraits of his friends. Precious vases, the offering of a pet phrase of Dr. Veron's encumber the shelves; names sparkle on every side; Delacroix, Gudin in a frame is seen a design of M. de Lamartine's, that illustrious poet. A picture occupies an easel in the middle of the salon; it is an Isabey, and has a terrible effect being such a subject in this temple of pleasure. From every smell, in which the healthy odour of Russia is absent. Horses and dogs, his former favorites, by Alfred de Dreux, are still kept before the master. In the vestibule, among the weapons of wolf and eagle, formerly tamed and treated in life, carefully preserved. At the bottom of two greyhounds, the gifts of Lord Chesterfield and pigeons walk about on the smooth turf in every evening on the window-stools, or unguardians of the threshold.

In this delightful abode, opened to us in the evening we could readily recognize traits of his character: luxury and stormy pleasures, with a taste for the fine arts, an enlightened taste for the fine arts, an interest in seen delights, and a love for plants and ani-

menting on this description excuses *Mimi* for not mentioning the femmes de chambre 'Maids of Athens,' nor the servants more than royal, nor a groom from Douar's delight to make read out an act from himself enjoying the humiliation inflicted on the venerable Bas-Breton tone of the executioner. He also forgot, as he says, the straw-colored writing, the bill of which amounts to a month, which amount is religiously devoted to charity. He also omits the mentioned, and the *escritoire* of eleven in which the pen of the *Juif Errant's* describe the sufferings of the poor, this also the clippings of the alms account.

who supplied the funds for all these luxuries paid for his liberality.

Jew, came the *Seven Deadly Sins*. Our

poor Doctor turning over one day the leaves of the manuscript *Gluttony*, began to shiver and shake; he rubbed his eyes, and had like to faint. His pet romancer had there painted him head to foot; and only for the accidental sight of the traitorous poor Veron would have been served up to his own subscribers shape of a huge 'Mortal Sin.'

Judge how he raved and protested, but Eugène would not a single line. He stood on his rights; the clauses were in his hand but nevertheless, the doctor would not consent to be served up in his own paper. Law proceedings were threatened, and it would have been a good jest to hear *Mimi* declaring that the glutinous portrait resembled him too much to be allowed insertion.

The witty little paper, the *Silhouette*, pretended that the treaty would allow a division in the sins, and that, consequently, each part might be offered to *La Presse*. Thus M. de Girardin might be entitled to *Pride*, *Anger*, *Covetousness*, and *Envy*, while the doctor might appropriate *Luxury*, *Gluttony*, and *Sloth*; however, the proposal did not meet the views of either party.

But it is time to leave facts, and come to a short literary classification.

Our age has given birth to a crowd of scribblers, mechanicians, frame-makers, and Eugène Sue is at the head of this phalanx. He possesses invention and facility of movement, his dramas are full of action and excitement; he manages the horrible with much effect, but he is destitute of style. He is a Paul Feval, raised to the rank of a Balzac, powerful, but he has less imagination and genuine sensibility than Paul.

The punishment of writers of this kind, who neglect plan and order to hurry their readers through a multiplicity of adventures, will be to see themselves forgotten in a quarter of a century. They stimulate jaded appetites with their pepper; their highly spiced dishes are swallowed with a certain pleasure, but indigestion supervenes, and all is over.

We have heard Balzac explain in his own fashion, the success of Eugène Sue. "All his characters are false; *Fleur de Marie*, *Ferrand*, *Rodin*, *Mathilde*, *Arthur*, and a hundred others, have never existed. But once suppose their truth, Eugène Sue will carry them through fifteen or twenty volumes, with the most perfect logical art. Just as in his dramas, pass over the impossible situation, and success is certain. All this belongs to the category of surprises, and art has no claim to make. Everything that rests on its foundation in the great science of the human heart, even if it depends on galvanism, everything that favors the selfish passions and the passions of the day, will have but a brief existence."

Mirecourt goes on to relate several instances of his own charity to the distressed in the vicinity of his country residence in 1848, and the long delay in paying the bills of his creditors, but we are tired of hearing so much ill spoken of a good man, and will conclude with a passage from his own *Koatven*, which was carefully posted on the walls of his house while his election was pending.

or wicked, who, with such empty and resounding, *lights of the age*, and *regeneration*, have sown the seeds of a frightful anarchy. Surely enduring execration of France, who, in order to of power, have said to the people, ' You are shame and anathema on those seekers for popular idle voluptuousness, speculate on the miseries e them to hatred and revenge.'

English books is ignorant of the character *Steyne* as drawn by the inimitable Michael Let the Metempsychoses be admitted, and revive in a stationer's son in the Rue de Bae ; former tastes and propensities ;—try the without success ;—study anatomy without concert with an apothecary the *Regnauld* mphant success ;—become director of the it and pleasure in its management ;—after a great advantage to himself ;—give room *Seven* and as many of the *Seven Deadly Sins* in his newspaper the *Constitutionnel* ; and g career with the memoirs and novel already these data be assumed and Louis Veron is

ter birth, his father, a staunch Buonapartist, gave occasion of a victory. The first glass that was *argantua* stretched out his arm towards it, thus laisian propensity to moisten his clay at that

d, he drank like Bacchus, ate like a young Ogre, a fowl to the whole alphabet, and pilfered from crusts, sweet-breads, and confectionary. His look on his precocious dispositions to good cheer and seeing the young Gastronomer take all his ne neighbouring confectioner's, they began to briety, and orderly habits. It was, after all, tide and pitchfork. Being obliged to observe a during his adolescence, he registered a vow to eed abstinence in his youth and manhood. "

good Christian in order to discharge the duty nt to a charitable institution ; but some of eing found to jar very disagreeably with his his services are dispensed with, and he takes te for his patron.

success, and the ill-timed economy of his family,

and determined to gather up some of the straying waters of Pactolus he paid a visit to the apothecary Regnauld, rue Caumartin, and pressed on his mind the multitude of sore throats, runnings in the head, colics, asthmas, and catarrhs, which a foggy climate and constant atmospheric changes are continually inflicting on us; and proposed to him a plan for making money out of these catarrhs, colics, asthmas, runnings in the head, and sore throats.

"We'll take France by the throat, my boy, and force it to disgorge a few of its crowns." "Done," said the apothecary, and the birth of the Regnauld lozenge followed in due course. They put into mortar, the ordinary ingredients that are known to exercise a beneficial influence on the pectoral muscles, and produced an amalgam of a dark red color, which at once dethroned all siropes, juleps, and decoctions whatever."

Veron enlisted the good offices of his friends the journalists, and the profit at the end of the first year amounted to 100,000 francs.

He establishes a paper, and profits by it; and his political views fitting the citizen government so well at the time that their putting the pavement in order after the July days of 1830, he is appointed director to the opera, and looks on himself as *Fatima's* father in *Blue-Beard*.

"Major-Domo am I

Of this *chaste* family;

My voice in the green-room prevails."

At every lucky turn of fortune, the biographer takes occasion to remark, 'and still the Regnauld Lozenge sold.' He also insinuates that Veron never risked his property in any perilous enterprise.

Our Bourgeois, knowing from past experience the value of money, is not disposed to throw it away for nothing; but being the old Marquis of Steyne revived, he cannot help looking good cheer, and the society of the opera goddesses, even more. His attachment to Mlle. Rachel is hinted at, and if our biographer dreaded a legal process at the hands of the Doctor, for speaking too plainly of his little foibles, he relates the following legend, probably from traditional mythology, it is not found in the *litera scripta* of any Greek or Latin author. This accounts for the introduction of a young daughter of the king of Argos, not mentioned by Ovid.

He insinuates that when Jupiter thought he had been sufficiently liberal with his gold shower, he was minded to step up the cloud; but this being a proceeding not approved of by Danae nor her family, they had resource to indirect means to keep it still open.

The younger daughter of Acrisius entered the
 Egyptian lover, and finding there her elder sister,
 and tearing her hair the while, 'Oh, mercy!
 Danae, my dear, we're ruined, horse and foot,'
 'matter? explain yourself,' muttered Jupiter,
 and through the curtain of the alcove. 'Yes,
 and Danae also, addressing her sister. 'Alas!
 your furniture. The broker and his man are
 house.'

'dear Beauty,' said Jupiter turning to Danae.
 'since I handed you thirty thousand francs.' 'It
 much more,' piteously answered the charming
 financial shower had fallen. 'Well, well—how
 and the Olympian King. 'Ten thousand francs,'
 ter. 'Oh! plague on it, what a gap to be
 now: go to the *Secrétaire*, and take what you
 king, *Jupin* presented the key.

er of Acrisius searched the desk, found the
 ed and folded them, and gratefully returned
 s god. 'Thanks, sir,' said she; 'Good bye,'

ts left the room, but immediately after, putting
 out again to the thunderer, 'I can't justly say
 claimed by the officers. I found twenty thou-
 , and took them at hazard. We will regulate
 bailiffs are gone.'

was not a man to annoy himself about such a
 as this. Save the unpleasantness of being so
 oled him little whether the golden shower fell
 turned his head to the wall and slept. *For*
ge sold.

have our hero's *Constitutionnel* at his beck, ad-
 francs, but when *Tom Thumb* (so Mirecourt
 great historian) came into the ministry, he did
 es made when he was working himself into

e of the cat and the monkey. The chesnuts
Raton, who had burned his paws, did not get
 ce of Director of the Fine Arts, chesnut No. 1,
 was going to seize it, and the Sub-prefecture
 veeter nut, passed away under his very nose.
 p in the department of L'Orne, chesnut No. 3,
 o others, escaped the tooth of the poor Doctor.
 s thus playing hide-and-seek, he resolved on

this history, that the '*Man in possession*,' has
 early period. Most people suppose that the
 , but this is an error. We shall see by-and-bye,
 ank-notes current among the old pagans, but
 of furniture in which they are ordinarily kept,
 of that remote time.

reprisals, and purchased the *Juif Errant*, of Eugène Sue. To satisfy his revenge, he did not scruple to infest the country with socialism. He has since repeated his *mea culpa*, to some purpose; the interim, the dangerous book is being read from one end of France to the other. 'The drug is sold, you have it in your body, the poison if you can, it is no concern of ours;—this is apothecary logic.'

The Doctor gained by this little social offence, seven or eight hundred thousand francs, from the multitude of new subscribers to the *Constitutionnel*; and the Regnauld Lozenge still sold."

To expiate his sins, he composed and inserted (in substance) the following moral tale of a good young man in his feigning.

"There once lived in the *Quartier Latin*, a medical student, to all good, through the theories of the socialists. This young man pushed his immorality to the point of subscribing to *Perè Duchesne*. One morning, the concierge of the house, mistaking the newspapers, handed the student a number of the *Constitutionnel*, which belonged to another lodger. There was in that number an article written by M. Veron, which effected in the 'good man,' a new 'conversion of St. Paul,' and the *carabin* ran off without thinking of the state of his dress, to secure a year's subscription, 'Rue de Valois, 60 francs per annum, all letters to be paid.' After this, who would be so cruel as to throw the *Wandering Jew* in the Doctor's face."

Annoyed by the non-attainment of high political influence, Veron determines to conquer a name.

"'You stop me in my ascent,' cries he; 'you carry off the substance, leaving me the mere shadow. We'll see. I have been one of the highest personages of the land; I have their letters, I have a lift to half of the great world. Rosmin, that dear Rosmin, Gérin the treasurer of the secret service money, will furnish me with valuable memorandums; I will publish their memoirs, and my own:—what matter! Boniface of the *Constitutionnel*, my dear friend, will lend his pen: others will be brought to bed of six volumes full of pages, and I will stand godfather. They will receive me in the *Literary Society*, an intellectual, a terrible weapon for those who know how to use it; my dinners will secure the votes of those who are always hungry; I will be named Secretary, member of committee, president.'"

Thus originated the *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois* and *Cinq Mille francs de rente*.

Winding up his biography, Mirecourt describes himself with the head of a baby crowning the body of a giant; hair thin, nose short and cocked; and cheeks such as you might find in the portraits of his antecedents. If you wish for a favourable augury, you must get into the good graces of his buxom housekeeper, who governs the state, while he merely reigns.

hides his domicile, Rue de Rivoli, M. Veron possesses a country house, where the hungry sons of Clio partake his much good may it do them.

Doctor is a very amiable Amphytrion : he has preserved his appetite, his cellars are full, and his kitchen sauces
 " *And the Regnauld Lozenge still sells.*"

now approach the consideration of a critic of the most and cultivated taste and judgment, Gustave Planche of *Le des Deux Mondes*. We have been so pleased with art's appreciation of the man and the writer, that we give the field free to his handling of the subject, though it is rather inflated.

here be a legitimate aristocracy among men, it is doubtless ocracy of talent. Those who bear on their foreheads the star spoken of by the author of *Paradise Lost*,—poets, or philosophers, are princes, kings or emperors, by the gift of genius.

u have gained your inscription on the book of gold, forget you are now a patrician ; above all things, have respect for

. A choice spirit is no more free to let himself down to the brutish degradation, than Cæsar to become a histrion.

u belong to the human kind, you may probably be subject to vices, and passions ; but, *corbleu !* don't take pride in exhibiting. Conceal them as you would the leprosy, and never,

u live, descend to cynicism.* When talent draws you out e crowd, is it becoming that you should inculcate morality in ion of the drunken Helot, when exhibited by the Spartans to ildren ? A thousand times, no !

not sufficient to be a skilful writer, and exhibit a pure, cord elegant style, to be a judicious interpreter of art, and to the great virtue of independence. No ; we must have more.

e man who speaks to, or instructs the crowd, we require a heart, a lively faith, a generous spirit. If we only discover ss, egoism, apathy, brutal sensuality, we recoil with horror, the Spartan Youth, in presence of the brutalized slaves.

e reflections naturally arise from consideration of the personalities, and the manners of the man, whose career we propose h. And now we hear our amiable and judicious adversaries ouths of triumph, being assured of catching us in full contra-to ourselves ; for we could find nothing but eulogiums for de Nerval ; and surely Gustave Planche is not more culpable at favorite of ours.

e man of the world abstains from misconduct and meanness ; self-pride ; the Christian, through obedience and love ; art is Catholic enough to be aware of this truism—Cynicism our Gallic writers, implies depravity of character, and a total ' the love of God or our neighbour.

Well then, gentlemen, learn, if you knew it not before, that Gerard was not a materialist. He descended into the *Vie Bohème* through contempt of the world, and the pressure of social wrongs, without making either a doctrine or a system of his physical degradation.

Gerard had not the pretension either to instruct his confreres to smart them with his magisterial ferule. His soul, candid, pure, offensive, and evermore poetic, hovered *above* the slough, as a water-lily on the surface of a pool. Those who saw him on that singular way along which folly and the muse conducted him, never experienced that feeling of repulsion or disgust with which other sects affect us in their abasement.

Gustave Planche was born in Paris, 16th February, 1808. His father being a wealthy apothecary of the *Chaussée d'Antin*. His son, who was destined to succeed him, was placed in a preparatory school for the *Collège Bourbon*, where he soon distinguished himself as the most intelligent pupil, and a decided *Mauvais sujet*. A grave matter of our acquaintance and a school-fellow of Gustave's, cannot refrain from roars of laughter when relating some of his early exploits. Some of his practical jokes consisted in throwing ink on the vest-pantaloon of his victims, sticking pins, head downward, in the straw bottomed chairs, cutting brushes and sprinkling their bristles with the bristles. On one occasion he kept fifty-three fleas in a bottle for five days under the condition of a rigorous fast, and set all at liberty one night among the sheets of the man whom he delighted to torment. He was the soul of every conspiracy, the inventor of every frolic, and lighted-match to explode disorder on every side.

Preluding these gastronomic and bacchic feats by which his future life was to be distinguished, the young disciple of *Comus* organised his apparatus in the very lecture-room, and under a seat of the gallery, a culinary apparatus for his own proper use and comfort. By means of a lamp filched from the paternal laboratory, a tin saucepan, a coffee-pot, he cooked an infinity of delicacies, and consumed them in silence, while the halting tongue of the lecturer was expounding *Horace* or *Claudian*. His comrades to the right and left acted as accomplices, and masked his battery—*de cuisine*. It was needless course to offer them a portion of the feast—this was done by sighing Gustave on the most niggardly scale.

But one thing grieved our pupil cook, viz., the inability of various articles to his taste. To be condemned every day that he made, to chocolate, or eggs in their shell; to be obliged to drink black coffee or mulled wine, became at least insupportable. He returned to the school one holiday evening, and, blindfolding the porter, introduced a flask of Old Cognac into the premises. 'At last,' he said to himself, 'I will have the pleasure of tasting punch.' He reckoned without the treacherous flame of the burning spirit. The professor, though half blind, caught a glimpse of the blue light, and in the twinkling of an eye, flask, lamp, coffee-pot, and all were confiscated. Our illicit distiller was put under arrest for eight days on bread and water. His stomach retains to this day, a disagreeable recollection of his mischance.

is of the young and dissipated Gustave relates there was one, whose sharp and discordant ears of his class. By virtue of his vocation, our hero succeeded in counterfeiting and tones, and naturally resolved to turn his A treaty was concluded. Planche stipulated a cakes, sugar-almonds, and delicacies of every party being son of a confectioner), and pro-in return he would exonerate him for the ular year from learning a lesson of any kind was scrupulously fulfilled on one side and the

called out the son of the seller of sweet him to recite from memory, a tirade from ses of Lucan, the barking young lad arose, continued moving his lips without uttering a *his voice*, stuttering or muttering in the usual d, or rather read the passage required. o perfect, that the whole class, except those in , were deceived as well as the teacher. The ne vacation without a single check; one not litary sentence to memory, the other receiving the revenue acquired by his industry. Mean- thstanding these rogueries suggested by his es, made good progress in his studies. He nearly as much as strawberry tarts, and enjoyed his sugar almonds to his chocolate, or un- that at the end of a year so improving to his ble to his stomach, he carried off numerous at his success he made such a hearty supper, r the next forty-eight hours."

ng him as his successor gets his name in- dents at the school of pharmacy, but he art of his time visiting the Louvre, pas- he antiques, admiring the old masters, e great book of art; seeing, judging, his own decision without looking for one kleman or the learned Jesuit Lanzi. He rary art in the ateliers, smoking cigars with small amid the haw-haws of broad jokes

So while he spent his hours with Gérard, macroix, &c., his father fancied him in the ol-laboratory, "questioning a retort, or on with an alembic." On paying a tardy e found his son's name totally "unbe- cality. A frightful scene ensued; the

apothecary drove out the prodigal son, and gave him his malediction.

Gustave took all his best clothes, sold them to a *fripier* in the neighbourhood, put on his used garments, soiled and tore them in strips; and thus bedecked, passed and repassed his father's shop, enjoying the supposed charitable observations of the neighbours, and his wrathful parent's mortification. About the twentieth turn, he knocked up against an individual who burst into a fit of laughter on recognising him.

"Oh, mercy!" cried out the passenger, "are you posing for Belisarius? *Virtue of my life!* what superb rags! or are you going to set up an opposition shop to the poor of the Bicêtre (Ricourt was the speaker)?" And as Ricourt had confessed many prodigal sons in his time, he now heard the confession of Gustave, whose acquaintance he had made among the painters.

He made no concealment of his mischance.

'Good,' said Ricourt: 'is that all? cheer up: I will take you under my patronage; come write for the *Artiste*, and be a 'man of letters': you are already provided with the costume.' 'Famous idea! I accept the offer,' said Planche. 'Accept! to be sure you do. You will roll in gold: five francs per page, and the page has only two columns. Eh! that's respectable I think. Take heart of grace and knock me off an article.'

Twenty four hours after, Planche brought him twelve or fifteen pages containing his first literary attempt. 'Bravo! bravissimo!' cried the chief editor of *L'Artiste* after reading the lucubration. 'Oh, ho! here are ideas—new and superior ideas. Where have you stolen so much wit, saying nothing of the originality, the *chic*,* and the style? My stars! I have made a valuable acquisition: I'll not part with you in haste.'

But Gustave parted from Ricourt. He entered into the service of Buloz of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by the friendly intervention of Count Alfred de Vigny, and wrote an account of the *Exposition* of 1831.

His articles at once attracted great attention. At the first effort, Gustave Planche had the courage to take his place on the bench of criticism as sovereign judge. Never did criticism exhibit more logic, more taste, more intelligence. Under the new pen, she clearly de-

* An untranslatable word, implying among other things, "the Glass of Fashion and the Mould of Form," the wit of Rev. Sydney Smith, and Beau Brummell's taste in neck-cloths. When you hear a person whose studies have not extended to "*Alison on Taste*," say "that's the ticket," you may be sure that he has an intuitive grasp of the idea. We have heard a man of talent equal to Ricourt's at all events, give utterance to the expression, "that's the *cheese*." Pronounce the last c in the French word, soft, and the sounds are nearly alike. It is an odd coincidence.

ness of each judgment, and expressed herself in language.

Province of literary criticism, a hundred times deeper than the other. This time again he and the ignoble complaints of the envious were universal applause that followed. Thus Gustave Planche, of the entire domain of criticism; and con-review, according to the chance of production of works of artists, of poets, and of musicians. In this way, he acquired a greater solidity of judgment, a degree of sagacity, and an extreme acuteness of

Planche consists in having comprehended and, like other, geniuses the most opposite in character: namely, he must have looked from a point of view

It is not the quality of an ordinary spirit to stand at this exact point of view, and not be set free from the mirage of the prejudices and passions of the age. The position of the instrument must be unerring and false notes have escaped, among the infernal errors of the schools.

of the beauties of music—beauties so vague, so difficult to be expressed in ordinary language, the neatness of his sentences is wonderful in its way. In the art as of literature, Gustave Planche is master; but the world do not reach his instep.

Finally against some of his decisions. When he attacks the Abbé Prévost, Merimée, Villemain, Jules Janin, his enthusiasm; but when he declares George Sand the best of the age, our conscience revolts against the

we repeat, is a true master in criticism, but he is of his age, imbued with the grovelling instincts of the age, a lover and idolator of plastic form and beauty. He issues from his judgment, otherwise so accurate, of what importance are God, the soul, eternity, and the immortal. Such things are not to M. Planche's

of injustice towards Victor Hugo, the Abbé Prévost, Eugène de Mirecourt: he gives this special and warped judgment. In a critique of Victor Hugo, were these words.

man is only a long series of obstinate errors. The literary matters are aware, that the author of the *Œuvres complètes*, considers himself exempt from study by the age; but they are not at all disposed to accept this exemption as unattainable, without study; and if Victor Hugo is to draw all from himself, he must make up his mind to the damn of the public."

Mirecourt makes this reply :—

"Never was venom more undeserved inflicted by a critic's sting : never did a blow fall so wide of its object. On the contrary, the least instructed know, that the erudition of the author of *Nôtre Dame* is most extensive and profound, far surpassing that of the most encyclopedic head of the age.

Some officious friends shewed Victor these articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. 'What can we do,' said the poet, 'Planche came to me one evening in a frightful pair of worn-out shoes : I gave him a pair of old boots. You always make an enemy of the man to whom you give your old boots.'

Hints are thrown out that St. Beuve and Planche had not advanced in the catechism as far as the decalogue, and that they were consequently not aware of the law respecting their neighbour's wife, to wit, Madame Victor Hugo, or wilfully broke through it in intention. The lady was so cruel as to despise their tender avowals, but she is accused of having asked Mr. Planche, how was he off for shirts ? a biting affront when his ucleanly habits were taken into account. Mirecourt defends her like a true knight. He asserts that she was incapable of using the words without great provocation, but considers the question as a fair reprisal for Planche's purposed breach of hospitality and the ninth commandment.

"Gustave's family and relatives completely threw him off, from the period of his entering the literary life. They could not even pronounce his name unless in a tone of reproach and hatred.

Either through a desire to annoy them, or to imitate in everything the philosopher of Sinope, Gustave wears abominable clothes, and never washes his hands. Those who knew him before this metamorphose, affirm him to have been a young man of distinguished appearance, enhancing by an aristocratic manner and perfect good taste in dress, the advantages of a fine shape and expressive countenance."

Our critic having praised *Indiana* to the skies, Mme. Sand would penetrate into his dirty den (even in his prosperous days he did not affect respectable lodgings), Hotel de Jean Jacques Rousseau, Rue des Cordiers. Being attired as a student, Mons. George was allowed to pass unmolested.

Hear how she speaks of her partial critic.

"I am under particular obligations as artist, to M. Gustave Planche, a spirit essentially critical, but of the highest elevation of thought. He rendered me the greatest service, not only by obliging me by his friendly railleries, to study my own language, which I at

me negligence, but also because I learned much, which possessed indeed little variety, but was character and of a remarkable lucidity. His acquaintance surrounded me with enmities and bitter ran-

lanche had wounded with tongue or pen, impossible, to receive him at my house when they were was threatened with a complete desertion of my date, who insisted that they ought not to be acquaintance."

her *Mémoires de ma vie*, and Balzac in one involved the intimacy of the two literati in open air, and enveloped it in such a net work of words, that to get a correct idea of the rise, and dissolution of the intimacy would be as that in the household story, where the needle in a cock of hay."

reading volume after volume, correcting proofs, with alcoholic beverages, his blood overheated was affected so far as to oblige the faculty to absolute repose. 'Repose, indeed!' cried he; 'men are your physicians! Rest to a man who tends to live!'

in the same situation as the poor creatures, who the gratuitous consultations held at hospitals, and the doctors prescribe a generous diet washed down with

x. for Gustave, he just then came by a legacy of eighty thousand francs. Without delaying to consult a notary, or buy stock and live on the interest, he took with bank notes, and departed post-haste for his estate for seven delightful years. He went to all the monuments, visited all the museums, and noted down every evening the impressions of

cities of Florence and Naples, he improved himself by *doing nothing*, ate and drank his crowns in the hands and liquors, never gave himself the trouble of the ghost of a body coat, and finally the last pieces of his life waiting to be put in the melting pot. Some sessions latterly awakened by the splendour and beauty in the Italian Churches, now resumed their duties faithfully discharged his christian duties—for

religious," said he; "I will court voluntary poverty free from the harassing task of toiling for bread and I will have leisure for literary com-

"What hindered the execution of this laudable design? Bacchus and a certain heathen goddess, both of whom were in his confidence, could alone reveal the secret. Our man returned to Paris, and Buloz received him with open arms.

The first apparition of Gustave at the Café Momus* in his indescribable costume, raised the enthusiasm of its frequenters even to a pitch of delirium. All its idlers and literary vagabonds, the very cream of *Bohemia* received him in triumph in the midst of a charivari, which waked up the echoes in the neighbouring old Basilic of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois. A *Bohemian* poet seizing on Planche's venerable and greasy hat, then and there improvised a lofty ode on the subject of that famous head-covering. Planche looked on these outpourings of feeling with the greatest benignity, and drank like a hero of the *Iliad*. Next day he resumed the usual routine of former years.

When the celebrated Critic has money in his purse, hear how he spends his day. He engages a coach in the evening, and it is at his door punctually at six o'clock in the morning. At nine, he rises and pays a visit to his friends the painters or sculptors. At eleven, he is set down at a restaurant's in vogue, where he first orders seven or eight glasses of *Absinth* or *Vermuth*† to give the satisfactory tone to his stomach. He then breakfasts in a style more than comfortable, and pays his bill amounting to twenty-five or thirty francs. He then gets into his voiture, and takes a turn among other artists of his acquaintance. At six o'clock he alights at the Café de Paris. Having made a preparation for the digestive organs, similar to that of the morning, he orders succulent viands, and wines of the best quality. The expense of the dinner varies from fifty to sixty francs. His coach then conveys him to the *balcon* of the opera or the orchestra of the Theatre Français. At midnight he hands forty francs to his driver, climbs to his garret, and goes to sleep with the contented feelings which Titus would experience on such an occasion, saying after his example, 'Behold a day well spent.' At the Exhibition he has been frequently seen, oily in face and figure, striving to walk in shoes down at heel, wearing an abominable shirt, a coat with greasy collar, an impracticable hat, and a pantaloons torn and fringed at the bottom.

Being once invited to dine with a celebrated actress, Anais or Mme. Dorval, he arrived before the company. 'My goodness! Planche,' cried the hostess, 'what a figure you cut! Go take a bath I beg; here is a ticket.' He returned in an hour's time as clean as when he set out. 'You unhappy man, you have not taken the bath.' 'By my faith, I have.' 'Look at your hands.' 'Ah

* See our article on Murger's *Vie de Bohème* IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. xx. for scenes at the Café Momus. The author himself is typified by Rodolphe in that work.

† The translator humbly acknowledges his ignorance of the ingredients of these spirituous liquors, and of their English names, if they happen to have any other than *Wormwood wine*.

and a book while in the water.' This he looked on as a waste of time. Exteriorly and interiorly he holds water in detestation.

He never approaches a café; he lives on bread and butter at a labourers' eating house. At this period he is in the ardor, and is to be found only at museums or exhibitions as his diligence has put some money in his pocket. He opens a new café, and resumes his Gargantuan existence. He keeps a secret from all his acquaintances, less from a desire to enjoy solitude. If he is obliged to see a friend when returning home at night, he always waits until they arrive at the street where he lives. If he is called, he turns off in a contrary direction.

He once amused himself making him pace the flags in the morning. But Planche held out like a hero, and got off his legs, and finally succeeded in gaining his freedom. It was a long time supposed that he slept in the crossings of the public promenades; and himself the general impression. 'Where do you lie at night?' 'I do not lie down at all; I perch.' 'And where?' 'Champs-Élysées, third tree on the right.'

When he changes his address, all his moveables are conveyed to him. This circumstance exempts him from employing a messenger, and he is not addicted to blabbing.

Landlords of whom he had just rented a furnished room, when he found his stock of linen represented by a single shirt, said he very naively, 'will you do me the kindness to bring where are your shirts?' 'Will you do me the kindness to explain for what object people go to the laundry for, if not for the sole purpose of exhibiting their shirts, which are very neat ones, and be satisfied.'

As years pass, the less he is disposed to endure the heat of the sun. Sometimes he gets vexed and dismisses a waiter, such is his apathy that he makes no application for relief from hunger by inches. The last time they fell out was on a rigorous winter; and Planche was often seen with a torn grey hat, a strip of pocket handkerchief, and a paletot of very light stuff with vent holes in the shoes unprovided with soles. But Buloz never rescues him.

Planche to keep in check, some high and mighty personage, and whose pretensions wound his vanity. For these, Gustave is a genuine head of the family, and then he gives him leave to go and break wind.

Planche with feeble sight. His health is failing day by day, and his blindness becomes more intense: he wears the same spectacles as in the days of yore.

One day Charles Nodier how an enraged romanticist (as opposed to a classicist) fell on the critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* at the corner of a street, and trashed him.

unmercifully. 'Thank goodness,' said the author of *La Fée à Miettes*, 'that Gustave's coat has at last got what it sadly wanted good brushing.'

At different epochs he has reviewed almost all the cotemporary literature in pieces of incontestible worth. Their titles in collection, *La Poesie, le Theatre, et le Roman Contemporairès—Les Royaux Littéraires—De l'Etat du Theatre en France—Les Amitiés Littéraires—Moralite de la Poesie—De la Critique Française—De la Langue Française, &c.*

Gustave Planche is never niggardly of praise (when deserved), never condemns without cause, that is to say, without a cause which to us often appears insufficient, but perfectly conclusive to him. He is the reverse of a venal critic. His lodgings are never seen lumbered with rich spoils, won at the pen's point from theatrical kings and queens, or other vain imbeciles who are in such terror of the gruff voice of the press. He has never learned to *chaunt*, therefore much will be forgiven to him. His chief defect is his former sympathy with Buloz in his literary likings and dislikings: still sometimes kicks against the traces.

One day he presented a scathing article on Alexander Dumas. Every sentence was a whip stroke: the insolent Scapin of literature was literally cut away to a thread.

'My dear fellow,' said Buloz; 'Dumas writes with us. I do not fire on my own people; modify the article.' 'This is the way to modify it,' said Planche, throwing the manuscript into the fire. The act was the more heroic, as he was at the moment in absolute destitution. It was in November, and his pantaloons were of the light description of Summer wear.

It would be natural to suppose, from the majestic movement of Dr. Johnson's sentences, and the accurate adjustment of their parts to each other, that composition cost him much labor, while in reality it required not much more than a moderate exertion of his thinking powers. Mirecourt makes the same remark concerning the ample form and the harmony of Gustave Planche's periods, adding that no living writer composes with greater ease to himself.

"Louis Napoleon has a high esteem for the critical talents of Gustave Planche. His cabinet is never without a copy of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* open at one of his articles.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, he wrote to the hero, inviting him to select any office he pleased in the 'Administration of the Fine Arts,' even the chief management, if it suited him. Planche considered that if he took office he should change his name, renounce his liberty, wash his hands, and wear stiff new clothes. He thanked the Emperor and declined the Imperial favor.

A personage high in the department bitterly complained one day of Buloz of the remarks of Planche on the public works then in course of execution. 'Have a care sir,' said Buloz; 'His Majesty sets great value on his opinions.' He paid a visit at once to the critic,

circumstance. Gustave arose from his sick bed, took a letter from a drawer, and read it out for him. 'When I come again,' said he, 'tell him that I could occupy my time now if I chose.'

He despises official salary, and ease, continues to labor hard for art. On the occasion of the *UNIVERSAL* he wrote a series of truly superior articles. Still the same judgment, the same profound knowledge, the same simple, and pure style. Recently he has resumed the works of the great sculptor whom France has lost.

Planché were living men when their biographies were written. The reader being aware that both have gone, would probably find Mirecourt's handling severe, if he did not keep the other fact before him in writing the article. Undisguised dislike towards Planché is apparent, while great respect for the critical temper for the sensual habits of Planché, are shown.

It will do no harm to such of our younger writers who got through the *Mysteries* (taking for granted that they never scraped acquaintance with the *Jew*), and who, from the apparent goodness of the author's example, follow his whole way with him in his *moral* and *social* writings. It will do no harm, we repeat, to be made acquainted with life as shown above, and to be reminded that there could be to expect pure and refreshing waters from a muddy and unhealthy source.

It is not to conceive how such sound judgment, and clear thought, and pure taste, could be united to such sensibilities as held the mastery in the case of John Goldsmith may be quoted to us as another example; but there are many differences. If the purest feelings prevail in his writings, they were also devoid of prodigal generosity. If his morals were not unimpaired, and if his life generally was not a model, and if the spirit and character of his conduct the reverse of his own, he was not to be followed. He loved and revered everything that is noble in its nature, but strength of resolve was wanting. He was not proof, during these hours when the passions are not at their post, to the seductions of

Annals of Literature, IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW,
a few satirical allusions to this Artist's manner.

sociality, the pleasures of the table, and the irregularities which they are preludes. In his thinking moments he felt the evil effects of his weakness of purpose; and would war with the readers of the snares from which he had the wish but not the force to free himself. And if his writings are pure, and tend to make us in love with all virtues, prudence in particular, they were the genuine and natural emanations of his head and heart at the moment of composition.

Planché's was altogether a sensual nature, and consequently fully disposed to all the agreeable impressions received through the medium of the senses. Hence his love of mere earthly arts, and the pure taste acquired in the daily contemplation of their finest productions. He deserves no more credit for his knowledge and taste in this department, than the lark for springing into the air, and singing his song of joy on a fine Summer morning.

We proceed to some incidents in Balzac's career, repeated in that our critic's estimation of him must be taken at a discount for there is throughout his sketch, a strong leaven of personal liking for his subject.

"Honoré de Balzac was born in Tours, 20th May, 1799, in the house of the *Rue Imperiale* which bears the No. 45. • • •

The young Honoré grew up along with two charming young sisters, whose amusements he would not condescend to share. He absorbed was he from his early years, with a precocious inspiration which continually carried him off into the world of dreams.

Mme. Balzac, concerned to see a child so young subject to these abstractions, bought him some toys, but he only selected a few. He seized on it with joy, and exercised his bow from morning to night, crying out from time to time to his elder sister Laura, "how beautiful!" But when she complained of her ears being filled by it, he retreated to the wood, and was found two hours after, rasping the catgut, with his eyes cast upward, and streaming down tears of delight."*

At five years of age he read the Scriptures, and lost himself with ecstasy in their mysterious depths. He read every book he could lay hands on before his departure for college; he read every book in the college, dictionaries included; he contrived to be frequently confined for negligence, and read in his prison. "Seated at the feast of knowledge, he swallowed whole libraries, but then came the difficulty of digestion." After some • • •

* Several circumstances of his youth are recorded in his novel "*Les Lambert.*"

kind of waking somnambulism, the effervescence of his ideas assumed distinction, and the fire with which he had filled the chambers of his own pegs and corners.

fourteen knew everything but what was before him, not tell the difference between a vineyard and a carefully preserved Gourd for several days induced by his sister that it was an Indian Cactus. In the future, he once cried out to his sisters, 'you are enowned.' However he paid dear for his profligate occasion the mocking young damsels would have bowed and low curtsies, 'hail to the GREAT

He left Tours to reside in Paris where his father had a lucrative situation, he passed through life with success, and amused himself at home with Latin, and classifying his increasing library. His father examined him as to his choice of a profession, answered '*Literature.*' 'But do you not wish to escape being a beggar in that line, son?' 'Well, I will be a king.' 'We may see,' said his father, 'that Monsieur has a decided taste for poverty.' 'But, some people are persuaded that they are more hospital as a matter of course.' So the only son of Honoré only remaining. He patronised a most amusing letters to his sisters on the subject of residence, and contracted tooth-aches in his which never afterwards ceased troubling him. His first literary attempt was an unacted tragedy of Cromwell, and Charles I. Then in the face of dire poverty, he produced forty lines under the name of *Lord R'hoone* (anagram of *Horace St. Aubin*). Finding he was only leaning against a wall, he published with a friend's assistance Molière in one volume with a preface by the works of Fontaine in a similar form; but the sisters not give their hands to the work, and he was ruined by his speculation.

In order to turn his mind from literature in his father's shop as head of a printing establishment; he was elected on the press at the time soon obliged to dispose of his plant, and he took once more to his additional amount of debt on his back.

Continent, nearly all their youth being spent in conversing *pensions*, the minds of the fair pensionnaires cannot be taken by the reading of unattainable works. Again, while he is at home, merchants' or shopkeepers' daughters are paying visits or attending morning concerts, or adorning their persons with shopping, their sisters in the French cities are sitting in their hives in their fathers' counting houses, and making entries in curious folios bound in rough calf. Again, looking on the myriads of *Lelias*, *Arthurs*, *Martins*, *Delphines*, and *Jean* lying on our booksellers' tables in their bright tinted paper wrappers, and sold at the low price of 1s. or thereabouts, any young lady or gentleman desirous of a dose of intoxicating poison, we cannot conscientiously say that the youth of our upper and middle ranks are so much better off than the corresponding classes beyond the strait of Calais. And how can our folk of grimy faces and hardened palms, when the winter hire and the day of rest arrive? Have they not translated the worst French romances? Have they not the editions of the memoirs of that darling George IV., and have they not printed sheets poisoned to the core with the rabies of unprincipled scribblers, who, striving after the power and wickedness of their French brothers in evil, have only succeeded in securing the bad quality.

And when tavern keepers who furnish ardent spirits to customers already intoxicated, when those who keep dens for the destruction of the health, the innocence, and the spirit of our youth, or those who sell poison, knowing that it may be applied for the extinction of human life,—when any of these worthies go calmly about their daily occupations, and enjoy life without feeling the sting of conscience, then, not till *then* may the writers, the publishers, and the vendors of evil books, think they are leading the lives of Christians and of honest useful members of the great social family.*

* We subjoin the names of some works lately come under notice, and as harmless as the ordinary run of English novels. *Mariage en Province*, par Mme. Léonie Aunet, *La Fin du P* par A. de Pontmartin, *Belle Rose*, par Amedée Achard (this is a friend's report), *Adeline Protat*, par Henri Murger, as before mentioned, *La Duchesse d'Hanspar*, and *Amour et Finance*, par Edmond Texier, *Tolla*, *Les Mariages de Paris*, *Germaine*, and *Le R* *Montagnes*, par Edmond About. We hope some day for the pleasure of presenting to our readers, a few specimens from the pen of this most genial, humorous, and healthy-minded writer.

THE BOOKS OF THE FOUR KINGS.

*of Games, &c., &c. Written or Compiled
and Amateurs.* Edited by Henry G. Bohn.
1850.

at a gambler; such has been the opinion
makers, who have made human nature their
ters not whether cards, dice, or the thou-
er modes of gambling which exist, from
of chess, played in the princely court, to
nd trick-of-the-loop at the rural fair, all,
r turn, are gamblers. Nay, is not our
at best, a species of gambling, or, if you
speculation.

diplomatist, whilst intriguing with foreign
ts; the ablest general, marshalling his
g his men to victory; the judge, on his
e pleader, advocating his client's cause;
holding in his hands the life or death of
re, more or less, the creatures of circum-
d by chance, are merely gambling for the
es, or lives of their respective adherents.
man's nobler nature is inherently specu-
l surprised at the almost natural tendency
ur social relations, when recreation coun-
ment, and the nobleman on the turf, or the
is club, feels a pleasurable excitement in
changes of a game, though it may be his
e issue. Nor is gambling confined to the
to the middle classes; the rustic at the
well-thumbed pack of cards, and stakes
ue a spirit of gambling as the highest
l, aye, or the king on his throne. And
ve shown how strong in our nature is
it may not be uninteresting to give a few
lismantic bits of pasteboard—Cards.
ous have been the notions conceived, and
n as to the origin of cards, some claiming
an, others as an Eastern invention; Ger-
nce, and England have each their adherents

in asserting that to them we are indebted for this my source of amusement, and much as we would be inclined to claim the honor of originality for our own quarter of the globe, we must, in justice to truth, admit that our eastern brethren are the originators. The game of chess, nearly the same in its principles as it is now played, was first devised in India, about the beginning of the fifth century. The similarity between the chessmen of the old oriental game and the court or coat cards, suggests the idea that in chess we are indebted for the invention of cards. In the eastern game there were six orders amongst the chessmen, namely, *Schach*, the king; *Pherz*, the general; *Phil*, the elephant; *Aspensuar*, the horseman; *Ruch*, the camel; and *Beydel*, or *Beydak*, the footmen or infantry. There was no queen, as it would be contrary to the notions of oriental propriety to introduce a woman into a game in which the stratagems of war were represented, and even after the introduction of chess into Europe, the piece now called the queen retained its eastern name *Fierge*, though it assumed a feminine character. *Fierge* became assimilated to the French *Vierge*, a maid, and finally to *Dame*, the lady. The other pieces have also undergone a change in the European game. Namely, *Phil*, the elephant, is now the Bishop of the English, and the *Fol* or *Fou* of the French; *Aspensuar*, the horseman, is the French *Chevalier*, and the English knight; *Ruch*, the camel, is the English *Rook*, the *Castle*, and the French *Tour*; and the *Beydel*, or *Beydak*, the footmen, are now the French *Pions*, and the English *Pawns*.

The same change has taken place as regards the queen in cards as in chess. Amongst the oldest numeral cards that have been discovered no queen is to be found; nor is the Spanish or German at an early period. In the Spanish the court cards of each suit were (*Rey*) the king, (*Cavall*) the knight, and (*Sota*) the knave or attendant. In the German, (*König*) the king, (*Ober*) the chief officer, (*Unter*) the subaltern. The Italians merely added the queen, thus having four instead of three, namely, *Reina*, *Cavallo*, and *Fante*. There was another very ancient Indian game, called *Chaturaji* or the *Four King* game, this game, which represented a mimic battle, was played by four persons, thus shadowing forth our scientific game.

and I. played this game. There is mention of coins being appropriated for the king's use at the Four Kings—at least it has been so in Anstis's History of the Garter. The latter is, that Edward acquired a knowledge of Syria, having spent several years in that country of Wales, which is another link to the oriental origin. Though this game is supposed to have been chess, still it but marks the difference between cards and chess, as the number five symbol in cards, for instance, the suits are also the suits, and it is a well-known fact, stated by Mrs. Piozzi, in her Retrospection, 1791, and also by a well-known writer in the Quarterly Review for August, 1844, that cards were generally called the Books of the Four Kings. It is supposed to have been derived from the Persian word, which signifies four in the Hindostanee language, and is supposed that it had its origin in the word *car*, or paper, but the accredited opinions are in favour of the former, and associate the name

with the word *Naipes*, by which cards were first called by the Italians and Spanish, is by some supposed to be derived from the Arabic; others think that in Hindostan we must look for its origin, as the word signifies in that country a viceroy or governor of a certain district as sovereign, and therefore the word was the acknowledged name for chess, and it is probable that the term *Naipes* was so called, as it may, it is certain that cards are at all known both to the Hindoos and Moslems. As the cards bear no resemblance to ours in shape, usually circular, and are evidently peculiar to the country, identified with their habits, customs, and the number of suits in some packs is eight, in others six, they bear a similitude to the earliest known cards, having no queen, the two court cards being the king and his principal minister.

For Hindostan the invention of cards, we may premise that in the museum of the British Museum we have no specimen of Hindostanee

cards. In the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society there are, however, three packs, one consisting of ten suits, the other two of eight suits each. The material of which they are formed appears to be canvass, but so highly varnished as to feel like wood. The figures and marks on these cards appear to be done by the hand, not stencilled or printed. Judging by this, one would suppose card painting an acknowledged profession in Hindostan. For one of those packs an almost fabulous origin is claimed; it consists of eight suits, and from a memorandum by which it is accompanied, the following information may be obtained. They formerly belonged to a Captain D. Cromline Smith to whom they were presented, about the year 1815, by a Bramin of Southern India, who informed Captain Smith that they were an heir-loom in his family, and were more than a thousand years old; he was not sure if they were perfect. He also stated that no one at the present time understood them, nor were there any books in existence which any information regarding them could be gained. They seem, however, to be in such high preservation that the Bramin's story appears almost incredible, and would lead one to imagine it a mere legend as regards the remote antiquity, and from the costume of the figures and harness of the animals the writer of the memorandum assumes them to be of Hindostanee origin.

There is a tradition regarding the origin of the Hindostanee cards, namely, that they were invented by a favourite sultana, to wean her husband from a habit he had acquired of pulling or eradicating his beard.

There is a marked similarity between the oldest European cards, preserved either in public libraries or private collections, and those of Hindostan. As the marks of the European suits, cups, or chalices, swords, money, and clubs have been supposed to represent the four principal classes in the European state, that is, churchmen, swordsmen, monied men or merchants, and club men or labourers, in like manner are the four great historical castes of the Hindoos represented, thus, Bramins, priests; Chetris, soldiers; Vaisyas, tradesmen and artificers; and Sudras, slaves and the lowest class of labourers.

In the oldest stencilled or printed European cards, which are about the fifteenth century, we find a similarity betw

suits and the Hindostanee cards; the hearts, leaves, and acorns, each of those common with the eastern cards but there can we perceive any corresponding the hearts as being derived from them. Our own time is supposed to have had its astrala or mystic diamond, worn on the or held in the palm of his hand. appear to have been known from a very na, they were supposed to have been n of Seum-ho, in 1120, for the amuse-sses. They were called Che-pae, or gh the name of a single card was *Shen*, y unlike the cards of other countries, diamond is nearly the same as that on ; the Chinese cards are much narrower

of cards into Europe is still involved in however, a well-grounded supposition own early in the fourteenth century, if period, as many aver. It is, however, about the year 1393, Charles Poupart, sehold of Charles VI., of France, made ok of accounts, of a *Jeux de Cartes*, the in France for a pack of cards. Some t cards were known in the eleventh hn of Salisbury, who was born in the welfth, makes no mention in his work, um," on the trifling of courtiers, which suppose they were in use at that period, apter of the first book is devoted to the gaining. The canon of the Council of 1240, interdicts clergymen from parti- such as dice, king and queen, &c.; the en the game of cards. The entry in the of Edward I., we have recorded before; knowledge of chess, or the game of the east; this was, however, merely an as- on. Daines Barrington, in his remarks on story of the Garter;" but might not nt the game from his wife, Eleanor of ive to Spain the honor of introducing

them into England. This would be a justification of Abbé Rive's theory, that cards were invented in Spain, were known there early in the fourteenth century. authority, however, from which he has derived his information is rather apocryphal, being a French translation, Gutery, of "Guevara's Epistles," who, it is supposed, interpolated his version, and assumed that a general prohibition of gaming must, of necessity, include cards. We may therefore, suppose that many of the earlier accounts of the use of playing cards that have been transmitted to us, are merely the interpolations of the several translators or compilers who made them in good faith, neither for the purpose of deceiving, or claiming for them a fabulous antiquity, but merely from a desire to supply what they considered an omission. Be it what it may, it furnishes a proof that cards were not in frequent use, at all events either in France or Spain, at the period in which they wrote. In the "*Magasin Pittoresque*," for April, 1836, an illustration is given said to be an exact copy from a miniature in a MSS. of the *Cité de Dieu* translated from St. Augustine, by Raoul Presle; the translation assumes the miniature to represent persons of distinction playing at cards in the reign of Charles V. There is no evidence, however, in proof of the date, and the costume represented appears to be more like that worn in the reign of Charles VI. No deduction can be drawn from the kind of cards they are represented as playing with, as there is no definite description of the cards used in France at that period.

That cards were introduced into Germany in the year 1300, has been averred by some authors. Heneiken, quoted from the *Güldin Spil*, assumes it to be a fact, though there is no evidence of their being in general use for at least a century later.

Now, that we have given the opinions of doubtful authorities, it is but fair to present a resumé of what may be depended on as a correct history of cards from 1293, when they became more generally used, a period to which popular belief has even attributed their origin. They were supposed to have been invented to amuse Charles VI. of France during his lucid intervals, he having become deranged from the effects of a sun-stroke, in 1392. But this it appears, is only a popular fallacy, its authenticity being

an entry made in the accounts of Charles to Charles the VI., in which mention is made of three packs of cards from a painter Gringonneur, who was the supposed inventor; however, an undoubted fact, that cards were in use previous to, or even at that period, attested in the court circles, and amongst the nobility, they did not become generally popular among the people until about the year 1397, when a law was issued prohibiting them on working days. Gambling, however, so strongly inherent in the human mind, so powerful at this period, that many, notwithstanding the law, and fearing a predilection at all times to be unrestrainedly indulged, made voluntary sacrifices to this vice, and bound themselves to the penalties in cases of infraction. The temperance of our own day, through the instrumentality of which a change has been wrought on the habits of a people labouring under what was a national vice, and in a great degree freed by which they were enthralled, by and from a passion as direful in its consequences, more debasing in its indulgence as a striking similarity to the system of the eighteenth century. Menestrier records that Duke of Savoy, afterwards Pope Felix V., forbidding gaming in his territory; cards were permitted, with whom men might play, provided the stakes were small. This prohibition was issued in the

to have taken the lead in card making, in the regular trade, which was early in the fourteenth century. From some records extant, it would appear that the earliest card makers and card dealers were the earliest card makers and card dealers. In the rate-book of Nuremberg the name of *Gerhard* is mentioned, year 1438. Nuremberg and Ulm, appear to have been the chief places where cards were manufactured in the fifteenth century. Nor did they confine their sales of these cards to their own country; they did also a large export of cards. It was proposed that it was against the German law, and an order was issued in Venice, prohibiting

the introduction of foreign cards into the city, under penalty, as their own manufactures had fallen into disrepute, in consequence of their importation.

Though it has been assumed that wood engraving is its origin in the practice of engraving cards on wood, was thence extended to sacred and other subjects, the theory is by no means authenticated, as cards bearing date 1440 were evidently stencilled; and the circumstance of so many women card painters employed at Nuremberg between 1433 and 1477, is an irrefragable proof that it is not the fact; they, at least, were not wood engravers. It may however be credited, that at this period the same professions were practised by the same person, some like barber-surgeons.

The precise period in which wood engraving was introduced in Europe, or in what country it was practised, is doubtful. A wood engraving, bearing date 1418, was thought to have been discovered pasted in the inside of an old book, but as the figures were supposed to have been changed, the genuineness of the date cannot be vouched for. The most famous of this cut is the Blessed Virgin, with the infant Jesus in her arms, surrounded by four female saints, named Catharine, St. Barbara, St. Dorothy and St. Margaret. A facsimile of it is given in the *Athenæum*, for the 10th of October, 1845.

The St. Christopher in Earl Spencer's collection which bears date 1423, as mentioned by Heineken, was pasted in the inside of the cover of a manuscript volume in the library of Buxheim near Memmingen in Suabia, within fifty miles of Augsburg. On the inside of the cover, Heineken discovered another cut, of the Annunciation, the same as the St. Christopher, and apparently executed about the same time. The volume in which those cuts were pasted was bequeathed to the convent by Anna, Canoness of Buchau, who was living in 1427. Both those engravings are in the Earl Spencer's collection. There is an interesting anecdote connected with cards related of St. Bernardin of Siena, who, in preaching in the year 1424, on the steps in front of the Church of St. Petronius at Bologna, he depicted so vividly the evils of gaming, particularly card playing, to which the Bolognese were much addicted, that his auditors kindled a large fire in the public place, and threw their cards

who was present, seeing his mode of life thus, from him, addressed the saint as follows: not learned any other business than that and if that is taken from me, you deprive my destitute family of the means of support." Thus to his appeal, "if you are at a loss for your talent for painting in the manner best to fortune, paint this image and you will have the change." Thus saying, he drew forth and on it the figure of a radiant sun, with indicated in the centre by the letters and painter followed the saint's advice, and became a rich man. There is an old wood-cut engraving at Paris, bearing date 1454, which is a reference to this anecdote, as the saint is holding in his right hand the symbol he recommended to paint. Nor was Saint Bernardin a lover of cards when played not as a pastime, but of gambling; several other holy fathers have taken the same subject, and with like success. The French also denounced cards, which in Germany, however, become very popular, and some of the writers have mentioned cards as a game at which to play after dinner or supper to recreate and to improve digestion. The progress of cards, however, uninterrupted through the centuries, and even in England during the reign of the Stuarts, have mention of card making as a regular industry in the country, but whether this is truth or fallacy it is a admitted fact that they formed a portion of the amusements of the times at that epoch; Henry VII., according to tradition, had a passion for cards, as there is notice of money lost at cards, in his privy purse; and it was a common game at Henry's court, and children indulged in this recreation, and the king's wife of James IV. of Scotland, had a quarrel with her affianced husband whilst engaged on her arrival in Scotland to fulfil her engagements, as she herself indulged in this pastime, and there are many instances on record of monies lost by him. In the *Edinburgh Journal* of 1832, "there is mention of four French crowns given to Cuddy the

Inglis luter, to louse his cheyne of grotis, quihilk he the cartis ; i. e., to redeem his chain of groats which at cards." Rogers, whether availing himself of a license or not, we cannot aver, has represented Col playing cards in his first voyage of discovery ; this, however, is not unlikely, and may be a fact rather than a fiction, is supposed to be. It has been recorded of Catherine, Henry VIII., that amongst her other accomplishments she could play with "cardes or dyce;" this, however, may be attributed to her Spanish origin. Henry's daughter Princess Mary, afterwards queen, was fond of cards, and there are various entries of money given to the princess for this purpose. During Henry's reign card-playing was a general amusement amongst all classes, both in England and Scotland.

There is no mention of the introduction of cards into Ireland anterior to the sixteenth century. Spenser, at the latter end of that century, represents cards as a common amusement in the south of Ireland, and one, the introduction of which led to every species of dissipation and mischief. The favorite game in Kerry was called "One-and-Two," which was supposed to have been derived from the Spanish, as a game so designated was customary in that country.

The period at which cards were used for the purpose of divination or fortune-telling in Europe is not precisely known. It is, however, supposed that such practice was customary in or about the close of the fifteenth century. The gypsies, by whom this occult science was most generally practised, were undoubtedly of Asiatic origin, another proof, if proof was wanted, that cards are an oriental invention. This species of juggling or conjuring had many votaries during the latter portion of the sixteenth century ; the nervous or weak-minded, who sought through such baneful influence to divine either the present, past or future, what direful consequences have too often ensued. Bands of vagabonds, and sometimes life, have been the penalty paid by those whose credulity led them to seek through such unholy intervention a knowledge which the All-wise Deity, in his mercy, had concealed from them. Nor is it to the sixteenth century alone that such practices have been confined ; has it not been transmitted to our own enlightened era ? have we not to this present day our itinerant mountebanks playing

ple people, aye, and of educated ones too, is allowed to assume the place of reason, gentleman, as the case may be, though, is yet inwardly believing in the magic card-drawer. We do not, here, of course, imple feats and tricks performed by the r. Who is it that will not at intervals period when first initiated into the mystic ayng, or the still more attractive hour g companion, learned in the occult science, witchcraft adroitly divined our inmost owingly pointed out the card we were we felt an almost instinctive fear of one minds seemed gifted with the powers of reminiscences of boyhood would be irrelevant not drawing a line of distinction between e of a simple mode of amusement.

gn of Elizabeth, who was herself a card- and satirical representations of cards een a Christmas pastime. In this art we e French, who, artistic as they undeniably arly a century behind hand. Rimero was gue during Elizabeth's reign; Man was lly played in James I.; this game appears ed with fine cards, and like our own old d-twenty and five-and-forty, the five of e five fingers, was the best card, next to e of hearts.

aking was in practice in England in the yet some authors would have it that it al use during the reigns of Elizabeth or t this time, claimed the privilege of manu- ot alone for its own country but in a great s also. JEHAN VOLAY, or according to y, was one of the most celebrated French e sixteenth century; there are some of preserved in the Bibliothèque Imperiale,

l poem, entitled the "Knave of Hearts," nds, in 1612, it would appear that cards very generally manufactured in England, ater a prohibition was issued forbidding

the importation of foreign cards; this was in the reign of Charles I. But a sadder game was now looming in the distance, which for a time superseded all thoughts of play, and when cards were used at all they were only employed as a medium by which political or satirical squibs could be promulgated. We had also at this time scientific cards supposed to be invented for the purpose of imparting grammatical knowledge, but which united amusement to instruction, and by this means were unobjectionable to the puritans of that day. There were also the practical cards by which means the knowledge of spelling, writing, and cyphering was imparted. Charles II., however, on his accession to the throne, completely changed the course of things, and if his predecessor was extreme in one way, he was Charles in the other; and thus, at a court where he reigned triumphant, cards were, as a necessary consequence, in great request. During this reign the business of card-making increased vastly in England; ingenious persons rendering cards a medium by which they were enabled to alone to diffuse useful and entertaining information, also for the purposes of advertisement. In France scientific or geographical cards assumed a higher rank in thought and purpose, and were devised altogether for the exclusive use of the nobility, embracing the study of heraldry, and the elements of history and geography. In England, however, a wider scope was taken, and the records of cards being made subservient to the purpose of conveying instruction on various subjects, amongst which were politics, history, mathematics, and even card-play. About the seventeenth century there was a pack of cards invented at Lyons, in which the aces and knaves were represented by the arms of certain nobles and princes; this naturally gave offence, but as the insult was not through design but purely through inadvertence, the inventor was pardoned, and his plates restored to him on condition that he would change them into princes and chevaliers. Nearly about the same period a pack of cards was engraven in England with almost a similar design, the court cards of each representing the arms of the Pope, or of one of the crowned heads of Europe. For instance, the King of Clubs bore the heraldic arms of the Pope. The King of Hearts, the Queen of Diamonds, and the King of Diamonds represented the

and the King of Spades that of France; es (or princes as they were called), and the other European powers. Another cards, which had merely reference to England about this period; in this the nobles each according to their grade, by the high a description of the armorial bearings order to play with heraldic cards, the game popular, and outlived neither the court of the Revolution in England.

ed at this period for all purposes of in- as amusement; thus, learning made easy of the day, and Cardinal Mazarin gets the ng cards, as a mode of imparting informa- V., when a child. Thus, geography, his- nd all the other adjuncts to learning, were oy al youth as a recreation, rather than a

n, and that of George the First, satirical ards were much in vogue. Various were ed for the latter; love, however, generally d each card had a symbolic motto. The e similar in design, only different in ten- ttoes were as keenly pungent on one, as y amorous on the other.

ng instructions for playing at cards were n the seventeenth century, but from publication down to the present day, all ritten on them, even by our own Hoyle, the same instruction to the uninitiated, as d playing itself imparts. No book learn- et at least, can compete with that of the ractical card player.

k, as it was originally called, though a s by no means as fashionable or scientific tier days as it has since become. It was what are called *Swabbers*; this term origi- ly in the custom which then prevailed, r holding in his hand certain cards was p a share of the stake, independent of the , and thus in seamen's parlance, clearing bbing, as it was called. Swift represents

clergymen at that period, as fond of *Whisk* and *Swabbers*. *Whisk*, however, did not attain its high position until half a century ago, when a set of gentlemen who frequented the crown coffee house, in Bedford Row, and who, under the scientific instructions of Edmund Hoyle Gent, whose treatise on Whist was at that time published by Thomas Osborne, at Gray's Inn, attained for it the proud pre-eminence it still maintains over all games, chess alone excepted.

Alexander Thompson, in his "Humours of Whist," in the prologue thus commemorated both the gentlemen and their scientific instructor—

"Who will believe that man could e'er exist,
Who spent near half an age in studying Whist,
Grew grey with calculation,—Labour hard!—
As if Life's business centred in a card?
That such there is, let me to those appeal,
Who with such liberal hands reward his zeal,
Lo! Whist he makes a science; and our Peers
Deign to turn school-boys in their riper years
Kings too, and Viceroy, proud to play the game,
Devour his learned page in quest of Fame,
While lordly Sharpers dupe away at White's,
And scarce leave one poor cull for common bias."

The substitution of the term *Whist* for its original *Whisk*, has evidently reference to the silence necessarily to be observed whilst playing the game. Dr. Johnson coincides in this opinion; and the writer of an article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* assumes that the name has its origin in the "Irish phrase, *Whisht*, or, be quiet." The term however, bears its own interpretation, and is evidently intended to enjoin silence.

Whisk and *Swabbers* was the same as the still older *Buff* and *Honours*. The reason assigned for the popularity of these games amongst the higher or court circles from the reign of Charles II., to that of George II., was assumed to have been the covert ridicule they were supposed to cast on the dress and habits of the time.

In the reign of Queen Anne card-playing was at its zenith in all civilized Europe. In England it was fashionable and popular. *Ombre* was the favorite game of the ladies, *piquet* of the gentlemen; *whist* at that

er than the grade of country squires. ombre in his " Rape of the Lock ;" this y the one most in favour at this epoch. greater portion of the " Georgian Era," vogue ; Seymour's " Court Gamester," to the title-page, for the use of the blished in the early part of George the was intended for the instruction of the e Prince of Wales, afterwards George ons of Ombre and Piquet were most hless he was evidently at fault, though s work assumes it to have been altogether val circle, yet the preface admits that it ange, and the author acknowledges that d to compile it for the fashionable world eing so much in vogue at the time, that dge on the subject was considered a test

h gambling was, in every phase of life, y ; whether in private pastime or public f speculation pervaded all. The South rious other schemes arose and fell, with s every utopian juggle, no matter in eted ; and the promoters with their dupes iately caricatured by a pack of cards n 1721. About the same time a set of s published in Holland, ridiculing the About the year 1737, Hoyle's " Trea- as published, and was received with ked approbation, particularly amongst s, who formed themselves into coteries aracter, not merely for the purposes of ut in order to indulge their passion for at period attained a celebrity it has e present period.

ign of George II., in the halcyon days a Cibber was poet-laureate, when the of the army, were the heroes we see irth's " March to Finchley," and when ubb Doddington had the entrée by the Leicester House and at St. James's. of this age, both spiritual and profane,

seem to have been imbued with the frivolity of the times, to have had a taint of the prevailing vices pervading their efforts at correction. John Wesley, the preacher, Richardson, the novelist, though each in his way attending reformation, still wrote and spoke in a spirit which our time at least, would be considered too tolerant.

Bath, or as it has been designated the City of the Incognito, became, under the reign of Beau Nash, a fashionable resort for the gay and frivolous; he was the master-spirit, in which all the little world of fashion congregated, and the charming watering-place seemed to be ruled. The town was by nature adapted to the discharge of a duty so fitted with pleasure, and in which he was so admitted to caterer to the happiness of others; he was an adept in the science of flattery, and could administer it most adroitly to a duchess, whilst affecting to reprove her, and could cajole the little would-be fine ladies, as to persuade them they were honoured by his condescension, whilst directing them out for the amusement of *real* ladies. His practical tact was displayed in bringing parties together who were desirous to be acquainted, or whose tastes assimilated. His dress, as master of the ceremonies, was particularly odd; he wore a large white hat, cocked, the buckle of the stock before instead of behind; and defying even the bracing air his waistcoat was unbuttoned to display the bosom of his shirt. He drove six greys, and when he went in state to the rooms was always attended by a numerous escort, and a band of music, generally composed of fife and horns.

There was a marble statue erected to his memory at his death, which took place in 1761, by the corporation of Bath, in gratitude for the benefits conferred on them through his means. The statue was placed in the pump-room, between those of Newton and Pope; this remarkable position was animadverted on in a witty epigram by his friend Lord Chesterfield:—

“The Statue, placed these busts between,
Gives Satire all its strength;
Wisdom and Wit are little seen,
But Folly at full length.”

The Earl of Chesterfield was a constant habitué, at

in play with a Mr. Lookup, one of the professional gamblers of the day; billiards the amusement, and it is recorded that he was successful in all those games; the money which he sometimes won from Lord Chesterfield at the tables was used in building some houses at Bath, and in purchasing a noble pigeon he had so well plucked, he called them "Chesterfield Row." Lookup, in a scrape which was near proving fatal to him, was accused of unfair play by a gentleman who sued him, and in the course of the law proceedings on the matter, he, through the blundering of his counsel, voluntarily committed perjury for which he was merely escaped the pillory owing to a technicality in the indictment. He is said to have died in prison, whilst playing at his favorite game of whist, which gave rise to the witty remark of Foote, "he was humbugged out of the world at last."

George II. was remarkable as an era of vice, he took the lead, and though Colley Cibber was the champion of the table of "my lord;" and the great old man behind a screen in Caves' back shop eagerly bought the meat, which the thoughtful book-seller has put on his own table, still might be seen a batch of men hurrying down to the house from the streets to record their votes against gambling, the act of indulging in the vice, against which a law was thus passed.

This inconsistency was cleverly shown up in a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter to the Club at

the Propensities of Lord Anson the circumstances were satirised in a series of humorous and well-timed letters published at the time against the ministry, the members of both the ministry and the club. The coat of arms is represented in the same series. It is a shield supported by a card and a dice-box, and a chain, from which hangs a label inscribed with the words, "two knaves. Crest, a hand holding a card." *"Cog it AMOR NUMMI."*

During the reign of George III. gambling increased rather than decreased. Preachers

were loud in their denunciations of this vice, and Dr. Fennell, master of the Temple, is reported to have with his hand placed under the knocker of Mr. Fox's door a very animated sermon in which, whilst denouncing GAMING GAMBLERS, he levelled his shafts openly at the great himself.

Various species of cards have been represented as belonging to different periods; the two, however, most written about have been the Tarocchi or Tarots, and those consisting of the four suits, which are in common use throughout Europe. Some suppose the Tarocchi cards to have been of Egyptian origin, whilst others assume them to have been the invention of Jacquemiu Gringonneur for the amusement of the lunatic King Charles VI. An Italian of the fifteenth century gets the credit of originating them at Bologna; a pack of Tarots is at present used in France similar to those described by the writers of the sixteenth century; it consists of seventy-eight cards, and four suits, the marks of which are swords, caps, batons and money.

The earliest known specimens of what are called the Tarocchi cards are those preserved in the Imperial library at Paris, and are supposed to be one of the three packs painted for Charles VI., 1393. They originally belonged to Mons. Gaignières, governor to the grand-children of Louis XIV. and who bequeathed them with his entire collection of pictures and drawings to the king in 1711. Dr. Martin Lister alludes to them in an account of a journey he took to Paris in 1698: "I waited upon the Abbot Droine to visit Mons. Guanieres (de Gaignières) at his lodgings in the Hostellerie de Guise. One toy I took particular notice of, a collection of playing cards for 300 years. The oldest were three times bigger than what are now used, extremely well limbed and illuminated with gilt borders, and the pasteboard thick and firm, but there was not a complete set of them."

Mons. Duchesne in his "Observations sur les Cartes à jouer," published in the "Annuaire Historique" for the year 1837, thus writes, "there are seventeen of them, and there can scarcely be a doubt of their having formed part of a set of what are called Tarocchi cards, which when complete consisted of fifty. They are painted on paper, in the manner of illuminations in old manuscripts, on a gold ground which is in other parts marked with ornamental lines, for

slightly pricked into the composition and is laid. They are surrounded by a binding, in which there is also seen an ornament in the same manner, by means of points, re-cesses, of scroll or twisted riband. Some parts on the vestments of the different figures are in gold, while the weapons and armour are in silver, which, like that on the borders, has become oxydized through time."

occhi cards are not supposed to have been of chance, but rather of instruction. In a card of five classes, we find the planets of the celestial system, the virtues which constitute morality, the sciences, the muses, and the various conditions of life in which man may be placed, from the highest to the lowest position.

Specimens of undoubted playing cards are found engraved on wood, and judging by the construction one would take them to have been made in the fifteenth century.

The French, with the suits now in use, has also the substitution of the female court card, instead of a male figure. This has been considered by several French writers as a mark of gallantry of their nation. The French were in the habit of giving historical names to their court cards, and the names of the cards were named as follows in the time of Louis XIV. We have this moment before us a pack of cards which have precisely the same names and devices :

<i>Kings.</i>		<i>Queens.</i>		<i>Valets or Knaves.</i>	
ROBERT.	LEMAIGNÉ.	JUDITH.		LAHIRE.	
DAVID.		RACHEL.		HECTOR.	
DAVID.		ARGINE.		LANCÉLOT.	
DAVID.		PALLAS.		HOGIER.	

Under Henry IV. these names were changed, and the names of Solomon, Augustus, Clovis, and Constantine; Elizabeth, Dido, Clotilde, and "Pantulisea;" and the names of the kings had no particular names, but were designated by the office, and all the characters were in the same period.

There is a rather romantic explanation of the

suits and titles by which they are designated ; the taking precedence in the game of piquet, he assumes present money. The trèfle, or clover plant, which abounds in the meadows of France, denotes the rich and fertile soil where a wary general should encamp, in order to procure forage for his army. Piques signified magazines of arms which ought to be well stored. The carreaux were a kind of heavy arrows shot from a cross-bow, and which were called from their heads being squared. Cœurs—hearts—signified courage amongst commanders and soldiers.

David, Alexander, Cæsar, and Charlemagne, are at the head of the four suits of piquet, as representing prudent and experienced leaders. Père Daniel seems to have discovered in Argine the queen of clubs, the anagram of Régine, at once jumps to the conclusion that Mary of Anjou, wife of Charles VII. is intended. Rachel represents Agnes Sorel, the mistress of Charles VII. ; and Joan of Arc is substituted for the chaste and warlike Pallas. Judith is a Jewish heroine, but the wife of Louis le Debonnaire.

David he typifies as Charles VII., from a seeming similarity in their destinies ; Charles, like the king of France, having been persecuted by his father, or rather by his mother, Isabel of Bavaria, is proscribed and disinherited ; afterwards regains his kingdom ; whilst the restless and wicked character of his son, Louis XI., is emblematic of Absalom's revolt.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, several sets of cards were engraven on copper ; as those cards were necessarily of high price, they were, of course, confined to the wealthier classes. Mons. Leber avers that these cards were not intended for play ; however correct or incorrect that opinion may be, yet it is certain that these cards were available as playing cards, having the same number and suits as the ordinary playing cards of the period, and in every respect arranged for play. Mons. Leber's objection concerning them was imbibed from the idea, that as they were colourless, they were consequently unsuitable for play ; were, however, so well defined, that this objection is merely an erroneous supposition.

The form of these cards was circular, and each suit contained four court cards, namely, a king, queen, knight, and knave ; the four aces formed one plate ; the highest

the nine, there being no ten in the pack, each of each being marked at the top, in the middle at the bottom in Roman numerals. At the top are the letters T. W., supposed to have been the initials of the engraver.

"Enquiry into the Origin of Playing Cards." A pack engraven on copper, consisting of the four suits, containing a king, queen, and jack, together with ten numeral cards. The suits were swords, clubs, (proper not trefoil, but pomegranates. The latter mark, substituted for the trefoil, was supposed to have been intended by way of commemoration of the marriage of Philip the Emperor Maximilian, with Joanna, the Emperor's daughter and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, in subjugation of the kingdom of Grenada, the *Granada* or pomegranate as one of the cards are, however, unmistakeably of that country, and generally been ascribed to Israel van Mecken, a subject to Philip, being a native of the Netherlands who having inherited the Netherlands in 1555, Mary of Burgundy.

In the Museum may be seen a pack of those cards, which are supposed to have been engraved by van Mecken the elder. The German cards of the 16th century were very highly embellished, and of even a grotesque kind was frequently the caprice of the designer. Bells, one of the symbols borrowed from the Indian cards, as it is said that this symbol was of oriental origin. In the east, whether as a mark of distinction or of diversion, is of very remote antiquity. The cards, or as they are called the *Baladins*, have been decorated with small bells, which they shake in the hands formed of bells are worn by infants in their clothing; and sometimes a single bell is attached to the clothing, though it contains a viper's tongue, is often degraded, as might be supposed, and is given by the king to some one he wishes to reward. The bells, were transmitted from the Hebrews and were in these countries as in India and Persia. The Arabian princesses wore golden

rings on their fingers, to which little bells were suspended also amid the tresses of their hair that their superior might be known and they receive due homage. In the bells have also been regarded as ornamental, and worn by the Emperors of Germany in the 12th and 13th centuries; they were adopted as symbols on monuments also at this period, and were used in falconry by princes and nobles of the first class; this was antecedent to armorial bearings or heraldic designs, by which they have since been superseded as being better suited to gratify the pride of the nobles in consequence of their indicating rank and personal distinction at the same time. From the combination of circumstances it may be inferred that they were brought into Europe from the east about the close of the eleventh century, and were adopted as symbols of grandeur by the German nobility of that period, the same as other devices adopted by the Germans at that time so numerous as to defy description.

The Portuguese cards are unmistakeably borrowed from the oriental type, particularly in the suits Danari or money and Bastoni or clubs. The former is decidedly more like the *chakra* or quoit of Vichnou, than a piece of coin; on the top of the club there is a diamond proper, an attribute of the same deity. The dragon on the ace is also perfectly Oriental. The court cards of this pack are King, Queen, and Horseman; and the suits are Clubs, Danari, Bastoni, and Spade—Cups, Honey, Clubs, and Swords. Specimens of those cards are preserved in the Imperial Library of France, and appear to have been executed in 1693.

During the revolutionary period in France, cards appear to have undergone various strange changes in accordance with the political phases of that momentous era. Peignot in his "*Analyse de Recherches sur les Cartes à jouer*," thus described a pack. "For Kings were substituted Queens, *Liberties*; and for Valets, *Equalities*. The King of Hearts is represented by the Genius of War, "*GENIE DE LA GUERRE*." This Genius, which is seated on the breech of a cannon; he holds in the right hand a sword and a wreath of laurel, and in the left a shield, round which is the inscription, '*Pour la République Française*.' On the right, read vertically from the top to the bottom, the words, '*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*.' On the left, read vertically from the top to the bottom, the words, '*La République Française*.'"

At the feet of the Genius are a bomb, and a heap of bullets ; at the bottom of the inscription, '*Par brevet d'invention, Naume génie de la Rép. Franç.*'

Genius of Hearts ; '*LIBERTE DES CULTES,*' This is a female seated, very badly draped, and bare. She holds a pike surmounted with a banner attached to the pike are the

Towards her feet are seen three volumes, '*Id,*' '*Coran,*' and '*Ecangeline,*' the vertical inscription is '*fraternité.*'

Genius of Arts ; '*EGALITE DES DEVOIRS,*' Equality of a soldier seated on a drum, with his musket. In his left hand he holds a paper on which is written '*Pour la patrie.*' The vertical inscription is

Genius of Sciences ; '*GENIE DES ARTS,*' the Genius of Apollo with a red cap on his head ; in the background the Belvedere statue of himself, and in the foreground the vertical inscription ; '*Goût.*' At the bottom of the painting, sculpture, and such like.

Genius of Liberty ; '*LIBERTE DE LA PRESSE,*' Liberty of a female figure with a pen in one hand, and holding a desk, on which lies a roll of paper. The desk is inscribed with the words '*Morale, Philosophie, Physique, Politique, Histoire.*' At her feet are rolls of manuscript.

Genius of Equality ; '*EGALITE DE RANG,*' Equality of a man whose costume accords rather with a 'sans-culotte' than that of a mere 'Sans-culotte.' He wears sabots, and has a red cap and no coat on, and his shirt sleeves are bare at the elbows. His small clothes are loose at the knees. He is seated on a large stone, and at his feet is a scroll inscribed '*Démolition de la Bastille 10 Août,*' and at his feet is a scroll inscribed '*Noblesse,*' and at his feet are arms. The vertical inscription is

Genius of Peace ; '*GENIE DE LA PAIX,*' Genius of Peace. He holds the '*Fusces*' and an olive branch, and a scroll containing the word '*Lois.*' The vertical inscription is '*Prosperité.*'

"Queen of Clubs; *LIBERTE DU MARIAGE*,' Liberty of Marriage. The figure of a female holding a pike surmounted with the red cap; and on a scroll attached to the pike the word '*Divorce*.' The vertical inscription is '*Pudeur*.' On a pedestal is a statue of the crouching Venus entirely without doubt intended for the emblem of modesty.

"Knave of Clubs: *EGALITE DE DROITS*, equality of rights. A judge in tricolor costume, holding in one hand a scale, and in the other a scroll containing the inscription '*La loi pour tous*.' He is trampling on a serpent, the tortuous folds of which represent legal chicane. The vertical inscription is '*Justice*.'"

"King of Diamonds: '*GENIE DU COMMERCE*,' the genius of commerce. He is seated on a large bale, which contains the inscription '*P.B. d'ino, J.D. à Paris*.'"

In one hand he holds a purse, and in the other a cornucopia and an olive branch; the vertical inscription is '*Richesse*.' At the bottom are an anchor, the prow of a ship, a plow, and such like."

"Queen of Diamonds: '*LIBERTE DES PROFESSIONS*,' liberty of professions and trades. A female figure, in the same manner as the other three liberties holds a pike surmounted with the red cap. With the other hand she holds a cornucopia and a scroll containing the word '*Paix*.' The vertical inscription is '*Industrie*.'"

"Knave of Diamonds: '*EGALITE DE COULEURS*,' equality of colours. The figure of a Negro, seated, and leaning on a musket; below is the word '*Café*;' near to him are a garb, a broken yoke, fetters, iron collars for the poor, and such like. The vertical inscription is '*Courage*.'"

Such are the court cards of this Republican pack. The numeral cards are the same as the old ones, with the exception of the aces, which are surrounded by four fasces arranged lozenge-wise, with these words: '*La Loi, Rép. Indiv.*' The whole coloured blue. It is scarcely necessary to say that those ridiculous cards had not even a momentary vogue.

We have given, in extenso, Peignot's elaborate and graphic account of those cards, which represent a period in the history of France replete with painful interest, and which is accurately descriptive of the tone of mind and feeling which pervaded all classes of the people, during that sad and

of turbulence and bloodshed ; there were
 ks beside that which we have described,
 the passions and prejudices of the time.
 c brethren have not been behind-hand in
 opean custom of illustrating, through the
 the remarkable personages, and most
 a revolutionary period ; thus, we have
 SHINGTON represented as the King of
 AMS, the second President of the United
Diamonds ; FRANKLIN, of *Clubs* ; and
Spades. The queens bear mythological
 ce, the Queen of *Hearts* represents VENUS
 wing robe, to accord with the fastidious
 n delicacy ; *Clubs*, CERES ; *Diamonds*,
 ades, MINERVA. Four Indian Chiefs are
 knaves.

also notices a set of picture cards pub-
 e book-seller of Tubingen, the court cards
 t the principal characters of the time,
 ume of that period. The King of *Hearts*
 the Queen, ISABELLA OF BAVARIA ; the
 The King of *Clubs* represents TALBOT,
 ander, dying ; the Queen, JOAN OF ARC ;
 , taking away the sword of JOAN OF ARC.
 onds is PHILIP, DUKE OF BURGUNDY ;
 S SOREL ; the knave, RAIMOND, a vil-
 of *Clubs* is RENE OF ANJOU, with
 y at his feet ; the Queen, LOUISE, sister
 and the knave, MONTGOMERY, on his
 . This card almanac of Cotta, "Karten
 appeared in the year 1806, and was con-
 years ; the designs of the four first years
 almanack are attributed to a lady.

d even superstitious remarks have, from
 made on several of the numeral cards,
 nounced lucky or unlucky according to
 r of the period ; thus, for instance, the
 ot by any means considered synonymous
 s ordinarily applied, and is, therefore,
 card, and old card-players frequently use
 here's luck in the deuce, but none in the

In some parts of England the four of Hearts is looked as an unlucky card at Whist, and rejoices in the euphonious title of "Hob Collingwood." The four of Clubs has been designated the "devil's bed-post" by sailors. The four of Hearts, in various parts of Ireland, is known by the name of "Grace's card," a cognomen which it is said to have acquired in the following manner. A gentleman named Grace being solicited, with promises of great favour, to espouse the cause of William III., gave the following answer, written on the back of the six of Hearts:—"I am an emissary of Marshal Schomberg's, who had been commissioned to make the proposal to him:—"Tell your master I despise his offer, and that honour and conscience are dearer to me than all the wealth and titles a prince can bestow." Such is the story connected with this card, and given as a truism, and fully believed, in the county of Kerry.

In addition to the cards already mentioned, we may particularize another species, much in vogue about a hundred years ago, namely, Message Cards.

In that admirable, and now almost forgotten, work of the Rev. Richard Graves, *The Spiritual Quixote*; or, *Summer's Rambles of Mr. Geoffry Wildgoose*, we have the following "Digression on Message Cards." Wildgoose, having been haranguing on the parade at Bath, where in spite of Beau Nash and all the fashionables, he has collected a considerable crowd, and has inveighed with great severity against luxury in dress, cards, dancing, and all the fashionable diversions of the place; and even against frequenting the rooms with the most innocent intentions of recreation and amusement. We learn from *The Spiritual Quixote*:

As soon as Wildgoose had finished his harangue, which was of an hour's duration, a jolly foot-man, about the size of one of the gentlemen in the horse guards, bustling through the crowd, struck out a gigantic fist, and presented the orator a single card. Wildgoose, who had not, of late, been much in genteel life,* did not guess at the meaning of this ceremony; but imagined it was a joke upon his invective against gaming. The footman, however, with a surly air, cried out, 'Read it friend! read it; my lady desires to see you at her lodgings here on the parade.' Wildgoose, perusing his billet, read as follows:

* Message cards had been lately introduced.

disgusted with the world, desires half an hour's
 Wildgoose, as soon as he is at leisure.'

ms generally prevailing in the world, how absurd
 ar, which had not some real propriety or con-
 ginal ; but when the fashion is once established
 descends of course among the vulgar, who blindly
 without any regard to its primitive institution.
 he conveying messages by a card, was introduced
 world, as the readiest expedient against
 upidity of ignorant servants ; and it must be
 ine characters, and on some occasions, this
 no impropriety, but carries with it a genteel
 nce ; and really saves a great deal of unnecessary
 person that sends, and him that receives the

re, who transacts his most important concerns in
 vern ; or a modern lady, the whole sphere of
 a drawing-room, can never be supposed without
 every emergency ; and therefore, parties at
 e more aptly formed, nor messages of compli-
 onveyed, than by these diminutive tablets, which
 o the subject, to the genius, and laconic style of

and, what can be more absurd than this practice
 racters, and on occasions of more solemnity ?
 obability is it, that a grave divine, who is con-
 against the vices and follies of the age, should
 cards in his pocket ready for his engagements
 e ? or, that a venerable counsellor, who is con-
 with briefs, leases, or acts of parliament, should
 in transacting business with his client, before a
 or even a scrap of common paper ; and I should
 e, the other day, for minuting down the dimen-
 and pocket-holes upon a card—if I had not
 at his last bill was unpaid.

re cards proper on all occasions, any more than
 cters or professions. It is a known impropriety
 who, coming to pay his devotions at the shrine
 mage was gone to the silver-smith to be repaired,
 ship, to acquaint him with his intended visit ;
 lady, near St. James's, very innocently invited
 her rout, by a whisper at the communion table ;
 union, she could not so decently have slipped a
 's hand at so sacred a place as the altar.

the general and unlimited use of this paste-
 e, there is yet a propriety to be observed, and
 be avoided, in the choice of the cards, according
 sed, or the occasions on which we address them.
 int, and I suppose too trite a piece of adulation
 onvey our compliments to her on the queen of
 rary, it would have been an affront to a late East

India governor,* though he laboured under so groundless a slander, to have inquired after his health by sending him the knave of diamonds. The deuce, or two of clubs, I think, should be appropriated to challenges and duels; and the black aces should be entirely discarded in our correspondence with ladies of character; as the nines and tens are at ombre or quadrille.†

Whitaker in his *Soidis and Elmete*, writes: "In the possession of the Rev. Mr. Adamson, who is related to the Arthington family, is a box of ancient cards, if so they may be called, which by tradition are said to have belonged to the Nuns of Arthington. They consist of thin circular pieces of beech, about four inches in diameter, painted with various devices, and each inscribed in old English characters with some moral sentence. Out of these, played in the manner of cards, it is supposed that the nuns of Arthington extracted at once edification and amusement. Of these there have, according to tradition, been twelve, which is the number that the box that held them will contain. They are neatly painted and gilt, and within a roundel on the centre of each are severally painted (the initials of the London rubrics) the following distichs:—

" 'Thy love that thou to one hast lent,
In labour lost thy Tyme was spent;
Thy Foes mutche grief to thee have wroughte,
And thy destruction have they soughte.
My Soune of Pride look thou beware,
To sarve the Lord sett all thy care.
Lett wisdome rule well all thy waies,
And sett thy mind the Lord to please.
Thy hautie mynd dothe cause ye smarte,
And makes thee sleepe with carefull harte.
In Godlie trade runne well thy race,
And from the poore torne nott thy face;
Thy youthe in follie thou hast spendtt,
Defere not nowe for to repent.
Trust nott this worlde, thou woeful wighte,
Butt lett thye ende be in thye sighte.'

Cards with colored backs, as red, green, blue, pink, olive and buff, were invented about 1810, in England, and sold for forty-five shillings per dozen. The plain backed Fine Highlanders were thirty-nine shillings per dozen; the superfine Harrys forty-two shillings per dozen; and the extra superfine Moguls forty-four shillings per dozen.

* Warren Hastings.

† A set of blank cards has since been invented, by which the above absurdities may be avoided.

ning of the present century, cards were they cost less, but were unpleasant to the soon, and when the novelty ceased the ght a bad one, and in 1819, "Thomas making his own paper for his playing cards on who can warrant these articles without

n one of his *Common Place Books*, the passage:

814. Last night, in bed, before I could read ran upon cards, at which I had been y in the evening, and I thought of thus ck.

e eights, nines, and tens, as at quadrille. e substitute another suit, ten in number, in color, and in name *Balls*. The pack ty. Add two figured personages to make ne *Emperor* and the *Pope*.

whist. *Balls* take all other suits except ke *Balls*. The *Emperor* and *Pope* are er cards, and may either be made equal, tyeing each other, and so neutralizing the onderate according to the color of the or if red, the *Pope* if black; and belong- ey may be played upon any. If either dealer counts one, and *Balls* remain the

and *Pope*, being led command trumps, but Trumps also, in default of trumps, com- the *Emperor* and *Pope* tie each other, the

who remembers that Southey was a close nimir of Rabelais, the above extract will interesting, more especially when he re- *ergantua* is amused with tricks upon the pon calculations in which he is made to nstal, Bishop of Durham, who had pub- tled *De Arte Supputandi*.

whist is perhaps the most scientific and played of all games of chance; and yet, observed, we know almost as little of the as of chess. Doubtless it was played in an two hundred years ago, and it is more

than probable that England may claim the honor invention. Cotton, writing about 1679, states: "Rural Honours are gainses so commonly known in England, parts thereof, that every child of eight years old has competent knowledge of that recreation."

We have a reference to whist in *The Beaux Stratagem*; this was so early as 1707, where *Mrs. Sullen* exclaims: "Country pleasures! racks and torments! Dost thou think, child, that my limbs were made for leaping of ditches, clambering over styles? Or that my parents, wisely foreseeing my future happiness in country pleasures, have instructed me in the rural accomplishment of drinking ale, playing at whist, and smoking tobacco with my band?"

Swift states that whist was a game in vogue with the clergy; he tells us:—"The clergymen used to play at whist and swabbers." We all know that it was the custom of Sir Roger de Coverley, to send, at Christmas, a stick of black puddings and a pack of cards to every poor family in his parish.

Thompson and Pope have referred to whist. Thompson names it in the *Seasons*, as the *Squire's* refuge against the tedium of autumn, thus:—

"To cheat the thirsty moments, whist awhile
Walk'd his dull round, amid a cloud of smoke,
Wreathed, fragrant, from the pipe."

Pope writes thus, in 1715, to Martha Blount:—

"Some squire, perhaps, you take delight to rack,
Whose game is whist; whose drink, a toast in sack:
Whose laughs are hearty, though his jests are coarse:
Who loves you best of all things—but his horse."

From a recent work upon cards we learn that the first edition of Hoyle was published in 1743. At that period he gave instructions in whist at a guinea a lesson, and probably it then began to be a scientific game, and has gone on advancing to its present perfection. There are many authorities existing for the opinion that it was not till the latter part of the eighteenth century, that whist

* Nothing new under the sun: compare *Locksley Hall*:—
"He will hold thee, when his passion shall have spent its novelty,
Something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse."

was played, was known among us. According to Barrington, who had his information from a player advanced in years, it was not played upon recognised as till about 1730, "when it was much studied by that frequenter of the Crown Coffee-House, in Bedford-street, whom the first Lord Falkstone was one. Even now it should seem that merely the skeleton of the game existed; there were but few rules, and its theory undefined.

In the present century Mathews published at Bath a *Book for the Young Whist Players*. It ran through several editions, and in a great measure superseded Hoyle. A new edition appeared in 1811, but this, and all other books upon whist, have been rendered useless by Mr. Murray's admirable *Hand Book of Games*.

Now, we have written for you a sketch of the history of whist; but, if you will know the poetry of cards, read Lamb's *Captain Jackson*, or his essence of wit in our *Mrs. Battle's Opinions on Whist*. In the preface he writes, as only he could write:—

How those puny objectors against cards, as nurturing the passions, she would retort—that man is a gaming

He must be always trying to get the better in whist or other: that this passion can scarcely be more expiated than upon a game at cards: that cards are a temporary illusion—in truth, a mere drama; for we lay at being mightily concerned as those whose crowns and kingdoms. They are a sort of dream—much ado, great battling and little bloodshed, means for disproportioned ends, quite as diverting as that deal more innoxious than many of those more agreeable amusements of life which men play, without esteeming them so such.

In great deference to the old lady's judgment on whist, I think I have experienced some moments in which when playing a cards *for nothing* has even been possible. When I am in sickness, or not in the best of health, sometimes call for the cards and play a game at *or love*, with my cousin Bridget—Bridget Elia. And there is something sneaking in it; but with a headache, or a sprained ankle—when you are subdued and weary—you are glad to put up with an inferior spring of

"There is such a thing in nature, I am convinced *sick Whist*.

"At such times, these *terms* which my old friend objects to, come in as something admissible—I love to get a quatorze though they mean nothing. I am sure to an inferior interest. Those shadows of winning me.

"That last game I had with my sweet cousin (I call her—dare I tell thee how foolish I am?) I wished it have lasted for ever, though we gained nothing and lost nothing, though it was a mere shade of play: I was content to go on in that idle folly for ever. The bubble should be ever boiling that was to prepare the gentle loss to my foot, which Bridget was doomed to apply after the game was over; and, as I do not much relish applying there it should ever bubble. Bridget and I should be playing."

Here we close our paper: is the reader vexed? then let him remember the moral advice engraved on Old Whist Markers—KEEP YOUR TEMPER.

III.—BRILLAT-SAVARIN.

Gout, ou Méditations de Gastronomie Transcendante théorique, historique et à l'ordre du jour, des Gastronomes Parisiens Par Un Professeur, de plusieurs Sociétés savantes. Edition précédée par M. Le Baron Richerand, suivie de "La Poème en quatre chants, Par Berchoux. entier. 1842.

the countless chambers of the brain,
its are linked by many a hidden chain ;
one, and lo, what myriads rise !
its image as the other flies."

n, and we feel it now ; even as we look upon
e book before us, one memory is awakened,
others come welling up from the mind's
rs." Brillat-Savarin ! *Physiologie du Gout*.
aris of twenty years ago rises before us, when
teachings of our author with a breakfast at
is Frères ; with a dinner at Véry's or the Café
pper at the Café de l'Opéra. Bright times
io could sing, when Dejazet acted as none acted
on, when Rachel was the glory of the stage.
e we had heard of lace stockings or thought
nny days when our appetite was deep as Sir
nothing came amiss from suprême de volaille
vin ordinaire. And if we did feel seedy, if
ur "somnia vera" as desert fountains to the
had our remedy for that horrid flavor of
wig," and here it is :—

nce of camphor julep,
a spoonful of sal volatile,
nce of Murray's fluid magnesia,
a spoonful of tincture of capsicums.

d drinking, we were fresh for the day. But
ter, its all past and over,

'll go no more a roving
late into the night,
gh the heart be still as loving,
d the moon be still as bright.

For the sword outwears its sheath,
And the soul wears out the breast,
And the heart must pause to breathe,
And love itself have rest,"

Therefore we return to Brillat-Savarin—

In the work before us he has drawn a most interesting faithful picture of himself; the principal events of his life and times are here so pleasingly and minutely recorded that little is wanted to complete his history.

Brillat-Savarin, (Antheleme) Counsellor of the Court of Cassation, member of the Legion of Honour, of the society encouraging national industry, of the society of antiquaries of France, the emulation society of Bourg, &c., &c., was born the 1st of April, 1755, in Belley, a small town situated at the foot of the Alps, near the banks of the Rhone, which, by its place, separate France from Savoy. Following the example of his ancestor, who, for centuries, were devoted to the practice of the bar and the bench, he distinguished himself as a lawyer when in 1789, he was unanimously elected by his fellow citizens, member of the constituent assembly, which was composed of the most distinguished and enlightened men that France at that time possessed. Being a practical philosopher, a follower rather of Epicurus than Zeno, he was never known to mix himself with the memorable events of that time: he was, however, inactive, always associating himself with the sensible and moderate party.

At the close of his legislative career, he was appointed president of the civil tribunal for the department of Ain, afterwards raised to the Court of Cassation then lately instituted.

An upright magistrate, an impartial and firm administrator of the laws, and, above all, being of a mild, conciliatory and amiable disposition, he was well calculated to calm the passions of civil strife, if the rage of political parties had been given to his example and adhered to his counsel always for prudent moderation.

When Mayor of Belley, towards the end of 1793, he courageously opposed anarchy, and saved, for a time, his place from the frightful reign of terror; but borne down by the revolutionary torrent, he was compelled to fly, and take refuge in Switzerland from the fury of his persecutors.

We may well picture to ourselves the state of society

When this man who never made an enemy for to leave his country to save a life always ce.

The fine character of Brillat-Savarin appears killed, a fugitive, without any pecuniary resource scarcely time to save his life—we see him saving his companions in misfortune, holding ample of courage in adversity, and lightening the pursuit of honest industry.

Times becoming still more stormy, and his unpleasant, he sought in the new world, for Europe could not afford him ; he embarked, and settled in New York, spent two long lessons in French, occupying the orchestre of one of the theatres—for he was—and, like other exiles, made what formerly was his idle pastime, now contribute to his support. He always referred with pleasure to this period of which he was in full enjoyment of everything happiness, peace, liberty, and ease, acquired the philosopher he could say, “I carry all the love of country alone could induce him to a agreeable existence. Happier days seemed in France, he hastened to return, and arrived in the beginning of September, 1796. During the story, Brillat-Savarin was successively employed at the general head quarters of the republic ; afterwards as government commissioner of the department of Seine-et-Oise, at Versailles : he died on the 18th Brumaire ; a memorable day he sought to purchase her repose at the expense

A unanimous decree of the Senate to preside over the nation, Brillat-Savarin held this distinguished position the last twenty-five years of his life, enjoying the friendship of his equals, and he had the happiness of his acquaintance.

He was a sound wit, an amiable guest, always gay and the delight of all who had the happiness of being intimately yielding to the pleasures of society, resigned, but for the still purer enjoyment of

Whatever leisure moments he had after

discharging his official duties, he devoted to the *Physiologie du Gout*, to which he did not think it necessary to affix his name, but imperfectly concealed under the transparent veil of pseudonymous; however, there was nothing wrong in keeping him from the public. Happy result of agreeable study, the *Physiologie du Gout* on its appearance, met with that success it deserved. The admirable simplicity which distinguished its composition caused it to be favourably received by all classes of readers, and disarmed the severest critics. Simple in style, this gift so rare in works of genius, and which in literature is becoming still more so every day, was the principal cause of the favourable reception which this work, by its *badinage* obtained. We should, indeed, have formed a very erroneous opinion of the author if we imagined for a moment that he intended us to entertain, as serious, the precepts which he penned for his own amusement, and which were but the effusions of his gayest hours. Well known in what Montaigne quaintly styles "*l'art de la gauderie*," Brillat-Savarin was by nature temperate: the most frugal past sufficed to appease his healthy appetite, which never required the assistance of the culinary art to provoke it. His food no way resembled those he so amusingly describes. He gratified the appetites of individuals, with stomachs of iron, *mache*; to infuse life and energy into those skeletons which had no appetite at all, or if they have, it is all but extinct. He requires more genius, more judgment and labour on the part of the cook, than would be necessary to solve one of the most difficult problems of geometrical infinity."

Great was the surprise of the fashionable world, in seeing that the eyes Brillat-Savarin was but a plain, good-humoured man. He found in his work an amount and variety of information seldom met with in the works of even professional gastronomists. How could this man, after having fulfilled the laborious duties of his profession, find time to indulge in the pleasures of the social society, and surrounded by amiable women, like the gods of Icos sporting in the midst of the Graces, how was he to acquire so much from meditation and study? The author had already the advantage of having composed many other works in which his name did not appear, with the exception, however, of two small treatises, the *History of the Art of Cookery* and *Critical Essay on Duelling*, according to our la-

and some *Fragments on Legislative Administration*, published in 1819. He was not destined to enjoy his success attacked by an inflammation of the lungs, brought on, he suffering from a severe cold, by his assisting at the very funeral service of 21st January,* in the church of St. Denis, he died on 2nd of February, 1826, notwithstanding constant and enlightened medical treatment. For few years of his life, although enjoying robust health, and of a strong constitution, which his tall stature rendered more remarkable, Brillat-Savarin had a presentiment approaching dissolution; and this thought, which in no way affected his usual cheerfulness, constantly manifests itself, and seems to pervade his last work. Resembling in this respect productions of antiquity in which we see the shadow of death everywhere associated with the most lively passions, and thereby lending them additional charms. By a painful illness which soon assumed the most dangerous form, he departed this life as a well satisfied guest leaves a quiet hall, *tanquam conviva satur*, without regret, betraying no symptoms of weakness in his intellect, lamented by numerous friends, and bequeathing a name to posterity which will be long held in respect by all good men.

The art of cookery is the most ancient of all sciences; for man was hungry at his birth, and the new-born infant has entered the world when it sends forth cries which can still but the breast of the nurse.

Thus, that of all other arts it has done more to promote peace, and benefit society; for it has taught us the application of fire, and it is by fire that man has acquired his nature.

Strictly speaking, there are three kinds of cookery.

First, which is that of preparing food, has retained its original name.

Second, which consists in analyzing and examining the nature of food, is called *chemistry*.

The third, which may be called cookery of reparation, is known by the name of *pharmacy*.

* worthy of remark, that on this same day three Magistrates of the Supreme Court died, all three members of the deputations, sent to assist at the Funeral Service in the church of St. Denis, M^r. Brillat-Savarin and Robert de St. Vincent, and Avocat-
G^{ral} Marchangy.

Though they differ in their object, they adhere to other by the application of fire when put into one vessel furnace.

Thus the piece of beef which the cook has converted *bouillon* and soup, the chemist takes up in order to ascertain into how many different substances it may be reduced, and the druggist can by force discharge it from our stomachs should happen to cause indigestion.

Man is an omnivorous animal ; he has incisive teeth for fruit, double teeth for grinding corn, and canine teeth for flesh ; which has caused it to be remarked that the nearer he approaches the savage state, the stronger and more easily distinguished are his canine teeth.

It is extremely probable, that for a considerable time he was obliged to live on fruit, for man is the most unwieldy of all the animals of the old world, and his means of defence are limited, when not provided with arms. But the instinctive superiority inherent in his nature, soon developed itself ; his consciousness even of his weakness forced him to provide himself with arms ; he was also driven to it by his carnivorous nature evident from his canine teeth ; and as soon as he was armed, he made his prey and his food of every animal that came within his reach.

This destructive instinct still manifests itself, children are known to kill whatever little insects come in their way, they would even eat them if they were hungry.

It is not surprising that man should wish to live on fruit, his stomach is too small, and fruit is not substantial enough to satisfy his wants ; he might better feed on vegetables. This system of diet implies a knowledge of the arts which cannot be acquired for ages.

The first arms must have been the branches of trees cut into bows and arrows.

It is most remarkable, that wherever man was found in every climate, in every latitude, he was always armed with the bow and arrow. This coincidence is very difficult to be accounted for. We cannot understand how individuals differently circumstanced, should have the same ideas ; it must be the result of a cause which lay concealed behind them for ages.

The only inconvenience attending raw flesh is, that its viscosity or glutinous nature, it adheres to the teeth ; in

sagreeable to the taste. Seasoned with a
y digested, and must be more nourishing

id a captain of Croates, to me one day in
not put ourselves to such trouble to

When we are in campaign, if we are
down the first game we meet; we cut it
y pieces, season it with pepper and salt,
ys have a supply in our *sabre-tasche*;*
under the saddle, on the horse's back,
mart canter, and (imitating a man eating
petite) gnaw, gnaw, gnaw, we regale our-

man of Dauphiné sets out for the chase, if
fig-pecker in good condition, he at once
t, and carries it for some time in his hat, and
y say that this bird prepared in this way is
le than if it were roasted.

ncestors lived principally on uncooked food,
uch in use amongst ourselves.

es sausages, smoked beef from Hamburg,
rrings, &c., which have not been subjected
ll adapted to some stomachs, and they are
ecause uncooked.

ad lived a long time after the manner of the
discovered; this was, however, the result of
oes not exist spontaneously on the earth;
f the Ladrone Islands, for instance, knew

scovers, man's progressive instinct soon
bring meat under its influence, first to dry it,
n embers.

prepared was found to be much better, more
asticated, and the sweet smell it exhales while
s most grateful.

as soon perceived that meat broiled on coals
t free from dirt, for some of the ashes always
which it was very difficult to rid it.

che, or *sabre-pouch*, is a kind of bag suspended
belt, which supports the sword of the light-armed
n alluded to in the anecdote of the soldier.

To remedy this inconvenience, it was put on a spit, and was then placed over the burning coals, supported by a stand of suitable height.

This was the origin of steaks, a preparation as simple as it is savoury, for broiled meat of every description has always been a favourite.

Things were much in the same state in Homer's time. We trust our readers will be amused by the manner in which Achilles received in his tent three of the most distinguished amongst the Greeks, one of whom was a king.

Thus we see a king, the son of a king, and three Greek generals, dining very heartily on bread, wine and roasted meat.

We must believe that if Achilles and Patroclus thus employed themselves in preparing the feast, it was because the occasion was an extraordinary one, and to do the more honour to the distinguished guests they were about to entertain. On ordinary occasion the cooking was entrusted to the slaves and the women, which we further learn from Homer, in the *Odyssey*, when describing the banquets of the suitors of Penelope.

In former days the entrails of animals stuffed with blood and fat (the pudding) were considered an exquisite dish.

At that time, and no doubt long before, poetry and music were associated with the pleasures of the table.

Venerable minstrels sang the praises of nature, the loves of the gods and the exploits of heroes; they exercised a sacred priesthood, and it is probable that the divine Homer himself was descended from some of those inspired men; he who has never gained such fame, had not his poetical studies commenced with his childhood.

Madame Dacier remarks that in no part of his works does Homer make any mention of boiled beef.

The Hebrews were more advanced in consequence of having dwelt in Egypt; they had vessels which were capable of resisting the fire, and it was in one of those vessels that the pottage was made, which Jacob sold at such a price to his brother Esau.

It is impossible to learn how man first arrived at the knowledge of working metals; it is said that Tubal-Cain was the first who made the attempt.

Our knowledge of science at the present day enables us to make use of one metal in working another; we hold it with

we weld it with the hammer, we cut it with the file, we never met one who could tell us how the first pin—the first hammer were made.

As vessels, either of brass or earthenware, were capable of resisting fire, cookery made rapid progress; it was then be seasoned, and made more palatable, vegeled, and *bouillon*, gravies and jellies followed without

on. The best books in our possession speak in glowing terms of the monarchs of the east. It is easy to understand those monarchs who ruled over such fertile countries, capable of producing so many things, particularly spices, kept sumptuous tables, but we are ignorant of the means. We only know that Cadmus, who introduced the olive to Greece, was cook to the king of Sidon. He was a Oriental Soyer.

Those voluptuous and effeminate people who introduced the custom of surrounding the banquet table with cushions, and eating in a reclined position.

Refinement, which was evidence of weakness in the East, was not everywhere equally well received. Those who had strength and courage, those with whom frugality was valued, were for a long time opposed to it; at last, it was introduced into Athens, and became universal over the civilised

part of the world. The art of cooking was brought to great perfection by the Greeks, who were a refined people and fond of novelties; wealthy private individuals, poets and learned men settled in the country, and even philosophers did not think it beneath them to enjoy those luxuries which were drawn from the earth and the nature.

According to what we read in the ancient authors, their entertainments must have been regular festival entertainments.

Fishing, fowling, and commerce supplied them with a variety of these objects, which, to this day, are considered as pleasures, and which then competition raised to a fabulous

price. The arts contributed to ornament their tables, around which guests ranged themselves on couches covered with rich tapestry.

Their constant study to add to the pleasures of their life was that of agreeable conversation, and table-talk, and regular science.

The minstrels, who were usually introduced at the course, had lost all their wonted gravity; they were not exclusively employed in singing the praises of the heroes and historical exploits; but they sang of friendship, love, and pleasure, with a sweetness and harmony, such as is now rarely enjoyed.

The wines of Greece, much prized to this day, had been examined and classified by connoisseurs; they generally commenced their repast with the lightest wines and ended with the strongest; but on extraordinary occasions they passed through the entire list, and what is very different with us, the size of the cup increased in proportion to the goodness of the wine.

The finest women also contributed to ornament those sumptuous entertainments; the presence of beautiful women, and amusements of every kind prolonged the pleasures of the evening. Voluptuousness was inhaled through every pore, and more than one Aristippus who entered under the banner of Plato, took his exit under that of Epicurus.

The learned men of the day made the pleasure which they derived from those delightful reunions the subject of their poems. Plato, Athenaeus, and many others, have immortalised their names. But, alas! their works are lost; and if there is one more to be regretted than another, it is the *Gastriarchia* of *Archestratus*, and which is translated by Ennius under the title of *Carmina Hedypathetica*.

"This great writer," we are told, "travelled over the land and sea to satisfy himself as to what they were best capable of producing. He studied in his travels, not the customs of the people, since they never change, but he visited those localities where the luxuries of the table are prepared, and he only conversed with such men as could contribute to his pleasure, or forward the object he had in view. His poem is a treatise of science, every line of which contains a precept."

Such was the state of cookery in Greece, and it remained so up to the time when a few adventurers, who after establishing themselves on the banks of the Tiber, extended their sway over the neighbouring states, and finished by conquering the world.

Good cheer was a thing unknown to the Romans as long as they were only fighting for independence, or making war

ghbours, who were as poor as themselves. At that r generals whistled at the plough and lived on vegeta-istorians dwell with pleasure on those primitive times, ighality was considered an honour. But when they heir conquests into Africa, Sicily, and Greece; when ded themselves at the expense of the vanquished, in untries where civilization was most advanced, they ack to Rome those dishes which delighted them and we have reason to believe they were well received. omans sent a deputation to Athens, to report on the Solon, also for the purpose of studying belles-lettres, eophy. While refining their manners, they partook entertainments, and learned to appreciate them, and ived in Rome, in the company of orators, philosophers, ns, and poets.

: course of time, when a series of victories caused the f the world to flow into Rome, the pleasures of the re indulged in to a degree almost incredible.

partook of everything that could possibly be procured, e grasshopper to the ostrich, from the dormouse to :* everything that could quicken the appetite was sauce, and employed as such, even substances the use e we could never comprehend, such as *assafetida*. hole world was put under contribution, both by armies ellers, to supply the wants of Rome. Pintadoes (sea- m Africa, rabbits and truffles from Spain, pheasants

: farsî.—Glîres isticio porcino, item pulpis ex omni glîrium ritia, cum pipere, nucleis, lasere, liquamine, farcies glîres, tegulâ positos, mittes in furnum, aut farsos in olibaro coques. ormouse was considered a great luxury, sometimes scales ight to the table to ascertain its weight. Everybody is with Martial's epigram of the dormouse xiii, 59.

Tota mihi dormitur hyems, et pinguior illo

Tempore sum, quo me nil nisi somnus alit.

. physician and gastronomer of the reign of Queen hen speaking of the advantage which cookery may om the use of scales, observes, that if twelve larks do not lve ounces, they are scarcely fit to be eaten; that they are f they weigh twelve ounces; but if they weigh thirteen ey are plump and excellent. See also that glorious chap-V..) in *Peregrine Pickle*, in which "The Doctor proposes inment in the manner of the ancients."

from Greece, where they were brought from the banian trees, and peacocks, from the extremities of Asia.

The greatest men in Rome boasted of having beautiful gardens, in which they cultivated not only the fruits already known, such as the pear, the apple, the fig, the grape, but even those which were brought from foreign countries, namely the apricot, from Armenia, the peach, from Persia, quinces from Sidon, the raspberry, from the valleys of Mount Ida, and cherries, which were introduced by Lucullus, after his conquest of the kingdom of Pontus.

These importations, which necessarily took place under different circumstances, prove at least that the impulse was general, for all felt pride and pleasure in contributing to the enjoyments of the sovereign people.

Of all dishes, fish was considered one of the greatest delicacies. Some fish was preferred to others, and this preference increased according to the latitude in which it was raised. Fish from foreign countries was brought to Rome, packed in honey, and when grand entertainments were given, it was purchased at an immense price, owing to the competition amongst the consumers, some of whom were richer than the kings of the East.

Drinks were also an object of special care and attention. The wines of Greece, Sicily, and Italy, were the delight of the Romans; and as they were prized according to the province or the year in which they were produced, they always bore a sort of certificate of their birth, written on the jar,—

O nata mecum consule Manlio.

This was not all. Owing to the spirit of advancement which we have already alluded to, they endeavoured to render the wine more pungent and odorous; they put into it flavours, aromatics, and drugs of every kind, and those mixtures which contemporary writers have handed down to us under the name of *condita*, must have had the effect of inflaming the tongue and strongly exciting the stomach.

And it is thus that already at this early period we see the Romans dreaming of Alcohol, which was not discovered more than fifteen centuries afterwards.

But it was in the furniture of the banquet room that the Romans particularly showed their love of display.

Every article of furniture necessary for the banquet, was made of the most superior materials, and workmanship. The nu-

ed twenty, and as each course was served, usly in use was removed. Slaves were es- to wait in the banquet-room, and every one gned to him with the greatest care.

filled with the most exquisite perfume, imed the qualities of those dishes which de- tention, and announced the claims they of ovation; in fact nothing was omitted en the appetite, keep up the attention, or res of the guests.

of luxury had its whims as well as its ex- h were those banquets where the fish and ld be counted by thousands, and those dishes r merit but that of being dear, such for in- composed of the brains of five hundred os- er consisting of the tongues of five thousand

we can easily account for those vast sums pended on his table, and form an idea of t of those banquets which he gave in the ere he was known to exhaust every means the appetites of his guests.

ght be revived amongst us, but to perform over again, we would require another suppose then a man known to be immensely ebrate some financial or political triumph, ccasion a magnificent entertainment without ense.

him to call in the assistance of the arts to departments, the place where the banquet t he commands the purveyors to provide his t art and money can procure, and give them and most costly wines.

s sumptuous repast, two plays are being per- st celebrated comedians.

banquet lasts the most exquisite vocal and c is heard, performed by the most renowned

the dinner and the coffee, he has prepared ter the most charming and captivating style

ainment concludes with a ball, where we

see two hundred women selected from among the most beautiful, and four hundred of the most elegant and accomplished gentlemen.

That they are constantly supplied with all that is most in the way of warm, cool, and iced drinks.

That in the middle of the night they are served with a magnificent supper which renovates their exhausted strength.

That the attendants be fine looking fellows, with splendid liveries, the illumination perfect, and that nothing be allowed to let the host take upon himself the office of sending for guests, and seeing them all comfortably at home.

This idea being well conceived, well directed, well attended to, and properly carried out in all its details, all who visit Paris will agree with us, that the bills of the next day will contain items that could make the cashier of Lucullus tremble.

In pointing out what we should do in order to imitate magnificent Rome in her *fetes* and festivities, we have sufficiently apprized the reader of what, in those days, consisted in a banquet, at which were alternately introduced comedians, minstrels, mimics and buffoons, and every thing that could contribute to the pleasure of those who were assembled for other purpose but their amusement.

What was practised by the Athenians, subsequently by the Romans, and later by ourselves in the middle ages; what is fine, is the custom of the present day, has its origin in the nature of man himself, who anxiously looks forward to the end of the career in which he has entered, and to a certain easiness which he feels as long as the time which he may have at his disposal, is not wholly occupied.

Like the Athenians, the Romans ate in a reclining posture but they adopted this custom in a somewhat different manner.

They first made use of couches at the religious banquets which they offered to their Gods; then the first magistrates of the city, and the most powerful and wealthy, adopted this custom, and in a little time they became in general use, and continued so to the commencement of the fourth century of the Christian era.

These couches which, at first, were but rude benches covered with skins and stuffed with straw, soon assumed the appearance of elegance and luxury which characterized

connected with the banquets of the Romans. They were made of the most rare wood, inlaid with ivory, gold, and sometimes with precious stones; they consisted of very long tables, covered with ornamental tapestry, magnificently red.

Guests reclined on the left side, supported by the elbow, and three persons lay on the same couch.

This custom, which the Romans call, *lecti sternium*, is more convenient than that which we have adopted, or rather, we do not believe.

From a physical light, the reclining position requires a great amount of strength to maintain the equilibrium; and we feel pain in the arm when it is obliged to support the weight of the body.

From a physiological view of it, there are also many things to be considered; the process of digestion is not so naturally gone on, and the food has more difficulty in finding its way to the stomach, in which it is but imperfectly mixed.

It is still more difficult to drink in this position; great attention was necessary in order not to spill the wine which was contained in those large cups, that were scattered on the tables of the great; and it was, no doubt, the reign of the *lecti sternium*, that we are indebted to the proverb, "There is many a slip between the cup and the

It did not be easier to eat with propriety in a reclining position when we remember that many of the guests wore no shoes, and that they used their fingers, if not the knife, to bring their food to the mouth; for the fork was a modern introduction. There were no forks found in the ruins of Rome, although some spoons were discovered.

We must suppose that outrages were often offered to public order and morality, at those banquets, where the guests exceeded the bounds of sobriety, where both sexes reclined on the same couches, and where it was quite a common thing to see some of them asleep.

Nam præsumus jaceo, et satur supinus

Pertundo tunicamque, pelliumque.

As the Christian religion, after having survived those persecutions which embroiled its cradle in blood, acquired any strength, its ministers at once raised their voices against the sin of intemperance. They censured the length of those

repasts where all their precepts were violated by the prodigal indulgence of every pleasure and luxury. Devoted by habit and profession to an austere life, they placed excess in eating and drinking amongst the capital sins; they condemned in measured terms the promiscuous mingling of the sexes, and severely criticised the custom of eating in a reclined position, a custom which originated in culpable effeminacy, and which was looked upon as the cause of most of those abuses which were deplored.

Their threatening voice made itself heard; the custom of reclining longer ornamented the banquet room, and the old custom of eating in a sitting position was resumed; and by a fortunate coincidence, this form, which was suggested by morality, was found in no way to lessen their enjoyment.

At the time we are writing about, festive or social dining was considerably modified, and assumed in the manner of Horace, Tibullus, and other authors, nearly contemporary with the languid and effeminate strain, which was not known to the Greek poets. For example :—

Dulce ridendum Lalagem amabo,
Dulce loquentem.—*Horace.*

Quæris quot mihi batiationes
Tux, Lesbia, sint satis superque.—*Catullus.*

Pande, puella, pande capillulos
Flavos, lucentes ut aurum nitidum.
Pande, puella, collum candidum
Productum bene candidis humeris.—*Gallus.*

The five or six centuries we have just gone over in these pages were the golden age of cooking, but the arrival, or rather the irruption, of the people from the North changed and turned everything; and those gay days were followed by a long and impenetrable darkness.

On the arrival of those strangers the art of cooking disappeared with all the other sciences of which it is the companion, perhaps the product. Most of the cooks were massacred in the palaces in the act of clearing away the tables; the few who fled in order not to administer to the pleasures of the enemy, of their country, and the few who offered their services to the conquerors, met with mortification or contemptuous refusal.

with coarse stomachs and burning throats, the pleasures of delicate food.

of meat and venison with immense quantities of wine sufficed for their repast, which was continued scene of revels and debauchery ; and most of the usurpers were generally armed, the streets often covered with blood.

the nature of things, that what is carried to the east. The conquerors became weary of their conquests, and the vanquished, became civilized, soon began to appreciate the charms

of this refinement in their manners was quickly changed mode of living ; they invited their friends, not for the mere purpose of gratifying their appetites, but to entertain them, and the latter perceived that the object was to entertain them ; they were now more refined and more sincere and friendly in their enter-

tainments, which took place towards the fifth century became still more remarkable under Charlemagne king, as we see by his Capitulars, was par- ticularly that his demesnes should produce all that was necessary for the luxury of his table.

Charlemagne, and his successors, the fêtes took the form of chivalry ; ladies came to ornament the court ; the prizes of valour ; pheasants with gilt hackles, and a peacock with outspread tail, were carried to the banquet table, and by young ladies, and by young men who, notwithstanding their innocence, were

to get that this was the third time the ladies, excluded from society by the Greeks, the Romans were invited to ornament the banquet table. Some have resisted this appeal ; but frightful consequences have resulted from this unsocial people, and thirty years before we hear the tremendous proclamation of the emancipation of the odalisques. The system made, has been transmitted down to us, according to the progressive motion from the conflict of succeeding

and ladies occupied themselves at home in pre-

paring food, which they considered as one of the most important duties of hospitality; this was still the custom in France at the end of the seventeenth century.

Under their pretty hands food was made to undergo most singular transformations; the eel had the tongue of a serpent; the rabbit appeared to have the ears of a cat, and such other amusing contrivances.

They made great use of those spices which the Venetians had begun to import from the East, as well as of the perfumed waters which were provided by the Arabs, so much so, that fish was often prepared in rosewater. The luxury of the table consisted principally in the number of dishes; and this was carried to such an excess that kings thought it necessary to check it by a law which met with the same fate as those laws which were made for a like purpose, and under similar circumstances, by Greek and Roman legislators. They were laughed at, evaded, and forgotten; and were only suffered to remain in books to serve as relics of the past.

Thus people continued to live well as long as they could, particularly in abbeys, convents and monasteries, because the wealth belonging to those establishments was not exposed to the dangers and uncertainties of civil war, which frequently desolated France.

Convinced as we are that the ladies of France devoted a considerable portion of their time to the affairs of their kitchens, we may conclude that to them is due that indisputable pre-eminence which French cookery has always had in Europe, to which it has principally acquired by an immense number of exquisite, light and dainty dishes, which none but women could produce or fancy.

We have said that people lived well as long as they could, but they could not do so always.

The suppers of kings themselves were often left to chance. We know that during the civil wars Henry IV. was not assured of his supper, and that he would have made but a poor one a certain evening if he had not had the good sense to admit to his table the citizen who happened to have the turkey in the town in which the king was to pass the night.

However, the art progressed imperceptibly; the crusades enriched it with the scallion, taken from the plains of Ascalon; the parsley was brought from Italy; and long before the reign of Louis IX. pork butchers and sausage makers had realized fortunes.

ere in this reign equally successful, and the
ustry held a conspicuous place on every fes-
that time they became a very considerable
X. gave them statutes, in which was noticed
aking altar breads.

iddle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch
nto Europe.* Soliman Aga, this wealthy
ch a favourite with our ancestors, treated
up, in 1660; an American sold it publicly at
Germain, in 1670; and the first *Café*, orna-
glass and marble tables, such as we have
t day, was in the Rue Saint André des Arts.
ugar make its appearance,† and Scarron, in
avarice of his sister in wishing to lessen the
asin, has led us to infer that in his time, at
f table furniture was in use.

ne seventeenth century that the use of brandy
istillation, the first idea of which we have from
up to that time, a secret which was only known
en. Towards the beginning of the reign of
began to be generally used; but it was not
at brandy became a general favourite; and it
that, after many attempts, we have succeeded
ol in one operation.

at the same time that the general use of
duced; so that sugar, coffee, brandy and
very important objects, whether we con-
commercial point of view, or as a source of
ttle more than two centuries in existence.
od at the time of Louis XIV., and under
the banqueting art yielded to the march of
sed all the other sciences to flourish.

uropeans, the Dutch were the first who brought
Arabia, and transported it to Batavia, and after-

lieutenant general of artillery, brought a plant
d presented it to the *Jardin du Roi*; it was the
Paris. This coffee-tree of which M. de R. has
was, in 1613, one inch in diameter, and five feet
y handsome, and somewhat like a cherry.

tius may appear to say, sugar was unknown to
s the result of science; and without crystalliza-
ut a worthless and insipid juice.

We yet read with pleasure those fêtes, which were the ration of all Europe, and of those tournaments in which the last time, the lace glistened that has since been replaced by the bayonet, and the knights clad in shining armour longer of use against the fury of the cannon.

Those fêtes terminated with a banquet, which appeared to be the crowning of all, for such is the nature of man, he can never be completely happy, as long as his taste is wholly gratified; and this imperious want has brought grammar under his subjection, so much so, that to say a thing is done in a superior manner, we say it was done with style.

As a necessary consequence, those who presided over the preparations for those banquets, became men of much importance, and justly so, for they unite many different qualities, that is, genius to invent, knowledge to dispose, judgment to observe proportion, and sagacity to discover defect, firmness to have their orders carried out, and punctuality, in having them done in due time.

It is on those great occasions, that the splendour of the *surtouts*, (epergne) began to be displayed, a new art, which unites painting and sculpture, and presents to the eye an agreeable picture, and sometimes a site appropriate to the circumstance or the hero of the fête.

It was here that the genius of the artist was required, and showed itself.

But soon, more select parties and more delicate repasts required much more accurate attention and greater care.

It was at the small dinner party at the *Favorites*, and at the suppers of courtezans and the wealthy that the cooks displayed their talents, and animated by laudable ambition they strove to eclipse each other.

Towards the end of this reign the names of the most celebrated cooks were always associated with that of their patrons, who ever acknowledged them with pride; and the names of the most distinguished figured in books on cooking by the titles of those dishes which they patronised, invented or created. This strange medley is not to be met with in our days; we are less *gourmands* than our ancestors, on the contrary, but we give ourselves much less trouble about the name of the artist who reigns no more above ground. The praise which we give to the *left ear* is the only tribute of admiration we accord to the artiste who contributes so much to our pleasures; and

it is, the public cooks, are those who receive which ranks them with great capitalists. *Utili*

ouis XIV. that the summer thorn, which he *bear*, was brought from the Levant; and it that liqueurs were first used.

ferred much from debility and those symptoms ically feel after the age of sixty; brandy was and perfumes to make for him, what was called Such was the origin of the liqueur trade.

k that nearly about this time cookery was in of perfection in England. Queen Anne was measures of the table; she was often known even her cook; and the old English cookery-books ishes designed after Queen Anne's taste.

which remained stationary during the sway of tenon continued to progress under the regency. Orleans, who was an enlightened prince, so far able, was well known for the elegance of s, which, as we know from authentic sources, ally of the rarest and most delicate fowl, fish and as fresh as when taken out of the water, keys, stuffed with truffles.

ys!!! the fame of which is increasing every rs, whose apparition fills the heart of every er with delight.

ouis XV. was equally in favour of the science hteen years' peace soon healed up the wounds years' war; wealth acquired by industry and erce, together with the salaries of government y with the inequalities of fortune, and the y was diffused through all classes of society.* y to entertain a large number when their

ormation, writes Brillat-Savarin, which I have got bitants of the provinces, a dinner for ten persons, of as follows:—

urse.	{	Soup.
		Baked veal.
		Side dishes.
urse.	{	Turkey.
		Vegetables.
		Salad.
		Cream (sometimes).
urse.	{	Cheese.
		Fruit.
		Jam.

appetites are good ; with butchers' meat, fowl, venison and a few well selected dishes of fish, you have a dinner for six persons.

But to gratify those who never open their mouths but to make pretty faces, to entice those flatulent women, to excite *papier mache* stomachs, or put life into those worn out flanked individuals of no appetite, would require more general judgment and perseverance than would be necessary to solve the most difficult problem of geometrical infinity.

Having now come to the reign of Louis XVI. and the day of the Revolution, we shall not dwell upon those changes which our fathers witnessed ; but shall merely notice the most remarkable of those improvements that have taken place since 1789 in the banqueting art.

Those improvements have had for their object the perfection of the art, and the customs and institutions of the people connected therewith ; and although these two orders of things are constantly acting upon each other, we have considered it advisable for the sake of clearness to treat each separately.

All professions connected with the preparing or selling of food, such as cooks, victuallers, pastry cooks, confectioners and provision dealers, &c., have multiplied and are steadily increasing : and what proves that this increase was really warranted, is, that their numbers have not interfered with their prosperity.

The sciences of chemistry and physics have lent their aid to the elementary art. The most learned men have not thought it beneath them to occupy themselves about our daily wants, and have introduced improvements from the simplest dishes of the artisan to the most costly and exquisite meats served in gold and crystal.

New professions have sprung up ; for instance, those of the pastry cooks, combining the pastry cook, properly speaking, and the confectioner. Their trade consists of all those preparations in which butter is mixed with sugar, eggs, leeks, suet, biscuits, macaroons, ornamented cakes, meringues, and other delicacies in pastry.

The art of preserving food has also become a distinct

The plates were changed but three times, after soup, at the second course and dessert ; coffee was seldom served up after dinner, but very often raspberry, or cherry brandy, which was then not less in use.

of which is to supply us in every season which are peculiar to a particular time of culture has made great progress, hot houses the fruits of the tropics; various kinds of vegetables have been acquired by cultivation or from foreign countries amongst others that kind of musk melon which had fruit, give the lie to the proverb.*

cultivated, imported and presented in regular order of every country, the Madeira which opens the French wines that divide the duty between them, of Spain and Africa, which crown the work, have adopted foreign dishes such as karik, and such as caviar, soy; drinks as punch, negus

coffee has become very popular, in the morning and after dinner, as a tonic and refreshing drink. Variety of vases and utensils have been invented in series, which give the repast more or less an air of luxury and festivity; so that when strangers come they find on the tables several objects of which they know the name nor the use.

From the facts we may draw this general conclusion; that the system, and regularity observable before, during and after repasts show a desire to please, which must be owing to our guests.

In the Greek the word gastronomy; it sounds better to the educated ear, and although not well understood by the uneducated, it brings a smile on every

face has been distinguished from voracity or gluttony, and is looked upon as merely a propensity which is regarded as a social quality, agreeable to the host, useful to the guest, and useful to science; and *gourmands* are distinguished from all other amateurs who have also a taste for the view.

The spirit of conviviality has diffused itself through

by fifty to get one to your liking." It seems that the vegetable it was not known to the Romans: what they called *pepo* was but a kind of cucumber which they eat raw. See Apicius, *De Re Culinaris*. Ed. Bernart. 1800.

every class of society ; dinner parties are becoming more merous, and each in entertaining his friends, endeavour to provide for them the best of whatever he has remarked in other more distinguished circles.

The pleasure that people feel in being thus together has led to more appropriate divisions of time, in devoting to business the time that elapses between day-break and sun-set, and reserving the surplus to those pleasures that accompany and follow the banquet.

Cold breakfasts, *déjuneurs à la fourchette*, have been introduced, a repast remarkable as well for the class of meats of which it is composed, as the gaiety that always reigns there, together with the *négligée* it tolerates in dress.

Tea is now frequently introduced in the evening, a refinement the more extraordinary, as it is intended for those who have dined sumptuously, and who are not supposed to be either hungry or thirsty ; its only object being to serve as a pastime, and is taken merely as a drawing-room dainty.

Political banquets have been instituted, and frequently resorted to for the last sixty years whenever it has been found necessary to bring any influence to bear upon a large number of persons. A repast which is always presided over by a chairman, and which, however, attracts no particular attention, and where pleasure is only looked upon as a future memory.

At last restaurateurs have made their appearance, an institution altogether new, and which was quite unexpected, and such that any man who can command four or five shillings in London, or three or four francs in Paris, may in a moment without fail, or any other trouble but that of desiring it, satisfy himself with all those real enjoyments of which the taste is susceptible.

The restaurateur is a man whose business it is to supply the public with a banquet at a moment's notice, and whose dishes are retailed at a fixed price, to suit the convenience of his customers.

The establishment is called a *restaurant*, and he who directs it a *restaurateur*. The bill of fare contains a list of the different dishes with the price of each annexed ; and the pay-bill, which is furnished after dinner, is a list of those dishes that have been served, with the price of each marked opposite.

Amongst the crowds who frequent the restaurants, there are few who suspect that the man who founded the restaurant has been a man of genius and a deep thinker.

p the course of those ideas, the succession led to the foundation of those establishments, and so convenient.

After the gay days of Louis XIV., the regency, and the long peace while Cardinal Mazarin was in power, strangers had had as yet but very little opportunity of indulging in the pleasures of the table.

It was not till the reign of Louis XV. that he began to have recourse to the inn-keeper, whose service was formerly very bad. There were a few hotels with some exceptions, never afforded more than what was necessary, and which had besides the inconvenience of being shut at a fixed hour.

A stranger could not accommodate himself in the inn; he could only procure a whole joint, and if he had a few friends to dinner, he should give directions to the inn-keeper that those who were not fortunate enough to be invited by some wealthy family, left Paris without having had the resources or delicacies of its cookery. This was so injurious to Parisian interests and to the trade, that it could not continue, and already some improvement was made.

It was then that he found a man of judgment, who foresaw that it would not but produce its effect, that the same day, at the same hour, the customers would come to that place in crowds, where they would find all those wants agreeably satisfied. That if the first fowl, in favour of the first comer, another might be served, that the man who would be satisfied with the leg; that the loss of a fowl in the kitchen would not lessen the value of the rest; that it was not unfit for further use; that people would not increase in the charge, when they were abundantly served; that there would be no loss to himself necessarily considerable, if the guests were not overcharged with the price and quality of whatever dishes he served; that besides, the variety of dishes, combined with the advantage of being adapted to all circumstances.

It was from many other things easily guessed at, that he created a profession by the name of *restaurateur*, and he created a profession by which he could always be realized, through honesty, neat-

The introduction of restaurants, which after originating in France, have gone the rounds of all Europe, is of the greatest benefit to all classes of citizens, and is even of great importance to science.

By this means every man can dine at whatever hour suits his convenience, according to the circumstances in which he is placed by his business or his pleasure.

He is sure not to go beyond the sum which he intends to expend on his dinner, because he knows beforehand the price of each dish which he calls for.

Having once settled matters with his purse, he is at liberty, if he pleases, treat himself to a substantial, or a light, or a delicate repast, sprinkle it with the best of French and Italian wines, aromatize it with moka, and perfume it with the essences of the two worlds, as long as his appetite or the capacity of his stomach will permit.

The dining-room of the restaurant is the paradise of the *Gourmand*.

The restaurant is also very convenient for travellers, for strangers, and those whose families have a temporary residence in the country—in a word for those who may happen to have no kitchen at home, or are deprived of it for a time.

Before this time, (1770,) the wealthy and powerful enjoyed almost exclusively two great advantages; they could dine with rapidity, and always fared sumptuously.

The present facilities of travelling have done away with the first privilege; the establishment of *restaurants* has done away with the second; by their means the best fare has become portable.

Every man who can spend fifteen or twenty francs in a first class restaurant, is as well and better entertained than he would have been were at the table of a prince; for the dinner which is served before him is as good, and having besides every dish at his command, he is not inconvenienced by any personal considerations.

The dining-room of a restaurant examined in detail presents to the searching eye of a philosopher, a picture well calculated to attract his attention, by the variety of situations it develops.

The lower end is occupied by a crowd of solitary diners, giving their orders with a loud voice, waiting with impatience for their food, eating in a hurry, and after having paid their bill departing.

You may see there families who are travelling for amusement, who content with a frugal repast, to which

that one of them will fall asleep there.

er off are two lovers; they are recognized by the attention of the one; the affected airs of the other, and *romandise* of both. Their eyes are sparkling with desire from the nature and style of their repast, you may pass by the present, and foresee the future.

The centre is a table surrounded by old and regular customers who most frequently get their dinner at a reduced price. They know each waiter by his name, the waiters privately point out to them what is best and most cheap; they seem to be part of the establishment, as a centre round which groups assemble, or rather like tame birds that are used for the purpose of alluring customers.

You might see there also certain individuals whose appearance every body knows, but no one can tell their names; they sit much at their ease as if at home, and they often endeavour to engage their neighbours in conversation. It is rare that several of this class, who are never met with in Paris, having neither property, capital nor profession, known nevertheless to go to great expense.

Now, here and there, strangers, and particularly English, are seen; these latter are regaling themselves with double port-wine, calling for everything that is dearest, drink the most expensive wines, and very often require to be helped out.

The correctness of this picture may be verified any day, and intended to excite curiosity, it is also calculated to excite our feelings of decency and propriety.

Without doubt the occasion, and the influence of objects around

individual to consider but himself, to isolate himself from everything around him, to dispense with the common rules and observances of society: and by his manner before, and after dinner, in ordinary society, it is easy to recognize amongst the guests, those who live at the restaurants.*

We have said that the introduction of restaurants has contributed much to the advancement of science.

For, as soon as it was known by experience that one dish, well prepared, would make a fortune for the individual self-interest, this powerful stimulus, kindled every imagination and set to work all those engaged in the cooking and preparation of food.

It has been discovered by analysis that some substances were good for food, which were before considered to be useless; new dishes were then invented, old ones were improved, and both the old and the new were mixed up in a variety of different ways. Foreign inventions were imported, the whole universe was put under contribution; and French restaurants now so composed as to afford a complete course of alimentary geography.

While the culinary art was thus advancing both with regard to discoveries and expense (for novelties must be always purchased), the same motive, that is, the hope of gain, gave it a contrary turn, at least with regard to the expense.

It occurred to some restaurateurs that they could not furnish good fare with moderate charges, and that by adapting high prices to small incomes, which are always the most numerous, they would be sure of securing the greatest number of customers.

They selected from amongst those objects of low price, as, when well prepared, would be sure to please.

They found in butchers' meat, which is always abundant in Paris, and in fish, of which there is always an abundance, an inexhaustible resource, together with vegetables and fruits, which, from the improvements in agriculture, could be obtained at a very low rate. They calculated what ought to satisfy an ordinary appetite, and appease the thirst of one who is not a cynic.

* When the dish is sent round with the meat cut up into small portions, they serve themselves, then place the dish on the table, and let them without passing it to the person next them, not being permitted to occupy themselves with their neighbour.

that there were many objects that were only novelty, or the season, which could be procured at a low price; in a word they arrived at such a little, that in gaining 25 or 30 per cent., they were able to give their customers, for two francs, a dinner fit for any gentleman, since it would cost a thousand francs per month in a private establishment so well and so variously served.

When considered in this latter point of view, the signal service to that interesting portion of a large city, which is composed of strangers, of officials; and they have succeeded, by study and interest, in solving a problem which seemed nearly, to provide good fare at not only a moderate rate.

Those who adopted this system have been as successful; they have not experienced so many reverses as those at the other end of the ladder, and their more slowly acquired, was surer; for if they came, they gained every day; and it is a mathematical truth, when an equal number of unities is collected, the total is the same, whether they are united or divided one by one.

They retained the names of several artistes who had established themselves in Paris, since the establishment of the system. We may mention Beauvilliers, Méot, Robert, and the brothers Véry, Henneveu, and Baleine.

These establishments have been indebted for their successes, for instance:—the Sucking Calf (*Le Veau sauté*); the trotters; *Les Trois Frères Provençaux*; the public; Véry, to its entrées of truffles; Robert, to his dinners; Baleine, to his excellent fish; and to the mysterious boudoirs of his fourth son, those heroes of gastronomy, none has such a graphical notice as Beauvilliers, whose death was announced in the papers in 1820.

Who established himself in 1782, was, for more than half a century, the most distinguished restaurateur of Paris. He who had an elegant saloon, well dressed and stocked wine-cellar, and a superior kitchen, and whose name we have named wished to compete with

him, he sustained the contest with credit to himself, because he had but little difficulty in keeping pace with the progress of science.

During the two occupations of Paris, in 1814 and 1815, vehicles of all nations were constantly seen at his door; he knew all the foreign military commanders, and spoke all their languages, as well as was necessary for his business.

Beauvilliers published towards the end of his life a work in two volumes, in 8vo. called *L'Art du Cuisinier*. This work, the fruit of long experience, bears the mark of enlightened practice, and is still as popular as when first it appeared. Up to that period the art had not been treated with so much minuteness and system. This book, which has gone through several editions, prepared the way for those works that have followed it, but which have not surpassed it.

Beauvilliers had a prodigious memory; he recognized persons after twenty years, who had only dined with him once, or twice; he also had, in some cases, a system which was peculiar to himself. When he knew that a wealthy party had met in his saloons, he approached them with a courteous, obliging air, was all humility, and in fact, made them the objects of his special attention.

He pointed out such a dish that they should not take; another that they should lose no time in ordering, and send for a third which no body thought of. He had wine brought up from a cellar of which he alone had the key; in fine, his manner was so obliging and so amiable, that all those extras passed as so many civilities. But this role of an agreeable host lasted but a moment; he disappeared after having performed it; and shortly after the size of the bill, and the bitterness arising from this "quart d'heure de Rabelais" showed plainly that they had dined at a restaurant.

Beauvilliers had made, unmade and remade his fortune several times; we know not in which of those different states death overtook him; but to judge from his executors, we do not think the residuary legatee was much to be envied.

We find from an inspection of the bill of fare of first class restaurants, and particularly that of Véry, and the Trois Frères that he who takes his place in the saloon has at a moment's call, as materials for his dinner, at least

12 different Soups,

24 side dishes,

or 20 dishes of Beef,
 do. of Mutton,
 do. of Fowl and Game,
 or 20 do. Veal,
 do. Pastry,
 do. Fish,
 Roast Joints,
 dishes of First Course,
 Desserts.

An amateur gastronome can sprinkle all this with
 of thirty different kinds of wine, from
 , or Cape, and with twenty or thirty diffe-
 rent liqueurs, without counting coffee, and
 as punch, negus, and many more.

ous things which constitute an amateur's
 are produced in France, such as butchers'
 it; others are an imitation of England, such
 rabbit, punch, &c.; others come from Ger-
 raute, Hambourg beef, chinees from the Black
 in Spain, as olla-podrida, garbanços, dried
 sa, spiced hams from Xeres, wines and
 om Italy, as macaroni, parmesan, Bologna
 nces and liqueurs; others from Russia, as
 d eels and caviar; others from Holland,
 dried or pickled herrings, curaçao, anisette;
 Indian rice, sago, karik, soy, wine from
 others from Africa, as Cape wine; others
 as sweet potatoes, kidney potatoes, pine
 anilla, sugar &c., which furnishes abundant
 e elsewhere advanced, namely, that a repast,
 had in Paris, is in every respect cosmo-
 country of the world is represented by its

enchmen appear to have a natural taste
 r. Wadd," says *Tim Moore* in *The Irish*
 red a tailor. My grandfather was a tailor,
 ilor, and I being the eldest son of my
 ights of primogeniture was *born a tailor*.
 n are "born" cooks. See them in camp
 workshop or the factory they are still able
 to the saucepan. Try the Star and Garter,

try the Wellington, try any of our large noted dining places, or our clubs, and we find that the more perfect the dinner, the more certainly we may write the cook down a Frenchman, or one who has acquired his science from a Frenchman.

Then what must we say to our awful steam baths, the Strand, and Fleet-street dining rooms? Simpson's for example. In we rush from the roar of the Strand. A long, dark, sweltering room is before us; no bright-eyed *dame du comptoir*; no shining, flashing mirrors; no waiter to glide at your nod, hot roaring guests, shouting waiters, men in cotton coats shoving about large dishes of steaming meat on rolling tables, and you eat your dinner in an atmosphere full of gin, fat, steam, and gabble.

For our own part we always leave those Strand dining rooms in a state of astonishment that Englishmen should so generally visit Paris, and yet come back and endure, without complaint, such dens as Simpson's, or Anderton's, in Fleet-street, where you are choked by foul air, and are forced to select from a cuisine which in its incongruity reminds one of the opening lines of King's *Art of Cookery*:—

"Ingenious Lister,* were a picture drawn
With Cynthia's farce, but with a neck like brawn;
With wings of Turkey, and with feet of calf;
Though drawn by Kneller, it would make you laugh!
Such is, good sir, the figure of a feast,
By some rich farmer's wife and sister drest;
Which were it not for plenty and for steam,
Might be resembled to a sick man's dream,
Where all ideas huddling run so fast,
That syllabubs come first, and soups the last.
Hence, mackarel seem delightful to the eyes,
Though dress'd with incoherent gooseberries.
Crabbs, salmon, lobsters, are with fennel spread,
Who never touch'd that herb till they were dead;
Yet no man lards salt pork with orange peel,
Or garnishes his lamb with spitcock'd eel."

Perhaps, reader, we may have, next quarter, another talk with BRILLAT-SAVARIN.

* See ante, p. 471, note.

ART. IV.—JOHN HOGAN.

as we sit in the stillness and security of our
, and turn over the pages of a ponderous
ersal history, or the hot-pressed leaves of
eview—a less pretentious, but perhaps even
nsive world-picture—we pause and ponder,
om the mere narrative to touch the very
-land; and suffering imagination to clothe
b and spirit, as we fancy, of some earlier
ed with the greatness and glory of what is
e ecstasy of our vision cry out—"Well, it
a grand thing to be alive in those days!"
us culture of heathen Greece, when poetry,
, formed the ritual of its worship, the very
s existence, and the intellect, free for once
observant restraint, could do and dare all
ligence might dream of; the magnificence
nion, when the first Cæsars sat enthroned
and the resources, the manifold tribute of
oms, flowed in the wake of victorious legions
e world's mistress; the enthusiastic passion
s, when Charlemagne defied Teutonic gods—
Peter led the wayward hordes which a new
red from the ease of a growing security, and
he fabulous Last in search of adventure,
martyr's penalty and palm; the almost wild
h thrilled through men when a new world,
as it seemed, was conquered for the nations
d perseverance of one poor mariner; the
h echoed through delivered Europe when
ew the Moslem, and Don John of Austria
-the memory, in one word, of scenes and
entous, and so full of wonder, and their
ama, as it is well called, of the world's
ct and enchain us, that
fore and after, we sigh for what is not,"
hat of a querulous outburst regret that our
fallen in so poor a time.
g, utterly. Imagination misleads us. If

we had lived in those desired times, even with our boasted culture, and eager thirst for what is great with the power of appreciation we arrogate, no such result of moral and intellectual exultation would have been our portion. Just as hundreds of years ago our ancestors, whose fortune we so envy, being as it were "to the man born," accepted with equanimity enough the "common events," and regarded as quite accountable occurrences the pageants, which in the mid distance sweep by with a thrilling a magnificence : so would it have likewise with us too, if somewhat closer to the foot-lights we had a glimpse of the side scenes, and gained a too familiar acquaintance with the science of stage effect.

"The past will always win
A glory from its being far,
And merge into the perfect star
We saw not, when we moved therein."

To the thinking mind, no doubt, there is mystery and significance enough in every event, be its importance or revealed at the moment ; and no form of real grandeur need escape the ken of the seeing eye. But often leisure, as we say, fails, or the faculty is altogether wanting for such wide and deep observance. Besides, it is an error of our own belief that after all, the hour of a country's apparent prosperity, of what is supposed to be its highest upward progress, is not the moment when the moral condition of its people has reached its climax ; is not the moment when either the race is fullest of innate strength, or the individual best capable of receiving those marked influences which result in the production of works which bear the stamp of genius, while preparing him to receive the influence of what is highest in the character of God-like humanity. Ultimate perfection, it now needs no prophet to tell us, is not to be expected in individuals or in nations ; and the continuance in any circumstance of well-being is not to be counted on. And it does so happen, as if by some secret instinct, that in periods to all appearance of the greatest national success, there is a universal hurry, as if men were to seize with avidity the good that is at hand ; the predominant rapacity as if for immediate and unlimited possession ; there is a haste in all things ; and from the abundance of resources the very expansiveness of individual

ed, so that men who in less affluent times born to the inheritance of genius, become mere talented users of the ready appliances of civilization. Any smart journeyman can build a goodly house, rain-proof and storm-proof, and live comfortably with our family and considerable knowledge is necessary to do so, not how it has been acquired; we profit not at who shall venture to say, that there was more akin to genius in the brain of the planned and *invented* a way of making our houseservous to bad weather, and lifted the roof by Doric pillars? A clever schoolboy can solve problems in astronomy, and solve them too, never mind map out the orbits of stars and systems, and make calculations, in a manner that if one but think of it. Yet who will sit by a big urchin, well crammed though he be, in the presence of a great intelligence? At good company, and need communion of intellect, he will go back a few centuries, to the thought of a Kepler or a Galileo, who are certain of far less than our precocious youth will travel back over weary thousands of years and find himself with the Chaldean Shepherds and their constellations.

Therefore, a more fortunate and a better man, at the dawning of a great hope, watching the birth of a vital principle; so that we feel, in every part of the world about us, the stir of strong, fresh life. Ever and anon, a glimpse of coming brightness, long shadows and partial obscurity of a night creeping into day. Now, all is hope and the meridian glory may overshadow the night. The next change must then be a gathering of clouds, if it really be the goodliest fate to live in a new life? What if we but open our eyes, and behold the kind Providence, our own lot of life is cast as a moment?

solent individual, wishing well, no doubt, to see once upon a time, that the best thing that could be a complete submersion of the island

for a few hours. To give the gentleman his due, we set about wishing he did not stop at a trifle. Futuramentators may dispute about the vocation of that part it may be questioned whether he was not an actor before the fact; we care not. Ireland has but risen a very sea of tribulation. All that she has suffered generations of oppression, opprobrious tyranny, degradation, and fiendish persecution, need not now be mentioned. Friends she had in the days of her deepest sorrow; advocates in the moment of her lowest degradation; deliverers in her sorest need; worthy sons, not a few, to lead her to the long hope of her nationality. But martyrs they were as much as heroes; martyrs, alas! too often, "by the sword without the palm." Their labours have not yet borne a rich harvest of such a seed. There was not one, we think, of all those noble souls who, in his dying hour, could have found any greater consolation than that which the recollection of a weary, heroic life could give; not one of all those who would say that his work was accomplished, and all that was left for which he lived and worked, in such vicissitude of time and circumstance.

To go but a short time back, Grattan fought the battle of the field with systematised injustice, until there was no ground to stand on. The senator and the patriot were both enough followed the remnant of an Irish Legislature which witnessed its annihilation in the proud and unscrupulous majority of an Imperial Parliament. The fight was fought on the field with the oppressor. Curran confronted the oppressor in the Senate, and the very demons of hate and injustice were in the courts of law. Government, Acts of Parliament, and an unrighteous custom, dominant sectarianism, were all against him. He shook the Commons with the thunder of his denunciations, and made the unjust judge writhe on the bench, and grow pale in the gaze of his victims. What good? Evil has had its way. The dispirited advocate lingered a few years, and died; still in the full of his great hope, in the company of strangers. Emmet, Fitzgerald are names of blood and tears; *non ragione*. O'Connell went through a life of labour, of the most pressing care, which would have broken the heart of a giant; and died at last, having conquered much, and all; weary enough, we dare say, and sore, too,

Brutus stab of his own disciples. Then came famine, pestilence, the reign of terror and of death. No longer patriotic fury of Conciliation Hall, or the shouts of millions on the hill sides of Tara; but instead, the death moan of stricken households, the hurrying of despair and disease, and a nameless desolation to the swarming lazars of the poor-house. The *noyades* and massacres of a French Revolution destroyed the population of cities; the snows of a Russian campaign buried alive whole legions; earthquakes and plagues have desolated states. The victims of these are counted by thousands. By *millions* we reckon the multitudes whom the accursed misgovernment of a party left to die on the highways, and in the ditches of Ireland, while there were ships in England's harbours, and stores in her granaries, which would have fed three kingdoms. There was no Joseph in Egypt in those days.

A very night of sorrow darkened the land, and silence has reigned ever since. Those that wish to have it so, assert that there is now no patriotic feeling, no nationality in the country; that politics, and all that sort of thing, are at an end; that the people are minding their business, and will soon get comfortable, well fed, content. "You have no Dan O'Connell," say they, "to agitate for you; no one makes fine speeches about you now; your patriotism is dead; you are quelled utterly!"

But is it all over indeed, the blood and sweat of all these valiant men gone for nought? We say no; most assuredly, no. It is not the silence of despair that wraps the land, but the silence of the seed time, before the hurrying feet of the reapers, and the joyous gathering of the harvest, make a welcome inroad on the stillness. Yes, it is even so. The seed is scattered; the husbandmen are gone; there is no more talking. The people are left to themselves, and to—God. But is there nothing doing? Nothing! Pause a moment, and you may feel the grass grow under your feet. So instinct with life is the very ground you tread on. No agitation on the surface certainly; no passing show, but beneath a great, dumb, ever-growing power, which shall soon be a nationality the world may wonder at.

When we speak here of the people of Ireland, we mean not the few native-born hundreds who talk and write, make money and spend it; not the select circle whom people

meet in genteel society, dine with, dance with, and to devil with—who calculate the country's prosperity, balance sheet of their rent-rolls, and its progress in cultivation by the attendance at levees and drawing-rooms; the increased demand for fashionable country-houses; going to church, if they are orthodox by the law, detest all manner of Papists and Dissenters, affect recommending a friendly aggression on themselves, their doctrines; or who, if they be born "Papists," every point to observe an amiable conformity, and "liberal," so free from all rough corners, that in society no one would know them from unbelievers. This class, which may be called the upper branch of the order in Ireland, is thoroughly contemptible, and useless in every true sense. Their ambition is to ape the manners of their masters; they have come in too close contact with a race alien in every way; they have touched what they call contamination; they are neither sterling Saxons nor honest Irish; they are a mongrel breed, and flunkeys in their code of law, the profession and practice of their religion. When, therefore, there is question of the people of Ireland, we do not make allusion to those, but to the thousands of real men, who, far below them in the social scale, do the rough work of life, and toil hard for mere dry bread, who have living souls for all that, and are the very backbone of the nation.

It seems to us that it was because this great mystery was left too much out of the calculations of former politicians that so much good work was marred, or entirely ruined. Perhaps there was scarcely help for it. A nation of slaves may rise for revenge, but cannot stand up for freedom. Self-consciousness and self-reliance have first to be created, and O'Connell had not yet come to teach that lesson. Much labour went in vain efforts to make the dry branch bud into life. Now let the dry branch wither; then cut it still at the root for healthy offshoots. For once, let us begin at the beginning.

And are the great mass of the people standing still in that regards true progress? Are they following the beaten roads, or travelling they know not whither? Very far from all that. There is more of hardy, earnest, eager energy in this class in Ireland at the present day, than any other

ness the first grand outburst of a nation's self-
m!

immense educational power at work in Ireland, is the
paration for this consumation, and forms the solid
f the superstructure. Whatever may be said of the
s and middle-class schools, there can be but one
of the training pursued by those who have charge
great mass of the population. The mechanical part
lent, and there is a very necessary vigilance exercised
se who have even a higher responsibiliy, than the
master. Mere intellectual culture is a poor provision
class; without much in addition it is especially
ous for the lower orders, who are not amenable to
influences, so subtle yet so powerful, which often act
edful check upon the rank above them. The vexa-
nd defects of the so-called "National System," which
so much irritation, and hinder so materially the
which a system truly national would accomplish,
utralized in a great measure, by the watchful care of
rgy and the religious orders, who so often are the
aus and correspondents of these schools. The
ons urged against the system are to be traced, rather
stifiable fear of the mischief, which surely would
if the administration of the charge fell into unfit
than to any wrong that has actually been done.
ately there are vigilant eyes abroad—laborious hands
al energy at work; and, so controlled, the national
is a help, and to say the least, in the present state
irs, a great convenience. The great advantage, how-

eyes, and consummate discipline, represent a very phalanx of power, ready drilled for all purposes of good. These fifteen thousand are an army of civilization. They steadily march into manhood, every few years, of a generation so trained, will clear the ground of many obstructive influences. In these schools alone, there is a whole nation gaining intellectual power, and gathering vital strength. Let the gentry look to their honours, and your hitherto privileged classes make way. There is a new race ready now to supplant them, and claim by right divine the inheritance of their forfeited birthright.

If we look to a higher, or at least older portion of the community, we find evidences of almost miraculous advance in refinement and intelligence. There is hardly a town in Ireland which has not now its Catholic Young Men's Society, organized for purposes of self improvement, intellectual culture, and mutual support in faith and works. The strong bond is here of unity, and a fixed aim and principle; for the want of which Mechanics' Institutes, and like fast and loose associations, fall away, after a hasty beginning, and a more or less enduring play of spasmodic action. Here the tie is strong as love, for it is no other so powerful to fetter all base passions; and strong enough to keep in check even such characteristics of temperament as of race, as have hitherto proved fatal to social progress. The principal of self restraint is taught in these societies by the example in daily life of each individual member. The real strength of will, the power of continuous self-discipline which the Irish, of all others, were supposed least capable of exercising, until Father Mathew proved the contrary, is here better shown than in the existence and conduct of these societies. Sobriety reigns supreme in the midst of their pleasant meetings; works of edification, and the efforts of those less prosperous, in the world's sense, than they themselves are, occupy the rare intervals of leisure which break up the monotony of the working man's life. No angry debate disturbs their meetings; no word of passion is ever heard within the precincts of their halls and recreation rooms. In the cities and towns of Ireland hundreds of humble, toil weary artisans are congregated in these societies maintaining most exact discipline. Their politics to themselves unspotted from the world; their propagandism

the good fruits of Christianity; their aim God's blessing, to make Catholic truth a principle of action. Most astonishing it is to see the endurance of these young men at the lectures. At all times are addressed to them, either by their own body, qualified by position and education, or by men of high attainments, who, with deep interest in their welfare, think it not beneath them to labor to advance so good a cause. I asked a stranger among the audience, to suppose that he, with all his innate civilization, in the same rank in society, were called upon to sit, and listen patiently to certain lectures that he had heard delivered, would of itself give him any advancement. Not very popular subjects, but delivered by men of first rate ability, and having nothing of fear lest the audience should be weary of high argument." But not a bit of it. He sat; and listened, not alone with decorum, but with attention; applauding where it was right to do so. He could no longer therefore wonder that men of high talents as we knew the lecturers to be, should be able to "fill the audience," and put out the full measure accordingly.

It is clear that we are at the turning point of Ireland. It shows in what direction the tide is to set. We shall be able while longer to wait, and we shall have more progress. No longer want and degradation, poverty and terror and unloveliness; but a better time of civilization, and the reign of peace and art. Science and art go together. Without bread, even the best of us, no form of civilization can endure very long. At peace, of a certain quality, we must not expect the possession of those arts, which are essentially

For proof of this we need go no farther than the experience. The Irish, it has often been remarked, is budding from internal evidence, to be a nation of Poets and Artists. They have quick vivid perception, and an imagination so glowing that no medium can contain it, and even the unfigurative English becomes, in their hands, oriental in its rich expressiveness; a facile instrument to give form to any conceivable idea. But

a people, no matter how rarely gifted, whose sensations most frequently those of pain, and whose consciousness of bitter wrong, are not the best prepared, either to be great Artists, or to appreciate, and leisurely enjoy, the gifts of genius. In addition to certain natural gifts and talents, an amount of genial education is necessary, before they can have its true value; and opportunity for observation and self instruction must not fail. Hitherto the Irish have not been able to put shoes on their feet, still less to travel forth in search of the artistic and picturesque; those who by their position and wealth might have been patrons of high art, with all its ennobling influences, within the reach of the masses, are even less up to the mark, less fitted to do good service in that line. They are, in fact, uneducated in such matters, as their social inferiors. They want the heart; and if you will, the money; they want the "aristocracy of the land," with their hounds and books; and our "aristocracy of the desk" with their going wives and daughters, need, it must be owned, purses; and the possession of pictures and statues, and patronage of struggling genius, if it be native born, are not recognised, in this state of things, as the duties of fortune's partial favors.

Presently there shall be an end to this, and the Artist's appeal shall be, not to patrons, but to the people. From them he shall take his commissions; it shall be his pride to work for them—to embellish their places with national memorials, and to make their churches instinct with the life of national, universal, religion.

Precisely in this marked interval between the light and darkness of one period, and the ever-increasing enlightenment of another, JOHN HOGAN, the greatest of Irish Artists, lived and worked; and,

"Standing thus between the glory and the dark,"

his name must ever live in the sad, yet grateful memory of his country.

Like all great men, he was somewhat before his time. He bore the burthen and heat of the day, and they were but scant wages. He passed through every phase of the transition period, had full experience of all. The ignorance of a population wronged him; the stupidity of

the patronage offered to him by individuals he was forced to accept, and wrung from often niggardly payments, enough of daily bread and slaved, and died in a hard life-battle. Poet's faculty, he discerned the advent of one who stood so high above the crowd, that his dawn came with an earlier sunrise; and this hope, which ran like a thread of gold through the life of his own experience. Ireland has given us many talents, even to genius in art. But although we have many native born artists, we can point to no IRISH sculptor in the sense of the term, before Hogan's time. He was sprung, full of the vivacity, the enthusiasm of the race—with a love of country which, under ill treatment, or bitter wrong, could only grow more ardent. His aim, his passionate desire, was to glorify his country of his birth and his affections. He won the people's sympathy, outran that people's admiration, and stood the richness of the gifts which he bestowed upon them. He would be—and he was—a Sculptor. But over his untimely grave we must now awake, and find that it was even so. We see his like again. He was with them—a true Artist—and they know it not!

The history of Irish art comes to be written, and Hogan's life, we trust, shall be worthily told; his example revealed; and his example held up, as a beacon light for those whom we send upon a kindred mission. Later too, we shall better understand how true art and true feeling are one fellowship; when we find at last, that we must teach the million hearts, and lead them by the hand. He must himself be true to the pole star of art, to the love of all excellence, the teaching of which can never be lost. Few, indeed, who chronicle the life of genius, have so noble a theme as this. No need in this case to temporise, to hedge, or frantically defend. The somewhat most saddening plea so often put forth, that we are held excused from the following of principle, because of lower natures in the intellectual scale, is tolerated; the audacious assertion, that

because a man's intellectual gifts surpass the common measure, he must needs in morals fall below the ordinary standard, are negatived by many worthy examples; and to the credit of human nature, and for our own good fortune, we have inherited in Hogan another noble instance. In one word, John Hogan possessed surpassing genius; he had the poet's temperament with the artist's expression; to these were superadded those virtues which give value and dignity to common life—perseverance, sturdy independence, a most lofty integrity. In the midst of troubles, temptations within and without, he kept himself unspotted from the world; in childlike simplicity, following his noble and sometime weary way; untiring, unwavering, faithful to the mission of his genius:—

“True to the kindred points of heaven and home.”

A mere sketch in outline is all that need be given here of Hogan's life. The simple facts scarcely require a commentary, they speak for themselves. Somewhat discursively therefore, we shall speak of the artist and his works.

John Hogan was born in the month of October, 1800, in the town of Tallow, County Waterford. Cork has claimed him for her own; a tacit plea for the distinction has been established, and somehow the honour has been given her. Though she certainly cannot glory in the accident of his birth, she may with justice claim to be the nursing mother of his genius. The gold medal of the Royal Dublin Society, awarded the artist in 1836, designates him “John Hogan of *Cork*,” and so let it stand. A few months after his birth, his parents, with two elder children, removed to Cork, and there the family remained until 1821, with what furtherance to young Hogan's genius we shall see. Before, however, the development of his rare gifts can well be said to have commenced, the kindly atmosphere of a frugal, well-ordered household, in which the proprieties of an humble estate were ever preserved, and the real home affections cultivated, had had its effect in cherishing the growth of manly, Christian principles, and the gentler influences of love and dutiful obedience.

Like all our great modern sculptors, Hogan sprang from the artisan class. Canova's father was a stone cutter; Thorwaldsen's, a rude carver in wood; Christian Rauch

ers," and once possessed of castle, chapel, and we may good rents in the County Tipperary. The artist's father, if not of bluer blood, had notable ancestors in times distant from our own. She was a Miss Frances Cox, of Manway, Co. Cork, great grand-daughter of Sir Richard Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in the reign of William I., and Lord Chancellor under Queen Anne. She an orphan, and while living under the care of certain uncles, whose family mansion was in the course of underalterations according to the directions of the elder uncle, met the young artisan at the table of his employer. She was evidently attracted by the manly carriage, and respectable manner of the young builder; and appears soon to have discovered, with a true woman's instinct, that he, with his independence, and steady industry, was worthier than any of the hereditary squirearchy of his own estate. At all events she responded in faith and purity to his honourable suit. How good was the change is told in a word:—she left without one sigh of regret her aristocratic relations and guardians, whose indignation at the supposed *mesalliance* was made the excuse of her refusal to pay the marriage portion of £2,000 she was entitled to, and chose for her own liege lord a man, who, leaving her for herself alone, declined to urge his claim to money so dishonourably withheld. Through a long and arduous life of some change and trial, the real communion of their souls was exemplified in this worthy pair. The husband's part was more especially to provide for the daily support of the household, to gain bread for his children, and

constant conduct! To his parents he was loyal and and when he had begun to make a name, even Capital of Art, and the gifts of fortune visited his never failed to lay his laurels with pride at his feet; and no matter what sum of money his had procured him, he invariably, as the good old ballad "cut it in twain" and sent the full half to his Cork. His sisters found him a generous guardian when circumstances made them somewhat dependant on him; sister, after a time, he took with him to Rome; to a who chose a religious life, he gave £300 on entering a convent of the Sisters of Mercy, in Cork—at a time when he had a wife and five children to support; two remaining sisters, who were married, and settled in the West Indies, he never allowed to feel the want of their interest. In his only brother, Richard, whose death was one of the severest blows the artist's loving heart ever received, he enjoyed not only the sympathy, but true affection never fails to bestow, but likewise in his companionship he found nurture for his own rare gifts. They were companions in everything; their aspirations were after the same excellence; their aim tended to a common object. Art was the ideal of each, and both were determined to strive for excellence in true brotherhood of genius.

The home of the Hogan family was in Cove-south, a gone-down sort of place even then, with little more than memories of better times, but full enough of social interest, and local peculiarity, to make it not quite unfit for the home of a young artist. The inhabitants of this southern portion of "the beautiful city" are a race apart, as far from the natives of the north, as if they were another people. The Manufacturing industry remained with the latter, as all that we know of Cork vivacity and mercurial energy, but the former, with perhaps some of the absurd prejudices of the old inhabitants, kept themselves to themselves, ignoring all mutuality of citizenship with the rest of the city. Remarkable is this, that if one wanted to find out the habits of a new comer or settler of only some twenty years standing in that exclusive quarter, he would have no business to ask information of the next-door-neighbours of the stranger, supposing them to be of the pre-adamite settlement; he would be surely told there was nothing known of them in that place. Moreover, the out-of-door habits of the

urther his inborn pre-dispositions. Fortunately, ed genius is more or less independent of externals ; yielding to them, accepting them, or bearing with thers do, he has finally mastered them, and can of them what meaning he likes ; since indeed to any,

“ Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage.”

us has thus much in common with true religion, es the show of things and appearances only its e, and looks through all outward and common their inner, divine, significance.

owth of a youth such as Hogan's, must have been influenced by the world about him. We deem e to be a notable fact, that he found himself in not alone in a genial Christian home-circle, but wn in a corner of the world, obscure enough, but o doubt, all the freer from the tame uniformity ew fashions, of a quarter more in the gang way rosporous life.

r beauties of scenery, and loving enjoyment of manifold variety, there could be no better site than f, with its picturesque hill sides grown over with woods, varied with the abodes of men ; and the nding at its own sweet will” close to the foot of want heights, or stretching out in long reaches ore level grounds—not a mud-pool either, such hly flows through other cities we might name— r of running water with life in it and reminiscences

and its freight, ever re-appearing, of ships well laden with the produce and the news of other lands. And to all, that we may not leave out, if not the glory, at least the peculiarity of our southern city, a most changeful, capricious, tantalizing climate, which gives to those many features of landscape and scenery, at least a thousand different aspects in a day. Well do we remember how, the first time we saw the Glanmire hills, it was through a medium so new to our unaccustomed eyes, that we fancied we beheld a beautiful cloud picture in the sky ; and it was only the assurance to the contrary of our companion, a person of sense and experience, that we were satisfied to believe what we looked on was not a pile of airy castles on a hill of clouds, but only a mere commonplace view of Glanmire, "as seen through a mist." Such, and so varied, are the sights and sounds and semblances which ever meet the quick senses of the young artist.

Social life in Cork, had, just at that period, much to offer of and profit by. It was a condition of unusual activity, and the current flowed in a way that affected the life of England even yet more than the every-day-life of one Celtic city. Though young Hogan mixed little, indeed at all, with the notabilities of that lively population, it were absurd to conclude that so quick an intellect remained uninfluenced by the surrounding atmosphere. In no more than in any city of the world, there is a sort of interest or property in every species of private vocation or genius. In other places circles and coteries keep their ground. Dublin, for example, has its little artistic circle, its literary society, its musical sets and scientific knowledge, and so on. It is known that these subdivisions exist, and their limits being somewhat strongly marked, there is little intermingling or ingress ; and strange things may be said, and strange things achieved within them, and the citizens at large are a little the wiser. Cork society is better organised for its purposes. There is no doing anything there in the narrow way. Cork society is a very broad highway. What is written on Patrick's Hill, will be published on the South Mall. Blackpool will have its share of the glory or shame of Blarney lane. There exists in fact a certain community of labour, we cannot always say of love, which makes the humbler and less gifted, partaker in some measure,

was so much talent among the leading men of so much of the fire of genius poetising the hearts yet unknown to fame, that we cannot believe the of proximity to have been inconsiderable, on that of our Artist.

name was fresh in the memory of his boastful n, when Hogan's boyhood still kept the secret of ss. It was a name that might stir too deeply rants to fame, who had not received high com- dare and achieve as much. The strong, fierce one forth some fifty years before, with a power e, at least equal to his power of production.

and authorities, theories and formulas, were him who had the presumption to think for fying presidents and precedents. There is much course to deter from the following of such an much also to attract in the excitement, which, as life, carries us away in sympathy with his scorn ronage, as may be had for a mellow manner and attitude ; and makes us look up with something on to the wild-eyed man, who, with his classic ng grand thoughts on canvas like a young Angelo, en Reynolds reigned supreme, and genius was and a snare, unless a Dilettanti Society stamped ade a splendid fight of it ; lived in a real London did and uncared ; went about almost in rags, to of prim academicians : but at a time when he rk some fourteen hours a day, he contrived to aterials for his profession. and subsistence for

was wanted to do what Barry did:—an indomitable, namely, and very rare strength of character. You had much in common with this lion of the race, fancy, was not without a conscious sympathy famous Cork man.

We find no such hero as Barry on the stage just time we allude to. Yet the stage was not untrod by notable figures. Maginn, an LL.D. in his twenty year, kept school in Marlborough-street; lectured Southern in science and classics; and made sport for the quick wits of the society about him, slyly up the while, the readers of "Blackwood" to won admiration at the marvellous resource, and endless the genuine Phelim O'Doherty. Soon he was to be the throng of London literary life, no longer the not though inimitable correspondent, but the acknowledged centre of as sprightly a race as ever congregated in clubs and taverns, and chance gathering places, of reviewers, editors, and contributors. In his early Cork—too small a world it was thought for such the witty Doctor, he may have left some portion of good fame behind him. "Poor Maginn!" we can help saying when we think of him. Before long he drank his last bottle, and laughed his last laugh; and was soon a sad end to what a brother reviewer called a singular mixture of classical erudition and Irish wit. Father Prout was then young Frank Mahony, who came home occasionally when college vacation permitted. A sprightly genial youth, with a deal of humour in his sayings and doings, and talent in store, or as we may say, in *galore*, behind that splendid forehead of his, and by English literature, and the English press shall have profit of his fame, and Continental capitals shall have to know his whereabouts. Daniel Maclise, though then a boy, haunted the hall of the Society of Arts, and did have this said to him by one of judgment and taste: "I marvelled at his assiduity: "My little friend, if you are hard and *think*, you will be a great man one of these days." The bright-eyed boy was not long in fulfilling the promise of his youth. Then "my noble young friend Seamus and Kelleher, "my early fellow student," to whom in after years used to send such pleasant messages.

turn, however, to Hogan. At eight years of age, sent, a fine, sturdy, quick-witted boy, to Mr. Cangan-
school in Tallow. Why a Cork education in the
of his home, was not preferred, we are unable to
It has been suggested that the exclusiveness, or
very " of Cork society, might have made the builder's
out of place, among the more aristocratic frequent-
a first class city school. Possibly, also, a little
might be essential, and a temporary removal
the charmed circle of home, not the worst preparation
ance into the world of business and society. Hogan
on an established favourite with his master; and
his school-fellows he kept his ground creditably, for
d box his corner right well, ever bravely standing
his own. Classic studies, strange to say, seem to
ad little attraction for him. Mathematics, and arith-
and history, were more to his taste, and in these he
a proficient. After six years absence, young Hogan
ought home; and with the idea, we suppose, of
"our eldest," a fair start in life, and a chance of
ing that much desired quality—respectability of posi-
-he was placed in an attorney's office, and expected
gress towards that wished-for object, under the guidance
Mr. Michael Foote. Disappointment, however, was
in this case of both father and master. The artist's
as already awake in the boy; and instead of assidu-
pursuing his legal studies, and seeking distinction as
orney's clerk. he thought of nothing but cutting

deter the young scapegrace from such provoking conduct. We may guess his brother Richard, and other young friends of the Society of Arts, were not backward in applauding his determination. Doubtless, they gave him the only thing eagerly coveted—encouragement in his erratic courses, and the meed of admiration, his assiduity, if not his achievements deserved. We are also told that* :—

“A friend and client of Mr. Foote's, Dr. Coghlan, a physician in good practice, and not a little eccentric in his habits, accidentally discovered the young draughtsman one day at his desk absorbed in his labour of love, to the neglect of his proper business. He praised the sketches, faithfully kept the secret, and seldom afterwards visited the office without rewarding, with a bright crown piece, what he, doubtless, regarded as the innocent amusements of a clever wilful boy.”

Such little encouragement as he got, strengthened his own strong determination, to be an artist and nothing else. Yet we know not how he should ever have got free of the meshes of the law, if happy accident had not given him an opportunity of displaying, with considerable convenience to others, his self-acquired proficiency in outline drawing :—

“A new gaol was about to be built on the banks of the Lee ; and the contract was taken by the eminent house of Deane, of which the principal was and is Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Deane. Hogan the elder was in the employment of the firm, as foreman, and the talents of the son were already known to Mr. Alexander Deane, brother of Sir Thomas. The Architect, (Mr. Robinson of Dublin,) having sent down his plans and specifications there was a difficulty about finding a competent person in Cork to copy them within the time, (not more than a fortnight,) when the works should be commenced. In this embarrassment young Hogan was sent for, on a Sunday evening ; and the reader may guess with what trembling delight he half distrustingly consented to assume the responsibility pressed upon him by patrons, who could naturally have but a doubtful faith in powers yet but little developed, and wholly unacknowledged out of his own limited circle of confidants. He yielded at last to their solicitations, and working night and day, with a fixed resolve to succeed, executed his task within the allotted time in a manner to challenge the wonder and admiration of his employers.”

The first and best result of this timely trial and complete success, was the removal of young Hogan from the dreary

* This extract and the following are from an article entitled “John Hogan” in the Dublin University Magazine, January, 1850. The particulars given in that paper are, we believe, true as far as they go. We know the writer took notes from a conversation with Mr. Hogan in his Dublin studio.

where he had spent two hopeless years, in the model workshop of Deane and Company. He went to the firm at once, and employed himself as a carver of models. Hard work was no new thing to him; now, he was ready for anything, drawing, modelling, &c.; but so decided had his vocation become, that in a short time, Mr. Deane, who looked with respect on the persevering energy of his gifted apprentice, feeling enough not to thwart the growth of his talent, presented him with a set of chisels, and John Hogan was avowedly a sculptor. His mother, very much in Hogan, is the steady good friend who accompanied him in all that regarded his art, and his unceasing perseverance with which he made every onward step of his progress. Accustomed to any indiscreet zeal to achieve miracles, he was not without the design of taking the world at once by the throat; but he knuckled down to the so necessary and tedious labours, and not only practised his hand in drawing and carving, but for some years attended Rodolphe's anatomical lectures, with what his modelling sufficiently shows. One of his earliest works in carving in wood of a human skeleton, life size, was long after used in demonstrating to the great Michael Angelo's zealous studies, and we remember as a coincidence a crucifix in wood which the great Florentine sculptor made for the altar of Santo Spirito, to please the prior, to be placed in a room wherein to dissect dead bodies. Hogan's accurate knowledge of form and anatomy was indispensable to success in the art he had chosen. Hogan busily employed himself modelling and carving every day in technical nicety of finish. He was long employed in following this method, and many accidents occurred, which must have filled the streets of Cork with strange delight, by affording the expected opportunity of seeing, admiring, and touching the undying works of antique art. At the close of the European war, in commemoration of the peace of 1815, His Holiness, Pope Pius VII., the Prince Regent a magnificent selection of antique, which had been taken under the

superintendence of Canova. This gift, though it may at first be inappropriate, considering the recipient, is in reality a very graceful acknowledgement of the good rendered to art by the English government, which appointed persons to remove the *chefs d'œuvre* of churches and galleries from their temporary location in the Louvre, but likewise paid the expense of the removal. This was a prize which an art-loving community would long to possess. We know not how it escaped being seized on by certain metropolitan institutions, or grasping corporations of the English manufacturing class. However, for the good luck of Cork, the casts were sent for that wide-awake city, in the year 1818, through the interest of the Marquis of Conyngham, Lord Enniskillen, as some will have it, John Wilson Croker, Reviewer of the Quarterly, and Irishman, as well, by birth and party. Indeed, it was a piece of good fortune not uncommon to the citizens had just two years before, with most worthy exertion, succeeded in establishing a School of Arts, for the cultivation of taste, and the direct encouragement of native talent. Many no doubt, remember the loft, which served in those early days of art, as the repository of antiques. Gods and heroes, masks and groups, now have fitter dwelling place, but we doubt if even the devout worshippers gathered round so prized a shrine. The Hogan brothers, those young artists we have mentioned, and lesser stars of a bright constellation, met in the old lumber-room, and the fire of genius was kindled by the light of those old-world gems. How much the gallery had to do with Hogan's subsequent success, untiringly he thought, and studied, and wrought in the dingy precincts; and how, as it seems natural, it was the scene of his greatest triumph, shall now be fully stated. The following passage is from a paper in the Penny Journal, December 19th, 1840, and is, we believe, from the pen of Dr. Petrie:—

“The period, however, had now arrived when the eagle Hogan was to try its strength; and most fortunately for it, an accident at this time brought to Cork a man more than gifted with the power to assist him in its flight. The person who allude to was the late William Paulett Carey, an Irishman distinguished for his abilities as a critical writer on works of art, for his ardent zeal in aiding the struggles of genius, by his merit known to the world. In August, 1823, this gentleman

introduced, and where he did not expect to meet anything but crude essays of uninstructed beginners. On inquiry he was told it was the work of a young native of Cork, named Hogan, who had been apprenticed to the trade of a carpenter under Mr. Carey, an eminent builder, and had at his leisure hours studied from casts, and practised carving and modelling with intense industry. Hogan was then at work above stairs, in a small apartment in the Academy. The stranger immediately paid him a visit, and was astonished at the rich composition of a *Triumph of Silenus*, a group of fifteen figures, about fourteen inches high, designed in the modern style, by this self-taught artist, and cut in bas-relief, in marble. He also saw various studies of hands and feet; a grand bust of an Apostle, of a small size; a copy of Michael Angelo's mask; groups in bas-relief after designs by Barry; and a female figure, the full size, after nature; all cut with delicacy and beauty, from the same material. A copy of the antique *Silenus* and *Satyrs*, in marble, was chiselled with great spirit; and the model of a Roman figure, about two feet high, would have done credit to a veteran sculptor. A number of his drawings in black and white chalks, from casts, marked his progressive improvement and sense of excellence. The defects in his performances were such as are to be expected from an early stage of untaught study, and were far more than made up by their merits. When his work for his master was done for the day, he usually employed his hours in the evening in his private performances. The female skeleton had been all executed during the long winter nights."

Being thus acquainted with Mr. Hogan's abilities, Mr. Carey, with a surprising prophetic judgment with which he was so eminently gifted, at once predicted the young sculptor's future fame, and claimed his genius in every quarter in which he hoped it would prove serviceable to him. He commenced by writing a series of letters, which were inserted in the Cork Advertiser, "addressed to the nobility, gentry, and opulent merchants, entreating them to fund by subscription, to defray the expense of sending Hogan to Rome, and supporting him there for three or four years, to afford

subscription to the proposed fund. This was the first money actually paid in, and subscriptions soon followed from others. Through Carey's enthusiastic representations, the Royal Irish Institution induced to contribute the sum of one hundred pounds, and the Dublin Society to vote twenty-five pounds for some specimen carvings which Mr. Hogan submitted to their notice. The liberality were honourable to those public bodies; yet, as Carey well observed, it was to Lord de Tabley's generosity that Hogan's gratitude was most due. Here, as he said, "was a man of genius in obscurity, and wholly unknown to his lords; rescued from adversity in the unpromising morning of life; a taught artist built up to fame and fortune by his munificent patron's torch lighted, which I hope will burn bright for ages, to the glory of the empire. HOGAN may receive thousands of pounds from his patrons, but it is to Lord de TABLEY's timely encouragement that he will be indebted for every thing."

The subscriptions collected for Mr. Hogan amounted in all to the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds.

Thus with fair prospects, that is to say, with a brave and manly heart, a passionate desire to do something worthy of his friends' expectations, and a scarcely expressed longing to glorify old Ireland before long, young Hogan, with money in his pocket to keep the wolf from the door for a year or two, set forth to fight his way in the wide, unknown world. He had lost his mother not long before. Her wisdom and her death, were worthy of a saint; and her loving and faithful son, ever to his dying day, spoke of her as the worthiest and holiest of women. So great a loss only drew closer the ties, which bound the members of that obscure but happy family home. Our noble spirited artist, seems even to have adopted the whole family as his own, and to have undertaken a father's care for the whole household, the old man, only brother "Dick," "the dear girls," and all. He would work hard, be faithful in that strange land, and make them all happy and comfortable one day.

Everything in the outward journey, was new; * and

* We are indebted, more than we can express, to Mrs. Hogan for entrusting to us a most interesting collection of letters, written at different times by the artist, to his father and sisters. We were so struck by that it would be in vain to look for any of Hogan's correspondence as he was no letter writer. Truly he was no letter writer in the ordinary sense: he never wrote for the pleasure of writing, or for the sake of keeping up literary or artistic correspondence. His love for his family was great enough to make a poet, much more a letter writer, of any man. In his desire to give them pleasure, he endeavoured to describe accurately what befel him in the struggles and vicissitudes of his life.

reference to the only standard known to fine a city, that he doubts "if the build-alled by those on any part of the Continent The Dublin Society's House, "a beauti-est as large as the new Barracks in Cork, green to the rere." The Elgin marbles, ted the young sculptor, he thought them but the Theseus does not, he thinks, come f the *Torso* of Hercules, among the Cork near so fleshy, soft or grand, although every Let the Cork boys," he adds, "look sharp, idea of the fellows here. Let Kelleher be assure him that he does not know the in Cork. These are not to be compared ld not know them to be taken from the

ad Carey gave his protégé a friendly, kind of advice—a letter to General Cockburn o introduce me to his Grace the Duke of blessing with an earnest wish for my wel-appy return to my native country." Certain oother settled in Dublin received him with him with them, and even after the short ew days, parted with him reluctantly, for he ed tears in their eyes when they kissed

he chanced upon kind friends. One lady, "a good little soul," had him every day to ed often chide him for not dining also: but ut, he thinks at the rate of twenty miles a usually miles from St. Paul's at the proper ot possible. He was not the least moved ce of London, but was surprised to see such noke and vapour, and somewhat put out of anger of crossing the streets, and the cong through the crowd, of being "shouldered

he uses true nature's eloquence; and there is a and a *style* about his letters, which make them with the stiffness, affected dash, or premeditated we note in much of the literary correspondence with. Hogan's character comes out very nobly, find, in those stray leaves, which neither he nor r thought should meet strange eyes.

and jostled about like a three-penny brick." Again, casts in the academy are quite inferior to those in but he highly approves the attendance and regular Somerset-house "fires, stoves, and servants in every the building." The students here, and at the academy "young men who dress and appear well; I saw them some handsome, well looking chaps, but none so as Dick. Some of them are very clever; it is reasonable to think that students who attend regularly with persistence for years, and are admitted to every lecture given at that academy, must consequently draw well, let their city or genius be ever so trifling." Flaxman, "a looking, decrepid man," he did not admire, either in his art or his works, "although he is thought a great deal of by his countrymen." A lecture given by him was attended by most of the Royal Academicians, the president Thomas Lawrence "wearing a cocked hat in the chair." The Adelphi the young Irishman saw Barry's picture "a great sight no doubt;" and in the same hall was much to be seen with some figures by Bacon, which he took for antiquities; good was the execution; In Westminster Abbey he saw Roubiliac's monuments to the Duke of Argyle, and Nightengale; and "two exquisitely beautiful pictures with two female figures extremely graceful" on the pedestal of Matthew Prior's monuments by Rysbrack: he also

"At the other side of the Abbey there are five or six groups of sublime compositions by Bacon, Nollekens, Westmacott, etc. especially is of the Earl of Chatham, who is at the top in a speaking attitude, and under his feet are very large and noble figures representing Ocean and Earth in great attitudes, with other allegorical figures: it is about forty feet high, and the marble of it alone, I suppose, cost £1000--a master-piece undoubtedly. I could not examine the rest because the ruffian of a guide hurried us on to the other, and would not suffer any person to remain behind the rest of the company had seen it."

In the hall of the British Museum he noticed "a delightful and inimitable statue of Shakespeare by Roubiliac;" there are he thinks some very fine figures and a great number of indifferent ones. His remarks on the Elgin Marbles are noteworthy, proving how bold his criticism, and how early he began to think for himself that regarded his art. "I do not think," he says, "that

he visited him. His friendship wanted me to break-
h him, but I refused as I had done so before I left
rings; he is a very engaging, mild, and easy old
nd of the arts, but no great encourager." In Lord
l's gallery he saw "some beautiful original pictures
ld masters; a choice collection of excellent land-
by the Dutch and Flemish, touched with the lightest
it delicate pencils; and a few portraits and figures
e by (but rather after) Titian, Guido, Rembrant
megiano, and worth all of Lawrence's productions
:" Sir John Leicester (Lord de Tabley) was still
it in Cheshire, but he left the letters of introduction
tist, together with a very kind one from himself, and
is for admission to his gallery.

ner fellow student named Porter, who was staying
on, introduced Hogan to a certain Mr. Leahy, who
l him that Mr. Latham was hunting all over London
im out, as he had some letters that might be of use
and Rome.

dingly I waited on him next morning, and found him to be a
ut understanding, together with an obliging turn of mind:
l me two letters to bankers on the continent, at the same
ing to get those which he saw in my possession, for Ireland,
aying that he would seal them and put them into the post
fter shaking hands, and wishing me every success, he gave
pound note, hinting that it might be of service to me on
ong journey to Rome. This conduct from a gentleman I
before, is certainly very noble, but it is chiefly owing to
opinion he had of me from seeing a few things of mine
e or other."

aid five pounds, be it noted, was not put in his pocket
elling expenses, but was sent directly to the old
ith directions and advices not a few concerning the

and to be kept regular, "that is to say to have them bed precisely at half-past nine o'clock every night later."

Paris disgusted and disappointed our traveller. It is like some old-world history, to hear complaints of the dirty streets, of that now elegant capital; and of the narrow foot-ways, and the danger of being run over by carriages which are driven quite close up to the shops. But the Louvre is there—and the pictures *are originals*—and the gallery is as long as the parade of Cork! Florence, out of the line is visited, many things seen and observed; the gates of Gioberti, as one might expect, visited six times. And at last on Palm Sunday, 1824, John entered the Eternal City.

Thus happily was realised what is ever to the artist the most glorious day-dream of his youth; thus was brought to certain practical result the kindly efforts of Hogan and most discerning friends. He was now in Rome, the very centre of Christianity and of art: his tools in his hands, the world of art encircling him. The one glorious path was open to him—the way by labour, and heroic constancy to excellence, and an honourable fame. Thither came, for hundreds of years had come, all who striving for art and reward, worshipped at the inner shrine of art. In the academic halls, in the glorious galleries, in the studios of the Eternal City congregated native sons of Italy, and genius and promise lay in their hearts, sprung forth, nurtured and blossomed, in the quickening atmosphere of that favoured capital. The colder, duller north, transplanted thither rare exotics of genius, and in the magic of that influence, they grew strong and hardy, and filled with ripe luxuriance. The fatherland had sent a worthy son to Rome, there to prove his title to immortality; Denmark had commissioned her young giant Thorvaldsen that he too might enter the list, and haply come forth as conqueror; and even out of England, anti-Roman as she be, the children of art had gathered round the mother of their race.

Among the chosen out of thousands, our Irishman was now to live in fellowship of toil and glory. How great a what rare assiduity he pursued his course, how he laboured and studied, how he haunted galleries and churches

their instructions, so in the Fine Arts are the most distinguished artists of the day open who are fortunate enough to be able to reside in and attend the Schools of St. Luke's.

Several months Hogan contented himself to pursue, not alone in these schools, but also in the halls of the Vatican and Capitol, and the life academies of the French and English Artists. He would willingly have undertaken modelling a figure for Sir John Leicester, but the inability of taking a studio prevented him. One who would be fit for such work could not, he says, be had for less than paying a year's rent in hand, and also holding the studio for three years, as the Romans never let a painter's studio for less than this term." He consoles himself by thinking that after all "it is better not to begin to study without previous study a figure for a noble work in the arts, *comme Sir John*, on the success of which a great measure depend his future notice or esteem as an artist;" meanwhile he adds, "I feel myself gaining rapidly, and say from conviction that I can finish the head and extremities of the human figure, as well, if not better, than Gibson, Westmacott, Gott, or any other sculptor, a quality very essential to an artist." His progress is a passage deserving the attention of patrons as well as artists:—

Provision is just sufficient for the maintenance of nature, and of a moderate style. Provisions and wearing apparel are dear. As you may judge from my having a pair of their shoes which cost a crown each, owing to the bad stuff, or the effect of the scorching sun in summer, which cracks them up completely. I paid above seven shillings for having the remains of my old boots made by the old

Trattoria three *bajocchi*, (about two pence,) for a bit of food which would scarcely satisfy a tom-tit; and so of the other to atone for which their *Piselli*, *Cipolette*, rice, *Cartina*, soups, are good and very cheap. Know then that to study should like, it would be necessary to have at least £100 a possible £200): this sum would enable me to take a studying models, cut marble, model in clay, cast in plaster length arrive at excellence."

He sends word that Kelleher must visit Italy means, if he wishes to become a painter; packs up for amusement about twenty studies from nature, and sketches from Raphael, done on white paper, "as I for economy a lot of that stuff together," and gives excellent advice to use the pencil with courage and some pence by portraits, nature being the true path. "Stick close," he adds, "to your drawing and study all your strength, as a student is not always advised because he is employed. It is useless for me to say labour is the only price of solid fame, and that while man's force of genius may be, there is no easy means becoming a great artist."

Our young sculptor had not only ample opportunity likewise plenty of time for the profoundest study. free from temptations and interruptions likely to beset students, who might be deemed more fortunate. alone in that great world. The letter to the Duke of Devonshire which Sir Thomas Lawrence had given of no use; her grace had died meanwhile. He could boast a knowledge of the language which might have a way for him to the society of already distinguished. It will doubtless interest many amongst us to know the much revered, Father Gentili, was Hoggan's instructor in Italian. The afterwards famous preacher then a young Roman barrister. The Artist used with great humour, how coming home one day after study among the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the Vatican Museum and finding his mild teacher in the midst of his book, he made a spring at the table, gathered up volumes, and flung them all right out of the window. "There is nothing in the world but art," he cried, "goes!" The accomplished and saintly Italian, and Irishman, continued always great friends; and when he was about to enter the church, came to the end of his pupil.

reign, misgovernment of Catholic countries, and
le all but curses "the rascals," but adds ;—" How-
I am the only Catholic among them I take no
ut pass it off in seemingly good humour ; to act
with such fellows would be to want sense." His
nan Heffernan he appears to have willingly frater-
th ; he says " he is a very pleasant man, and exceed-
ver."

while, in the midst of his own struggles, he is very
ted when he thinks of his father being still at labor,
g like a carrier horse," and he is quite afflicted that
t send the girls necklaces and other trinkets on
is day. He does find means of sending one of
e *Luigi*, though where he got that sum we cannot
t. But he has his eyes open all the while, and
em pleasant descriptions of the sights and occur-
which attract his attention. The events which
the opening of the pontificate of Leo XII. are well
o the readers of Cardinal Wiseman's " Recollections
our Last Popes ;" here is another note of an eye-

" Rome, 18th August, 1824.

scension Thursday I have seen the Pope take possession of
nni di Laterano, the cathedral church of the Catholic
the greatest pomp and magnificence imaginable ; he was
a chariot by six black horses, surrounded by cardinals,
and nobles of Rome and other Catholic countries ; he was
all, so much so that it was impossible for him to ride a
te beautiful horse, whose tail scattered the dust as he
long, presented to him on the occasion. After the usual
s in the Church he ascended the balcony, where he gave

imprisoned for a certain time according to the nature of his crime. When his present Holiness visited the prisons, the criminals cried in one voice, "pardon, pardon, Holy Father!" to which he answered that those who were worthy of liberty should have it immediately. Others who were not should have justice administered fairly. He kept his word—the next day the guillotine, a dreadful instrument, was planted in one of the piazzas of Rome, where half-a-dozen lost their heads in one second. I have seen two myself guillotined; their heads are put on a dish and shewn round on the scaffold to the people, the eyes and mouth work for some time after the head is separated from the body. . . . The last pope was a very passive and tranquil, but Leo is a man, active and determined, bearing a lofty mind with the greatest humility. I wish he might enjoy better health, as Italy would be for ever the better for his just government. . . . Everything here is carried on in the grandest style, the Romans give such effect to the most trifling objects, they dress and dine splendidly; in every eating house are served with silver forks, spoons, waiters, &c., a countryman from the Sabine or *Kerry* mountains will receive the same service.

Just a year later we have further evidence of the remarkable change which took place in the health of his Holiness, and another testimony to the vigour of his government.

15th August,

"This day, at Santa Maria Maggiore, I have received the Pope's benediction; he is in right good health at present, is about my age, with broad shoulders, and fine proportioned frame, aged about 60 years, considered rather young for the head of the church. A few days ago he sentenced three very young men to death, the crime was robbery, not murder, but such is the justice of Leo, that he had them to hear mass and receive the Sacrament before they were placed kneeling in the Piazza di Bocca della Verità, opposite the beautiful temple of Vesta, and in that posture they received the contents of the carabines of about forty soldiers; not a word of groan, not a kick, was heard or seen from them after the execution I saw but two women, and those were of the lowest class, by it you have an idea of the tenderness of the Roman government. When I reflect on a poor devil about to be hanged in Corsica, or battalions of the sex posted on all sides of Gallows-green, it is a country."

In Hogan's letters are many passages showing his eye for nature and quick eye for beauties of scenery. The following extract is of early date, the latter alludes to a better time when he was actually in possession of a studio.

"We remarked that the country about these villages was a mass of verdure, thick with the olive trees, and the vines laden with the weight of the juicy grape, while the Campagna appeared like the desert of Arabia, the grass and herbage

by the heat. Italy is certainly the country of
 ruins of the elements—broken, sawn, and
 confusion: precipices crowned with old, gloomy,
 black chasms in rocks where curiosity shudders to
 caverns where reign the terrible of nature, and,
 the paradise of Europe."

Here I have paid at the rate of five crowns
 a year, but now I pay only two and a-half for a
Vicolo dei Greci in the Corso; there is a beautiful
 garden of the house, the fruit of which is excellent;
 though three immense vines were groaning under
 enormous bunches of rich, purple, Pergolese grapes;
 but left to be picked by birds and fowls.
 My windows of the second floor bear delicious
 a full score of which I eat. Now we are
 the lemons and oranges that are ripening fast. I
 rough this garden to my studio."

long and somewhat impatient waiting, we
 move in the right direction, and Hogan
 in clay, the designs which have hitherto
 of his brain. He made a desperate venture
 on. We rather think that this was done by
 catching a gale; for we find that he does not
 see at home to be made aware of the fact,
 think, that in this way his stay in Rome
 ended, and what they supposed his opportunity
 somewhat lessened. But the move was a
 the sculptor having at last fair play, strode
 with a rapidity, most astonishing even to the
 as about him. The following extracts from
 August 15, 1825, are full of interest.

in object, a subject which gives pleasure to my
 eye shall, in a few lines, give a brief but true
 short time before Mr. Rice left this, I discovered that
 to be let for twenty-four crowns a-year, in *Vicolo*
 no al Corso, an excellent situation. Knowing that
 about fifty or sixty annually, I, without losing a
 to an agreement with the *padrone*, paid twenty-
 five, benches, irons, clay, &c.; and, as it is expected
 crowded with English nobility next year, I go *slap*
 on, commence modelling, and finished a figure in
 might have something to show against that time:
 a recumbent boy, with his pipe in one hand,
 a goat, which I understand forms an admirable
 figure. My model was a stout Sabine lad: I had
 fifty hours, for which I paid him five crowns, and,

when done, wet his whistle with a jorum of wine: I paid a twelve *scudi* to cast it in *gesso*. Cammucini, a first-rate painter, Gibson, and all the English artists here, confess very like nature, and modelled with a great deal of spirit, and force. One or two of my intimate friends say that so I have done, particularly a bust, look as solid as stone, and more like casts from marble than from clay; but this I attribute to my practice in timber, which gave me a lightness in executing few possess. Let no person read this as I puff myself. What but some fellow would take a liking to it, and order it to be in marble; if so I finger the cash when finished. I am about to execute immediately Sir John Leicester's figure in clay, and am ready to pay all due attention and application to the same. Although I have made several sketches for it, I am not yet determined on any one. My first intention was a dancing figure, but Cammucini and others have done so many of that class, that there scarcely remains an original attitude."

Marble was still out of the question. The artist valued his on his last £40, and he seemed low enough in spirit. In a letter, however, to Dick, dated Christmas day, we find the following fine passage:—

"But cheer up my old boy. Carey is still at work for me. He is stirring up the nobility and gentry with a long promise of rising more cash to enable me to prosecute my studies like a man. As that independent spirit which I possessed previous to my going to the Cork academy no longer exists, I care not a pin who puffs me. I fish that I catch in my net, being aware that it is not for me that they are concerned—but, for the glory of *Ould Erin*, I will make an honorable boast at Rome, when they are pensioned in my country—*perche non io pure?*"

He then goes on to tell of Mr. Carey's zealous assistance, who commenced by paying £10 himself. Sir John gave £25, and Mr Oliver Latham £25 also. In the exertions of his indefatigable friend the subscription time did not exceed £150.

The next work mentioned is a favourite and interesting subject. Hogan began to have hopes from Cork; and thus to the people at home:—

"There is one thing which you must set to work at immediately to raise the wind about a famous *basso-relievo*, which I have in a short time ago; the subject is a Dead Christ, laid simply on the cross, from which hang the crown and sceptre of the king. It is five feet long by twenty-two inches high, and is peculiarly adapted for the panel of an altar. In justice to myself all the art is full of sentiment and character, and very like nature. I am satisfied to cut it in marble for £50, (a third less than the expense of a wretched bust executed by any of the London

when finished and landed in Cork, my father forfeits the £20. If you succeed I shall give you credit, and expect from you by post on the strength of it."

Well! that was doing it cheap with a vengeance. To boast the possession of a Dead Christ by Hogan, one, but a later work, and a masterpiece. Under circumstances it was obtained and retained, Cork all, to her disgrace.

But the young sculptor took courage, and began to figure for Sir John Leicester, that noble patron having given, not alone such timely help as we have seen, but the young artist is the most desired of all prizes — a commission for his first work. The subject chosen by him was one, combining the simplicity and grace of art, with the embodiment of a sentiment, more deep and pathetic, than Athenian Phidias ever owned. From a beautiful Idyll, "The Death of Abel," he took the subject. The work is known as "Eve startled at the sight of the serpent." It was greatly admired when done, shortly after in marble. The English artists congratulated the sculptor, on the purity of sentiment, and gracefulness exhibited in the figure; and the Italians, particularly Gigini and Rinaldi, were actually astonished at the extent and the mastership of the chisel which he displayed — agreeing that he excelled all other English sculptors in this particular, and most essential, branch of the art. It appears to have been cut in marble by his own hand. The block was unusually hard and beautiful, and he worked on it with great care and caution. The subsequent

had done for him, it would be "wrong and unmanly" to put in a claim on his successor, for the acceptance of the statue, "which his lordship had ordered for his admiral's monument." He must therefore, look out for a purchaser, expecting to receive double the sum mentioned by his lordship; for it would appear, that a small figure was ordered. Sir John commissioned, though the poor artist, in a dashing, generous fashion, went far beyond the mark. Mr. Carey, however, settled the matter, and a polite letter was received from Mr. Lester Parker, informing the artist that in consequence of his relative's engagements to him, Messrs. Messersley and Company should pay to his demand, £70, the bare cost we suppose, of the marble and rough workman's money. But the noble sculptor was in strange delight to receive money, no matter how dearly earned; and on the 15th an order for £30 was forwarded to the old home, with regrets that he could not remit more. But he adds:—

"I rejoice much, as I have said before, because it will enable me to live a little more comfortable and social some few evenings. I also add some *bombazines* to your stock of wearing apparel—a pair of boots and surtout to my father's wardrobe."

The figure was sent off at once, and will it be believed that the case containing this beautiful work remained closed some thirty years, and was only, on the occasion of the Manchester Exhibition 1857, rescued from the obscurity of wrappings and packing boxes, and placed before the critical and admiring eyes of British connoisseurs? It stood, among nymphs, and Venuses, and very human virtues, the graceful, modest, mourning form of our common raven. The sweet, sad mouth, the unconscious attitude, the regretfulness of the whole expression, tell the tale of that terror and grief. If we stand before this piece of art, and only say, "this indeed is no mere academic study; this is a true one, and the subject must have been well studied by the Sculptor,"—we speak rightly. That dead bird can testify to a bit of the artist's own experience. Hogarth, we know always studied from nature when it was possible, wanted a model for the bird in this group, and went out into the market-place, purchased a dove, and carried it in his bosom, and carried it gently home to his study. But how to kill that pretty fluttering creature! could he do that? He looked at it in admiration, thought it

a wrong thing to take its life. At last, with a hard grasp, he killed the bird, and flinging it into the street, with a real consciousness of something wicked. In his haste, he forgot the messenger who was bringing him a letter. The black, and the poor artist, so nervously and so earnestly, "I have done very wrong—I am punishing my brother is dead!"

But, unexpected as it was in every way, had the poor artist has been heard to say that he could dissociate his grief for the loss of his brother from a sense of personal guilt on his own part, it is proved by this little incident the vitality of the connection which exists, between the artist's own work which is fashioned by his hand! It is art, if it do not give form and expression to the feelings themselves felt, and deeply understood.

The death of his young brother was a terrible blow to Hogan's life. In his sorrow he seems to upbraid himself as harsh and severe to the poor fellow: but he

was more than I did. I had a secret pleasure in his drollery, his good nature, and his *innocence*. He was by my side during my journey on the path of life, and the same pleasures and pains, assisting one another. I little did I think when I parted him at the time, that I should never see him more—may his soul and the soul of his brother rest in eternal peace."

A deep religious feeling coming through all, he did not let him know what time he was at communion; whether he confessed and received redemption in his drawing—and had grown taller; and that his drawings would give me much pleasure." He grieved himself to his loss, being convinced that he would never see him again, and can speak of him without emotion. Of his fortitude, he tells them, he is going to his duties immediately.

We find the sculptor thrown into continual succession of receiving commissions, or suggestions from home. A friend would write, saying that he would give him an order for a figure, and that a sum in advance would be sent to him without delay. On the strength of that, he would start, and set to work; in his impetuous

sity never doubting that folks at home might not be in such haste to remit, as a poor artist would necessarily be to receive. Perfectly certain, on one occasion, of receiving an order for £60 from Cork, he paid 100 crowns for a block, and set a *scarpellino* to rough out the Shepherd Boy,* while he employed himself modelling, and studying from nature, in the English Life Academy, which was splendidly kept up at that time by the nobility. After the work had gone on some time, to his dismay he found his bill dishonoured, and was obliged to dismiss the *scarpellino* to whom he had been paying 9 pauls a day, and take the rough work into his own hands. What further ill consequences would have ensued, we know not, if a timely gift of another £25 had not arrived from Mr. Latham. This made up a sum of £55 received from that generous friend—"princely encouragement" as the gratified artist says, who acknowledges he "would stand rather queer *senza quell ajuto*."

The next work in order is the famous Drunken Faun. In the letters we find him modelling "an active, light and strong figure of a Faun," which, he says, has gained him infinite honour, being considered perfectly original in composition and full of nature; and this we know to be true. Cammucini was delighted with it, and that artist's praise was a great stimulus to the young sculptor, and "acted in the same manner as the sound of a trumpet to the ears of a war horse." It was the same Cammucini we believe, who in Hogan's presence, at an evening party of artists, threw out the observation, that anything original in the classic style was now impossible, all attitudes, expressions and variety of forms, having been already done into marble by great masters. We can scarcely wonder that

* This work, some years later, was seen in Hogan's studio and purchased by Lord Powerscourt, who informed the sculptor that he intended to place it beside works of Thorwaldsen, and other distinguished sculptors. Hogan fought hard to be allowed to do it over again, as he did not think it fair to exhibit his first work, beside the later, and finished productions of those great artists. However, the nobleman resolved to have it as it was, and at once had it removed to Powerscourt House, where it may now be seen. The sum paid for it was £70; and, small as the payment was, the artist had to wait a considerable time for a settlement, cursing the while all aristocratic bad pays. A cast of the work was presented by the artist to his esteemed friend Lady Morgan.

Cammuccini should have said so, for there certainly has never been a more inveterate mannerist than the said clever Roman. Long indeed before he ceased painting he appears to have thought any original figure quite out of the question. The sense of the company on the occasion we allude to may be inferred from the fact that on Hogan boldly declaring that he could not believe any such thing, one of the party, Gibson it is said, addressing the young Irishman somewhat sneeringly, replied, "then, perhaps *you* sir can produce an original work!" The brave Hogan, who as we have seen had been but a few years devoted to his art, and who indeed was even then still occupied with his first work in marble, returned to his studio, and thought: and the Drunken Faun, which Cammuccini, and all the artists of Rome admitted to be original and perfect, and which Thorwaldson pronounced worthy of an Athenian studio, was the result of his thinking.*

*No patron of art has as yet been found tasteful or liberal enough to commission this great work in marble. It made the name of Hogan famous but put no gold into his coffers. The original plaster cast lay for a great many years at the foot of the stairs in the College Street Institution, where it became familiar to the frequenters of the ever changing exhibitions, of which the large saloon above was the scene. Here it suffered some sad mutilations; and subsequently, when transferred to the care of the Royal Dublin Society, to which it was presented by Hogan, although rescued from a fate which seemed upon the point of reducing it to a *torso*, it was exposed to a danger of another kind, having been overlaid with some coatings of paint, which certainly were not calculated to improve the details. Some time after his return to Ireland, Hogan felt a strong wish to restore or re-model this work, but had much and very provoking difficulty to overcome, in the shape of official forms in order to get it removed, for that purpose, for a while to his studio. How great his desire was to save this precious production of his genius, is shewn in the fact of his deigning to ask for a loan of it at all: for, a few years before, he had applied for permission to remove it to Rome for the purpose of having it copied in marble, at his own expense; and although undertaking to return the original, or a cast of the new work, the favour, after a "bond" had been executed, on these terms, was finally refused. As soon, however, as the transfer of the work to his Dublin studio had been effected, and the artist's eye was brought freshly to bear on the work after so many years of absence, he determined that he would not content himself with a mere restoration, but set in earnest about re-modelling the figure—or rather upon the production of an entirely new work. There is scarcely any part of the figure in

In the Autumn of 1827, we find Hogan still at work in Rome, expecting the arrival of the Rev. Justin Foley MacNamara. This good friend made his appearance at last, and his coming was a great pleasure to his late fellow-citizen. They visited galleries, palaces, churches, and antiquities together, until the worthy father became a dilettante and connoisseur in art. He brought the young artist on a tour to Naples, and they spent three delightful weeks, inspecting the curiosities, and enjoying the beauties of Southern Italy.

Hogan complains of being quite lonesome after his companion left; he seems to have had great esteem and affection for the worthy priest. On the return of the latter to Cork, he began to exert himself, to get a good order for the sculptor, but without much success at first. Certain patrons at home suggested that Hogan should forward written opinions of artists, respecting his merit, and the progress he had recently made in his art. The proud sculptor liked not such a proposition, it seemed to him preposterous and inconsistent, and he thought such evidence would be a weak, and silly proof, of an artist's ability—"Yes, the only thing that is required from a sculptor (and in fact the only test he can produce) is his own work, which always, and in all places speaks for itself, *when possessing merit*."

Though he was longing to get home, he was determined not to leave Rome, until he had got an order to cut in marble some statue, worthy to be placed in Carey's Lane new Chapel! * This sort of ambition sounds like something

which he did not introduce a decided improvement. A fine living model, which Hogan was fortunate enough to find in Dublin, greatly facilitated his efforts, and afforded him better nature to copy, for his subject, than what he had found in Rome for the original work. It had a somewhat odd effect on a casual visitor to Hogan's studio, to be told by rather a rough subject, with all the conceit imaginable, that *he* was the model of that splendid statue. All the accessories are likewise greatly improved in the new work, every portion of which evinces a much more matured eye, and a more experienced hand in the artist than does Hogan's early production.

* The said chapel is not yet commenced. However, there is every certainty that the building will presently be, not only begun, but brought to a creditable completion; for the work has fallen into most excellent hands—those, namely, of the Rev. J. J. Murphy.

no one laugh at it. The Capital of Italy, a world to him than that Irish city, where peace, his own people, and his old patrons, fellowstudents. Meanwhile, he began to figure of the Dead Christ. He succeeded the form, proportion, dignity of character were universally admired; the *head* has been of the finest known in sculpture, and the thronged to his studio, to congratulate him. Thorwaldsen came among the rest, was in progress, and declared this figure to be perfect. There was now only one opinion that the true path to fame and glory. Speaking MacNamara's efforts to get him an order for the statue:—

"He may succeed in his kind intentions towards exertions my present fate depends; if he could enable me to purchase a *fine block of marble*, I should be content to live on macaroni until such a time as it would be finished: *e poi* my own time as to the remainder of the remuneration, *it would be unjust*. I am at present engaged on the statue, the hands of which are to be seen the scourge, the crucifix of the passion, and at the same time they serve as the table of the altar, forming a delightful principal figure. It is said this work, (although not ready from life,) *ranks me as a Sculptor*. I am in stone. All I want now is an order to execute it. When finished, I return with flying colours to Old Ireland, not indeed be ashamed to exhibit this work. Do not show this letter to any person, as I write too hastily."

In November, 1828, Father MacNamara writes to Hogan, in intelligence, that he may begin the work; that on the receipt of his letter, £100 shall be remitted to him, the sum being actually lodged in Mr. O'Keefe's possession. This seemed tolerably certain, and on his experience, Hogan bought an immense block of marble, paid 91 dollars, at once, promising the remittance in a week or fortnight, transported the marble to his studio, and set two stout, *bravi Gioiellieri* to it out, promising to pay them about 74 dollars. Months passed away, and no remittance came. The marble-merchant, naturally con-

sidering Hogan a swindler, gave great annoyance, and had not been for the kindness of a friend named J. who paid the two *scarpellini*, and took the artist content to dine with him, the state of things would have been sad enough. Not till April following, was any order received, and then one to the amount only of £70. But after the anxiety of the interval, the sight of any sum in hand was a relief; so paying off all debts, and holding in hand 80 crowns, the light-hearted artist was lively as ever, and worked away quite cheerily, trusting that something would turn up, to enable him to return to Cork.

In the midst of his troubles, he is alive to what is going on about him. The following passages are interesting. The expectations created in his mind by the passing of the Catholic Emancipation are curious; the artist must have looked a good half century in advance.

"It was joy to my soul to hear of my being free from the yoke, and I trust that the arts will now be pushed on gloriously in Ireland as the bill has passed. We have had many changes in these three months past, having lost our old Pope, and elected a new one possessing talent and humility in the highest degree, with a determination to do good to all. Immediately after he was created, he gave a considerable sum to the poor of the village he was born in, and portions to fifty young women, clothed one thousand poor children, and all pawns under five shillings, from the first of January to the first of March. He was elected, and allowed the people to drink in the wine privilege denied in the last Pope's reign under pain of imprisonment and fine. He has done many other things, but this last has made him very popular."

June, 1829, saw the Dead Christ finished in the studio. Even to his dear old father, the artist does not seem to know how with propriety to tell that the Roman Artist considered it a grand and noble figure, full of grace and sentiment.—"Although my own work," he adds, addressing the reader, "note this well—it has once or twice been painted by myself." But the dollars had been growing scarce, and "beautifully less," and the folk at home must have sent somewhere or other twenty or thirty pounds to buy the picture home, and save him from a *camera* in the castle of St. James.

Fortunately, the good people at Cork succeeded in borrowing £35, which they transmitted at once. The welcome sum arrived, Hogan packed up his materials, and the Dead Christ, his cast of the Drunken Fa-

busts and a few studies in plaster ; and having seen the brig containing the precious cases safe down the Tiber, he stowed into a soldier's knapsack his small stock of wearing apparel, a guide-book, note-book, and passport, and set out by the cheapest route, on his homeward journey ; leaving, not without regret, it would appear, the charmed precincts of *Vecchia Roma*, where he acknowledges "a frank and familiar intercourse with professors of all nations opens a man's eyes" to many things, and where "there is felt a certain stimulus in the air which makes a person think and fare like an artist."

We have purposely dwelt long upon this early portion of the artist's career. The first years of trial, struggle, hope and expectation, are, in the life of a remarkable man, always the most interesting. With the triumph and vicissitude of a later time we feel less sympathy ; it delights us most of all to watch the beginning of greatness, the first spring into life and action of those characteristics, which in progress of time become more fully developed. We must now make more haste, and travel over a greater number of years in fewer pages.

November, 1829, found Hogan arrived in Dublin, the brig freighted with the three cases at anchor in the river. The promised supplies had not come from Cork ; the cases could not be released from the hands of captain, broker, and commissioners without the payment of £39 16s. The artist, naturally in a fever of anxiety to have his beautiful works exhibited, had to wait a good part of a month without news of the expected remittance. At last arrived a £10 note, instead of the £30 promised by the Cork patron. Meanwhile, however, Hogan received much courtesy and kindness. The good relatives who had so warmly entertained him on his first visit to Dublin, now once more offered him a home ; the members of the Royal Irish Institution, very generously placed at his disposal their fine board room, for the purpose of exhibition ; and Major Sirr, the notorious Major Sirr, did him still more substantial service by advancing the money necessary to redeem the precious cases. The Major indeed, who in spite of all, seems to have had some real knowledge of art, showed great interest in the sculptor, and was so enchanted with the statue that he was for ever hovering about it, as if it had

been the work of his own hands. All the Dublin artists freely and generously of the extraordinary success countryman, and received him most warmly and hospitably. The Royal Dublin Society resolved to confer upon him the honor of a gold medal. The Lord Lieutenant, the Duchess of Northumberland visited the exhibition. The money received for admission, a personal friend undertaken to do duty at the door, amounted on an average to twenty shillings a day; so that there was no hope of paying the expenses of removal from Rome. The venerable Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, expressed the greatest anxiety to purchase the Christ for his cathedral; and an intention was expressed of setting on a subscription for that purpose. Finally, however, after the figure had been exhibited about two months to the citizens of Dublin, who as Hogan said "idol statue," it was purchased for Clarendon-street Church by the Rev. Mr. Lestrange. Hogan valued the work at £500, but the purchaser pleaded poverty, and offered £400, a sum indeed for a poor Carmelite community to spare. The artist, well pleased to be free of his debts, and in position to help the family at home, accepted the offer, the purchase money being paid at once. The figure was placed, under the directions of the sculptor himself, on the high altar; and so, having delighted the great multitude in the city for a season, it was removed to its natural fitting position, and is now in the sacred precincts of the Sanctuary, the well- prized treasure of a lowly congregation.

The best part of this triumph, we may safely conclude, was the satisfaction of proving to his Cork friends, among whom Sir Thomas Deane, as he well deserved to be, was the first, his regard, that their kindness had not been misapprehended. He says nothing of the joy of sharing his glory with his old father, and the well loved sisters. His visit to his family on this occasion was the first of many paid to their obscure home after he had become distinguished as the good "sculptor son." A friend well remembers scenes of happy meetings, at which as an intimate friend he was privileged to be present. One pleasant evening a young man played on the piano some merry old Irish tune; and the father elated by the strains of native music, started

danced about the room ; John immediately joined him, and after dancing with all their might for some minutes, the young man wrapped up in his arms and fondly embraced his old father. If he could only have shielded that dear household from poverty, care, and sorrow, he would have asked no greater blessing.

Once more in Rome, Hogan set to work manfully. He had brought from Ireland commissions for some busts, and the Dead Christ for Cork in marble; and an order for finished casts of two apostles, and a group for Francis-street chapel in Dublin. Without much delay he repaired to Carrara, and remained two months in the neighbourhood of the famous Caves, in search of an immaculate block for the Dead Christ. He completed an entirely new cast for this work, making several important alterations in details, and considerably improving the design.* The two apostles he resolved to model on his return to Cork to save expense. He must not stay longer than was absolutely necessary ; he must come back to Ireland to receive payments for his works, and, with Heaven's blessing, new commissions. The money promised by his Cork patrons was not paid according to agreement to his poor people at home ; they were at this time not only in want of money, but in absolute distress ; and his own condition was most miserable, so far from them,

* The fate of the Dead Christ, or rather of Hogan, in regard to it is very lamentable. It was put up in St. Finbar's, commonly called the South Chapel, Cork. Small sums were at different times remitted in payment to the Sculptor—in all, we believe, not exceeding £272 10s. When Hogan, after a long interval, applied for the balance still due, not only was he received with discourtesy, but the statute of limitation was cast in his face. It might be well for those whom the matter concerns, to consider whether the said statute should hold good with regard to the artist's helpless family. Even on his death-bed he was made uneasy by the recollection of this grievous wrong, and he directed one of his family to search among his papers for memoranda relating to the transaction.

When the figure was about to be removed from its Sanctuary, for the purpose of being placed among the sculpture in the Cork Exhibition of 1852, Hogan was told that it was undergoing a process of scrubbing with freestone, or some such agent, to remove from it the hue of antiquity which it had already assumed. The artist's anxiety on the subject may be more easily imagined than described. For some days he was in the greatest pain, and we are not aware whether the impression was ever removed from his mind, that many of the finest touches in the work were spoiled for ever.

and without means to put an end to their trouble. Immediately on his arrival in Rome, he had commenced his work for Francis-street, and before many months had elapsed, a famous, and surpassingly beautiful, *Pieta* was a work. Little our noble Hogan dwelt on the hard work he was to receive only the wretched sum of £150 for execution, freight and all, of the apostles and the Virgin. If he had been a clever trader he would have manufactured works to the value of that amount, keeping the balance on the right side:—but he was a divinely inspired artist, and when designing a work had nothing in his mind's eye but the ideal of excellence. In a moment of happiest inspiration he imagined the tragic beauty of that glorious group which got fame by it which crowned him with honour. In the opinion of the Roman artists, who were of that opinion, that it had only to be seen in Ireland to secure him a commission to do it in marble—a commission which would suffice to immortalise him. Nothing more could be wished for. Then indeed there should be a monument to his name; his country might be proud of such a grand production of genius; it would be the envy of them all, the poor artist thought, and he desired that his like sisters to pray that it might be so. He told them before setting out on his homeward journey, that, with his precious freight, he would prepare *himself* by performing his religious duties in Rome. But it was not to be; their prayers were not to be heard in that city. Hogan with difficulty, and after tantalizing delays, obtained the stipulated sum for the group and figures; but no man, no community, no committee, was found to purchase it, patriotic, or might we say it? religious enough to commission that magnificent work.

The original cast ever after continued to occupy the most prominent position in Hogan's Roman studio. The classic character of the composition always excited for it enthusiastic admiration. A first-rate Roman

* The subject of this group was a great favourite with Hogan. Not long after, he modelled a half-size group in red wax, the composition differing entirely from the larger work. At intervals got orders to execute the same for altar pannels in possession of Mrs. Ball, Loretto Convent; one was ordered by Mr. Maher, Esq., M.P., for the chapel of Ross, Co. Wexford; and the last, for St. Saviour's, Dominick-street, remains unfinished in his studio.

was sent by the proprietors of the *Ape Italiana* to make a drawing of the group; and in that great artistic work, which circulates throughout Europe with a character of the highest authority, appeared a graceful outline engraving of our countryman's great ideal work. In this composition Hogan entered into competition with the greatest in art. The *Pieta* was the first great work in marble of the divine Michael Angelo. That *chef-d'œuvre*, smaller than life, is now to be seen in one of the chapels of St. Peter's:* the composition is thus described in a few words by Mrs. Jameson:—"The Virgin is seated; the dead Saviour lies across the knees of his mother: she looks down on him with mingled sorrow and resignation, but the majestic resignation predominates."† It was also the great Florentine's last work. The unfinished *Pieta*, which is life size, and infinitely more beautiful than the former, is still in his native city. The maestro's treatment of the subject differs much from that of his latest disciple.

An accomplished connoisseur, Count Hawks le Grice, who resided the greater part of his life in Rome, and wrote a work on the productions of contemporary sculptors in that city,* thus describes Hogan's affecting and magnificent group:—

* "This *Pieta* is the only work whereon Michael Angelo inscribed his name, which he has carved distinctly on the girdle of the Virgin. The circumstance which induced him to do this is curious. Some time after the group was fixed in its place, he was standing before it considering its effect, when two strangers entered the church, and began, even in his hearing, to dispute concerning the author of the work, which they agreed in exalting to the skies as a masterpiece. One of them, who was a Bolognese, insisted that it was by a sculptor of Bologna, whom he named. Michael Angelo listened in silence, and the next night when all slept, he entered the church, and by the light of a lantern engraved his name, in deep indelible characters, where it might best be seen."—(See "*Early Italian Painters*.")

(Something worse in the same line happened to our own countryman. We know an instance in which the proprietors of one of Hogan's works in *alto-relievo* allowed it to be copied three times. The bitter indignation of the Sculptor may be imagined when a stranger visiting his studio, and casting his eye on the original cast of the said *relievo*, exclaimed, "Oh, I see you have got F——'s work here!"

† "Legends of the Madonna," p. 41.

‡ "Walks through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome."

"The afflicted Mother is seated at the foot of the cross summit of Golgotha, contemplating with a countenance full the lifeless body of her Divine Son, which lies stretched below her. This different locality of the figures has been judiciously chosen by the artist, to consult for the symmetry of the group, and to develop the figures to greater advantage, the lines of which assume a pyramidal form. The ancient Christian sculptors placed the body on the knees of the Virgin, a precedent from which the present artist has boldly and judiciously departed; for it is dignified nor, perhaps, true to nature to suppose that a mother, exhausted by grief and suffering, could have sustained for so long the weight of a dead body. This departure from established custom we therefore look upon as creditable to the judgment and originality of the Irish sculptor. Mary is simply dressed in a modest robe, with a large veil which descends from the head, and which, by covering a considerable part of the body, reveals, however, the figure seated on the bare ground near the sacred body of her Son, in deepest contemplation and sorrow. To connect the Virgin with the Saviour, the Sculptor has made the Virgin take on her lap the left arm of the Saviour, supporting which with her left hand she extends her right in an attitude which eloquently speaks to the eyes and the heart of the beholder, whom she seems to call upon to wait and see 'if sorrow like unto her sorrow.' The body of the Saviour is covered by a winding sheet, save that part of the winding sheet beneath it, is partially visible over the figure, and as the drapery of the Virgin is on a large scale in accordance with her semi-colossal form, so also is that of the Saviour spread beneath and partially over the Redeemer, both being in perfect accordance with nature. The countenance of the Redeemer is truly divine, although the expression is relaxed in the cold, placid sleep of death. The head drooping on the left gives a lifeless appearance to the body, and materially adds to the composition. The gentle declivity on which the body is outstretched is also well calculated to display the lifeless form to great advantage; whilst the dark shadow detaches the body from the ground, and a broad light, admirably contrasting, gives to the group a most imposing appearance. The style is truly grand, the execution is worthy of the style. This group is, in truth, a masterpiece, and reflects the highest honour on the artist."

We must not tarry on the way, to accompany him on his many journeys between Ireland and Rome, during the next twenty years. In Ireland, he was always received; fêted, praised, patronized, and commissioned to execute numerous works. They did everything but pay him for the works they owed and promised. If the gentlemen of Ireland kept their engagements, his life would have been a very comfortable one, and his mind would have been free from a multitude of distracting and vexatious cares. We will generalize more, and give a few sketches of his Irish

artistic life. It was a life of the severest application and study, for even when engaged on his great works, he never neglected to pursue with industry and ardour his studies from life, and the great models of antiquity.

He seems to have early familiarised himself with the severest school of classic art. In fact, so exclusively did he do so, that he scarcely deigned to recognize anything in painting, sculpture, or architecture, that was not strictly according to that high standard. He would often favour a friend with his company to some of the museums or studii of the Eternal City, and on those occasions, his criticisms were generally so severe as to be scarcely palatable to an ordinary observer: for while one would wish to admire and dwell upon the beauty of a thousand objects, Hogan, whose eye took in their precise merits, and had often measured them before, would not allow him to indulge his unskilful wonder, but silenced each rising exclamation of delight with a remark rapid as lightning, and irrefragable by its truthfulness, exhibiting defects in a light which at once rendered them intolerable, and diverting the gaze away from those things to what was grand, beautiful, and perfect. He could not endure the unnatural style of the Bernini school, which found so many imitators all through Italy. Even the ponderous dignity of Michael Angelo, used, in his early days, to displease him, though at a later period the great Florentine was his grand ideal. He always expressed a marked disapprobation of the affectation of Canova, and of the sometimes cold conventionality of Thorwaldsen.

Such fearless avowals seem to have caused no bitterness in his intercourse with his gifted contemporaries. Though there are national cliques among them, the artists of Rome live for the most part on terms of intimacy and harmony together. Some of their principal resorts used to be the Caffè Greco, and the Belli Arti. Hogan had many particular friends among them, and frequently made excursions with some of them to the Alban or Sabine hills, or to Frascati, and other towns along the high ground which borders the Campagna. Among his more especial acquaintances, were Tadolini and Rinaldi, pupils and we may say, imitators of Canova; and Tenerani—the “Goliath of sculptors,” as he has been called among the Italians, the same to whom Gibson gives the palm among the moderns,

the "Christian Sculptor" in a word, whom Thorwaldsen loved, and whom as his favourite and favoured pupil he associated with himself in that world-famous work, the tomb of Eugene Beauharnais, in Munich. But before all of them in Hogan's friendship, was that justly celebrated sculptor, Giovanni Maria Benzoni of Bergamo. The gentle simple nature of that most graceful and elegant artist, seems to have been very attractive to Hogan; he was on terms of the most intimate friendship with him to the last, and used often call him affectionately "poor old Benzoni." Theed* shewed much friendliness to Hogan; we find him at one time modelling in the Englishman's studio, when he was not in possession of one of his own. With Gibson, Wyatt, and Macdonnell, Hogan was also on friendly terms. Their intercourse as artists seems to have been more than courteous; but there were points in their national characters, which could never harmonise. Gibson had a high respect for Hogan's talents. A friend was once present when Gibson was showing Hogan a statue of Queen Victoria, the modelling of which in clay he had then almost finished. Hogan frankly pointed out some egregious defects in the position of one of the feet, and in the main folds of the drapery, and in two days after, the eminent English sculptor had re-modelled his work on Hogan's suggestion. The same friend has also seen other artists in Rome adopt important hints thrown out freely, and after the first glance of the eye by our gifted countryman.

The giant of those days was Thorwaldsen. "A tall fair-haired boy, ill clad with unkempt hair;" he had fought his way to the modelling class in the academy of Copenhagen; had carried off the gold medal to which is attached a travelling pension for three years; and had been sent in a royal frigate, to pursue his studies in Rome. After years of labour and suspense, he had returned to his own country with a European reputation, and was received and treated as ever should be a great artist—the pride and glory of his country. A guard of honour always waited at his gate, and he was commissioned with great works—magnificent monuments to himself, his sovereign, and the nation. As we have seen, Hogan sometimes enjoyed his society.

* Mr Theed has just finished a statue of Edmund Burke for St. Stephen's Hall, New Palace, Westminster.

the humility of a young artist, and we may suppose his desire for the approval of so imperial a judgment, led Thorwaldsen to come see his model, and putting it into his hand, requested him to mark any defects he perceived in the figure. The remorseless master accepted the figure in pieces, to the terror and dismay of the sculptor, who, with such bitter feelings as we may imagine, rushed into the studio of a neighbouring artist, and told him his melancholy story. "Never was the answer—"maybe Thorwaldsen is jealous—show him a clay model again." Hogan took the model not until the cast was completed of the Drunken sculptor requested Thorwaldsen's presence in his studio—time for the purpose of making corrections. "Ah!" Dane, striking the artist suddenly on the shoulder, said, "You are a real sculptor—*Avete fatto un miracolo!*" Every day, we held in our hand a bronze medal, which Thorwaldsen gave Hogan when he took leave of him on his return to his own land—"My son," said Thorwaldsen, embracing him warmly, "You are the best sculptor I ever met in Rome!"

In Rome it is not alone the studii of great artists, or the contemplation of the genius of past times, but the life about us which presents the artist with studies for colour and beauty. Men, women and children in their dress in their costume, and in their manners, exhibit the picturesque, in a way of which we can have none in the midst of the angularity to which we are accustomed in our straitened society. Standing one day under a portico in the Campidoglio, Hogan was conversing with the



which his brother artists of antiquity had so identified all that is most graceful and dignified in the drapery of the human figure. Chance studies thus offered to the eye of genius are worth as much as the still groups of the Vatican museum, and the streets of an European capital are the brain of a true artist with ideas as manifold and as varied as the frieze of the Parthenon.

Hogan's studio in Rome was in the Vicolo di S. Giacomo, a small street running from the Corso to the Hospital of S. Giacomo under the walls of the great Hospital of S. Giacomo. It had been part of Canova's studio, vacated a short time before Hogan's arrival in Rome, by the death of the great Italian. The portion occupied by our countryman was extensive, consisting in fact of nos. 18, 18 A. and 18 B. of that street. Hogan resided for a long time in the Hospital degli Incurabili, which is situated close to the opposite end of the Hospital just mentioned, and also leads from the Corso; but for some years before he left Rome he occupied a spacious house in the Via del Babuino, one of the most great streets which diverge from the Piazza del Popolo at the other extremity of that street being in the fashionable thoroughfare of the Piazza di Spagna. Hogan, who was always a hard working man, was to be found every morning in his studio at five o'clock, if there was light, and usually during the summer still earlier, and his sittings were never a long one. The men employed by him to carve out his works in marble, were frequently assisted by the operation of "taking the points," which according to the old method still used in Italy, and unaided by mechanical appliances required the nicest accuracy; and when the block of marble was reduced by them to a tolerable approximation to the model, he was in the constant habit of taking the clay to his own hands, and bringing out himself all the developments of muscle, and all the critical details of the drapery, without waiting to content himself with merely the last touches. In this way he took upon himself a great deal of additional labour—labour which few sculptors have the mechanical skill to undertake. Many sculptors are utterly unable to handle their own works except in the plastic clay in which the model is first produced, and every subsequent operation are obliged to depend upon the skill and expertness of tradesmen. But it was not

Hogan. He was generally his own *formatore*, making the waste-mold for the clay and casting the plaster model, and also, as we have said, when there was difficulty or nicety, he took upon himself the harder manual labour of the *scarpellino*. Thus to his own hands are to be attributed the delicate softness of the flesh, and the peculiar grace of many a fold in his works in the rigid marble.* It is said of Michael Angelo that he chiselled a statue out of a block of marble, without the preliminary step of modelling it, and Hogan has often been known to deviate boldly from his model in transferring the work to marble; a thing which would be impossible unless he held the chisel in his own hand, and which must have required great skill in guiding it, and no little courage in attempting an alteration in such a material.

Hogan prided himself on his knowledge of anatomy, a study indispensable to the sculptor, and a deficiency in which has often made artists fall into most egregious errors. A muscle wrongly inserted, or unnaturally developed, was always inexcusable in his eyes. A human skeleton which he amused himself in carving when a young man, and which skilful anatomists have pronounced to be scientifically accurate, he generally kept by him in after life while modelling his figures. He was also an admirable draughtsman, his academy figures in crayons being beautiful specimens of drawing, both in outline and shadows, and consequently he was very quick in detecting incorrect drawing in a picture.

Hogan never spared trouble even in the minutest details. His casts are most beautiful, and have the hardness, and

* A critical writer in the Athenæum speaking of Thorwaldsen's works, and of their having suffered by that artist's practice of working only in the clay, makes the following excellent observations:—

“Their number would have been less, but their excellence enhanced, had the artist's own hand oftener impressed *con amore* their surface, like the finger of love dimpling the cheek of beauty. . . . True, the chief merit of statuary lies in the model. Sculptors do not reflect enough, however, that if the clay inspire the marble, the marble inspires the clay; we mean that dealing with the stone itself has a reactive effect, suggests its capacities which nothing else can suggest, and thereby teaches how to deal with the clay for future sculptural enterprises. Hence, Michael Angelo obtained his miraculous glyptic power: he was a mighty workman in the material itself of his works.” . . . “England has manufacturing statuary enough.”

often the appearance, of stone. Even to the last delling of the drapery for his figures was a most work. We have known him after casting a piece pery, to stride up and down his room actually in a fever—"I know" he would say, "it is fine, but it v I must begin it again." His pains were not in this particular. His drapery is magnificent, living artist can compare with him in that department of his art. In the hand too—one most difficult of all forms—he defies competition. Most beautiful models are in his studio: and in his every man has his own hand—not a mere convent classic one, but his own absolutely—form, and sin veins after nature, and the whole character exp the turn of a finger.

The artist himself made a fine appearance in his. His tall, lithe, powerful figure showed well among th and colossals: and his noble head and eagle look the artist. He was full of gesture, and his frien remember the vivacity and expression of his ac hands and eye speaking almost as much as word. So remarkable was this that even when using a language it was easy, even for one unacquainted idiom, to understand his meaning.

The ten years following 1838, were the busiest a glorious of his life. In that year he married a Roman lady to whom he had been some time a. Want of sufficient means, and we rather think an i of marrying and settling in Ireland, made him some time before taking the step, but his affect great enough to conquer prudential motives, and t aside from earlier determinations. He might doubt looked to a rank higher than his own, if ambition him to such a wife among aristocratic connections salons of many distinguished circles were open to h among the guests at the table of Torlonia the ban the frequenters of the soirees of the Shrewsbury and families, the Irish sculptor was not unnoticed. his ambition was for none of the things which fas society values. He chose a wife rich in every vir he had never cause to repent his choice. Their un one of real affection; and the "*cara Cornelia*" of

is now his mourning widow, round whom children gather with a reverence, and dutiful touching indeed to those who witness it. Marriage he withdrew from the society of his their dissipated style of living had always to him; and he became more and more habits, seldom going abroad for amusement accompanied by his family. "We are civil e says "to every person, and live in one l of peace." In many things Hogan had ect Italian, and few Italians were more bout seven or eight o'clock in the morning ally met at the large caffè near the church the Corso. Here he came to sip a *tazza*, with about two mouthfuls of bread, con-man breakfast, and to read Galignani where asional paragraph of Irish news. In the er exceeded a glass or two of sober *Orvietto*, r infusion which the Germans call beer. walked in the evening with his family on the netimes took them out for a holiday to e of the picturesque towns beyond the Cam-s hospitable to friends, and very frequently lish or Irish artists at his table; but whether herwise no man could live more temperately. married life we find just as remarkable as in the passionate love of the artist for his honest old father," and for the well beloved ork and beyond the seas. Some thoughtful Jean Paul himself, has said "the human ven—the more angels the more room"—and Hogan. He never deserted them, and we xiety weighed very heavily on him that did in their far off home.

utation both at home and abroad was greatly famous monumental group to the memory of n April, 1837, he received the commission, e palm from ten competitors, and returned the eternal city, where his brother artists re- ch congratulations on his success in Ireland, d that he would make a glorious work of it. rest Carrara marble was purchased for 500

dollars, and so heavy was the load that fifteen large loes were yoked to draw it from the Tiber to him.

In the spring of 1839 the group was finished and him great applause. There was but one opinion of excellence among artists of all nations. A writer in *Pallade** October 8th, 1839, after alluding to the c and acknowledged talents of Mr. Hogan as a s gives an elaborate description of the group, from we extract the following passages:—

“In this work the sculptor has represented Ireland by personification, in an attitude of submission as one patiently supporting the burden of the unjust and oppressive laws which had been imposed upon her. She is plunged in profound, and yet dignified melancholy, but her countenance bent towards the earth closely indicates an inward feeling of doubtful hope, blended with gratification from the knowledge, that one of her own beloved children has taken with strenuous and powerful efforts the assertion of liberty before the empire. The bishop in a posture expressive of tenderness and emotion, his left hand approaching her back below the shoulder, and his right raised in dignified and earnest supplication with his face to heaven, stands by the drooping figure of his country as it were to raise her from the anguish and distress in which many ages she had groaned: his confidence fixed above, the statue addresses the fervent aspiration of his soul for the welfare of his beloved Ireland. Such is the philosophical conception of the group, a conception which has an intimate connexion with the history of the fertile and unhappy land, so long the victim of political and religious dissensions.

These two figures of the size of 6½ English feet, constitute a monument which is raised on a large and elegant base of the Doric order. The bishop robed in the costume of his episcopal dignity, in a calm movement, (*movenza placida*), appears penetrated with the sufferings and despondence of his country; (and turned towards heaven, whence he implores aid and assistance) whither he also raises his extended arm, the spectator reads as in his soul the fervor with which his prayers inspire him. In his bosom, suspended by a cord, rests the episcopal cross wrought in gold, and by his side stands the mitre which adds a solid grandeur to the breadth of the composition that helps to sustain the principal figures.

The figure of Ireland clothed in a rich tunic or *peplum*, close-fitting to the left shoulder by a gilded fibula, is partly seated on volumes of the celebrated poet and historian of that country, and rests her knee on the ground, raising herself gently on the right foot. In the left arm she holds close to her side the harp—a national emblem, and that instrument which is shaped after an ancient Irish harp, ornamented with olive branches, and has carved on its extreme

* A Roman Journal dedicated to the arts.

og, an animal so celebrated in that Island—thus
 ional arms. * * * A wide cincture
 the figure of Ireland, and on it is carved in letters
Erin, being the ancient Celtic name for that coun-
 pression of the bishop's countenance bears, never-
 of that characteristic firmness and strength of
 ong his other mental virtues he was distinguished.
 eland display, as we have already mentioned, that
 ponding sadness which the artist desired to ex-
 appily succeeded in indicating. The naked arms
 and the folds of the exterior portion of the dra-
 well contrasted; the rochet or surplice over the
 eopical robes produces a good effect by the variety
 ndled; and, in a word the whole group is finished
 to execution, so necessary to give to each detail
 aracter, that all the artists in the city unite in
 this quality in a very high degree." * * *

on arose at that time—the subject of the
 then newly started—about the propriety
 the decoration of cord and cross, and the
 ia. The writer in the journal above quot-
 e acknowledged use of the same medium
 e reference to its application in similar
 rgil—and M. Quatremaire's triumphant
 antient method of the Greeks. Critics
 e also objected to the mural crown, and to the
 p introduced into the group. In answer
 on these points, Hogan himself wrote to
 ; and from the following extract from
 ll be able still more surely to conclude that
 knew very well what he was about, when
 of these accessaries. He neither wrought
 ft the minutest detail to chance.

" Vicolo dei Greci, Roma, 14 October 1841.

" With regard to the mural crown, I believe I
 g to the authorities generally referred to. It
 e antients to adopt a mural crown, (if any), on
 g any country, province, or city, forming part of
 he adjunct of other emblems especially belonging
 country—as the harp and wolf dog to Hibernia,
 its individuality.

and provinces sculptured in bas relief, which
 m of the Portico of Agrippa, and of Neptune,
 ntheon), were so personified, and wore the mural
 wo celebrated bas reliefs in the Museum at Naples,
 s are similarly represented. Also in the Capitol
 ther bas relief. The Vatican Museum contains
 statue. It is intended to personify Antiochia, and

is equally turretted. I have quoted some of the most remarkable examples, *ad infinitum* might be cited. The statues of nations, countries, provinces, and cities. The form is that of a female, and whether as a statue or bust, or in bas-relief or on monies, medals, or in gems, she is invariably represented with a mural crown, though they sometimes vary in shape. With reference to modern authorities, I name two of the greatest recent works. There is a most majestic figure of Italy, by Canova in the monument to Alfieri in the Church of the Santa Croce at Florence. There is also in the same place, a statue of Italy placed over the tomb of Dante by Ricci—a Florentine sculptor of great merit. In both cases Italy is portrayed with a turretted mural crown, notwithstanding that Italy has her own peculiar crown, as represented by the *distinct from all others as is that of Ireland*. Both of these statues are situated in the centre of Florence, and could not be exposed to the criticism of artists and antiquarians. I believe that Italy never arose as to the propriety of the ancient mural crown, the non-adoption of the Italian. Yet Italy is supposed to have special affections and predilections, and to be no less jealous of her individuality; but in art, she is guided by art, and by classical principles. In a word the mural crown has a far more classical, solid, and pleasing effect in sculpture than the sharp-pointed diadem. It very closely resembles the modern continental coronets of kings and marquises. When in Ireland I made a minute drawing of the crown that preserved in the Museum of Trinity College, the authenticity of which I apprehend there cannot be a doubt. This it was my intention to work on any requisite occasion, being so extremely original and beautiful."

To the unquestionable genius displayed in the design and execution of this magnificent group, Hogan owed the honour, which, of all he ever won, he prized the most. It was that, namely, of being elected a member of the Incorporated Society, or Congregation, as they call it in England, of the Virtuosi of the Pantheon. This society was founded in the year 1500, in the Chapel of St. Joseph, in the Pantheon, by a canon of that Church, and consists of fifty members, chosen in equal numbers amongst the most eminent sculptors, painters, and architects; the Pope being the head of the society. The honour of being enrolled among the Virtuosi, is the greatest an artist can enjoy. It was a distinction never dreamt of, nor desired, by Hogan; great, therefore, was his delight when the Secretary, an Archbishop, announced to him by letter that he had been unanimously elected, not a bla-

* This important letter, which, with others from Hogan to Cloncurry, hereafter quoted, and hitherto unpublished, was made known to the kindness of W. J. Fitzpatrick, Esq., author of "Life and Times of Cloncurry."

being against him in the ballot. His diploma was presented to him by the celebrated Signor Fabris, the personal friend of Gregory XVI., and afterwards director of the Vatican, and of the Museum of the Capitol. The uniform worn by the members is a very splendid one. On the buttons are represented the compass, chisel, and pencil, with the motto, "*Florent in domo Domini*," and the wearer is entitled to carry "a true Toledo, silver mounted." No British subject had ever been enrolled amongst the members of this most select society. Our countryman also became a member, under equally flattering circumstances, of the Academy of St. Luke.*

The magnificent group which had gained such honour for our countryman, was placed by him for exhibition, in the Royal Exchange, during the winter months of 1840. His fame had preceded him. The Roman correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal*,† had faithfully kept the art-loving public *au courant* with the success and glory of our great artist. Not only was this latest work of his hands praised and admired, and looked on almost with

* The Academy of St. Luke is part of the Roman University of La Sapienza, of which it is in fact the fine arts college, and a portion of the University Palace is occupied by its model gallery and lecture rooms. The professors gratuitously instruct in painting, sculpture, architecture, geometry, perspective, optics, anatomy, history, mythology, etc. And the premiums, for which foreigners of every creed and colour may compete, are distributed annually in the great hall of the Capitol. For a full account of the academy, its treasures and constitution, see Dr. Donovan's "Rome Ancient and Modern." Vol. III., p. 992.

His present Holiness Pius IX. has shown great interest in the academy. He has distributed gold medals to the most distinguished professors, and increased the treasures of the museum by some valuable additions. See "Rome and its Ruler," by J. F. Maguire, Esq., M.P.

† We hope we are not breaking faith in mentioning that the said correspondent was no other than our esteemed friend, Martin Haverty, Esq., author of "Wanderings in Spain." He was a valued friend of Hogan, and was worthy of the friendship of the great artist, whom he resembled in his love of country and love of art. It is touching to find many entries of this friend's name in a little diary in which the artist used to note memoranda on his many journeys. To this gentleman's own recollections of intercourse with his noble countryman, we are indebted for many of the most interesting paragraphs of this paper.

veneration by the crowds who visited the place of exhibition, but the artist himself had almost reason to complain of the personal interest excited in his favour. Invitations to viceregal banquets, and the continual re-appearance of "couriers booted and spurred, sweating with dispatch to the castle," together with similar attentions paid to the other distinguished officials, nearly wore out our loving artist. He used to complain of all it cost him on these occasions for car hire, and other expenses, and concluded at last with a very hearty wish, "that they would send him, instead of a polite invitation, a ready boiled roasted turkey, which he might eat at home in peace with a pleasant friend or two." The only consolation he had was the honest pride he felt in appearing among the great ones, in the full costume of the *Virtuosi* of the Palace, which was more than any other born British subject could do. Here is an extract from a letter to his sister, dated December 8th, 1840. It is extremely characteristic of the man:—

"I am become almost desperate when I think of three things which annoy me *even in my sleep*. There is my dearest mother very ill—my dear Cornelia crying in my ears, *venite, venite*, to see her, *partorezza*; my child, crying papa, papa—*mia cara*—my works and engagements in Rome buzz in my ears—*completi* finish me or you will lose your reputation; and my own brother, me, leave this country, you are not born for their dinner and supper parties; my heart within me beats for *quiet, solitudine* study.—*e piu di tutto*, my dearest, *dearest* old father, accept your letter, on his last legs. In a word, I am become frantic. I cannot be with you all, see you all, direct you all at the same moment. And to crown the matter, can hear nothing from you about the Doyle affair."

The matter last alluded to, was a cruel vexation in the midst of the admiration excited by his beautiful work. Hogan was sadly worried by the incapacity, or neglect, of the Doyle Committee, to keep to their agreement with him. As Hogan had reason to complain of similar grievances on other occasions, we shall give some passages of the correspondence of this transaction, as a specimen of what he had to then to suffer.

When the order for Dr. Doyle's monument was given in April, 1837, Hogan remarked that "They can or cannot give more than £1,000, but I believe they intend to"

rise. His Lordship then expressed before me the model for the single figure before them at so graceful and too eloquent for the character of *et pur troppo* complimentary to me. You must Bess, that I am a century or two before my time *ancora*. They are to meet next Thursday at that my productions are a little more to the taste (*non vulgare*), upon which occasion I trust the affair

figure of Drummond was finished early in letter to Lord Cloncurry the artist says, it in my studio until spring—particularly *in Rome*—somewhat of a sensation, alike the execution, and for the sentiment which

time by London, Hogan found his old turned quite an Englishman," and MacLiseude, has taken the same line completely; were wise no doubt in their generation. made the remark several years, before on his works in London, that he is "making apparently—is without doubt clever—but style; he studies Wilkie and the Dutch

after his arrival in Rome, we find Hogan several extensive commissions. This ofossal;—Mr. Crawford's statue, on which more, for he had both esteem and affection citizen;—a splendid monument, typifying to the memory of Mr. Beamish, another kman;—a beautiful relieve to the memory n which the principal figure reminds one of ruscian Vase—so easy, graceful and flowing of face and figure;—a basso relieve of the s. Ball, Loretto Convent;—another relieve J. Maher, M. P.—busts for Lord Berehaven, head of the sisters of charity;—a group of n and St. Stanislaus for the convent of d lastly, Lord Cloncurry's Hibernia.

l, though one of Hogan's most admired ideal smitted here without a word of description. in Ireland, having occupied a prominent xhibition of 1853. In the letter to Lord uoted alluding to this great work then in writes:—

"I have purchased a block of marble for your figure of so transparent and immaculate that one could almost see through it from one side to the other. I have been informed by many that a block superior to it never entered Rome. I have been looking out Drummond's figure, the marble of which promises to be as good as the best. I am at present modelling the colossal statue to the memory of Lord Cloncurry, after which I commence instantaneously our beloved B."

Writing to the sculptor, and alluding to his visit to Rome the noble Lord says, "we shall have no objection in my commission if I like the model;" and on his return to the Irish artist's studio soon after, he liked the model so well, that in addition to the sum he had engaged to pay, he presented him with a free gift of fifty dollars. We find Lord Cloncurry directing Hogan to erect a monument to the church of St. Isidore, a suitable monument to the memory of the esteemed and accomplished daughter of John Curran, who had lately died at Rome. Indeed, this nobleman seems to have been ever on the look out for means of doing good service to the great artist, and so immortalised him, in the beautiful group of Lord Cloncurry. He sent the sculptor £20 to defray the cost of removal of group to the Exhibition building in 1851, and it is well known that he plainly signified to Hogan his intention of having the magnificent Hibernia erected on a pedestal, and placed over his tomb, under the direction of his esteemed friend the artist, who should receive the credit of carrying his wishes into effect. Still further evidence of Lord Cloncurry's interest in the well being and happiness of his distinguished countryman, shall be noticed as we proceed.

We must pass over many interesting details to come to one of Hogan's great works:—the colossal statue of O'Connell. It was a time of considerable excitement in Ireland, when the Repeal Association, in a moment of enthusiasm, determined that a full-length colossal statue of the Liberator, should be executed by Hogan, who was then in Dublin. On the 28th August, 1843, Hogan was so busy making a small model for that great work, that he is to be eight feet in height—the size was afterwards increased to ten feet. It was too busy a moment for the Liberator's life for an artist to expect to catch him in so tame an affair as a sitting; and accordingly Hogan delayed three weeks in Dublin, waiting for an opportunity of modelling the bust. The Agitation

ove. The artist, however, made the most
 les. After referring to a meeting with the
 Hogan writes, 28th August, 1843:—

a guest at a dinner given by Sir John Power,
 blin, and was placed in a position at table, for
 of seeing and studying the head and expression
 or, on which, ever and anon, I glanced, during
 s eye. His mouth and chin are really beautiful,
 all—the form of the face, on account of his age
 by no means favourable for a sculptor. Yet, on
 be prevailed upon to sit for me, I am confident
 making a most perfect likeness; which I must in
 er yet been accomplished.”

artist was with O’Connell at Mullaghmast.
 The great leader, with a nation at his beck,
 entous future before him. In a little diary
 t he started for Mullaghmast on Sunday,
 3, accompanied by certain members of the
 d arrived in Dublin about four o’clock on
 —travelling by “coach and four greys.”
 ppened in the interim there is no note
 history records that “through the aid of
 Irish artist, *we* have obtained the Irish cap;”
 of the said “people’s cap, is that of the
 own, to which is added a wreath of sham-
 with a white band, etc., etc.”—and that
 that O’Connell should be “crowred” with
 t O’Connell said that he would not wear
 put it on—and that Hogan, being present
 as fain obliged to place it on the Libera-

t which followed this famous meeting
 de the peace-loving artist a little nervous:
 e Clontarf proclamation he seems to have
 e that the proceeding above alluded to
 e of trouble to himself. There may have
 s for uneasiness. We know, at all events, that
 der the impression that good service had
 t this time, by a friend in high quarters,
 over Hogan’s name, when it appeared in
 ribed—knowing very well, he said, what
 the artist to that meeting. Hogan had a
 d sincere admiration for O’Connell; but

"I have been last month at the caves of Saravezza, about from Rome, for the purpose of choosing a block of statue for my *Idol*, our illustrious Liberator. I have not done that locality, as I have to return shortly to examine the various to its shipment for the Eternal City, because I intend the marble of his colossal statue immaculate, to resemble closely his own pure and noble heart."

"I have been at the caves of Saravezza again, and have a magnificent block of that costly marble for my Idol's chest; expect it here shortly; and shall work on it *con amore*."

The progress of the work was watched with great interest both by Hogan's friends and by the lovers of art, time sojourning in the city of arts. The correspondence of the Art Journal, taking notes, which indeed may

admiration, of the Hibernia just finished, O'Connell, "a grand figure," then in proportion the likeness is striking, and that "as a will add much to the artist's fame." The goes on to say, that, "The marble, for its extraordinary quality; its colour is beautiful, sleek, and so hard, that, as they chisel it, it

the testimony of one who, though he loved it for all that do ample justice to this tri-

colossal statue of O'Connell is in a similar state of tremendous figure, twelve feet in vertical height, a block of white Saravezza marble produces an every reminiscence connected with the individual revered and unaffected grandeur. Dignity of attitude, power, and indomitable energy are in the extended leg of the orator. There is a slight shadow of suppressed twinkle of roguery perceptible in the very image of the man. The gigantic folds of the mantle are in the boldest style of masterly art, on a pedestal in the British Islands bearing a statue in dimensions at all approaching the merit of this work, a mistakeable native genius which is understood to managers of Conciliation Hall. If they thus ex- is levied from the duped multitude none would tion, for when all the brawlers will be silent in the follies of the present hour forgotten, this proud directed patriotism will yet gladden the eyes of

enying that this magnificent work, portrait e, was greeted with its meed of admiration, ought it over to his native land, Never- wing perhaps what to do with so *great* a towed it away into the obscurity of the now of the Royal Exchange—a proceeding some- ining the Portland vase in one's dingy back vic magnates ining and outing during office worried clerks of the Paving Board in their ng entrance, and hurried evening retreat, nce that way, with a feeling, more or less art or patriotism. But the mass of the ion never have their eyes rejoiced by so fine

figures from Italy," by Don Jeremy Savonarola.

a sight ; neither, if they do know anything of the exterior or local habitation of that great colossal, is it other than in a traditionary sort of way. If Hogan, however, had forgot his hero, and his people, and had thought only of gratifying personal, not to say artistic vanity, he would not have managed better than to select just that site for his two beautiful works. O'Connell and Drummond stand in company with productions of the chisels of Smith and Chantrey. The Englishman's "Grattan" is thrust into a corner, and looks more dead than alive—with hollow, passionless attitude, a cold unmeaning hand laid flat on a parchment, and a heavy, rigid, folded cloak, needing to be weighing him down. The figure of "Lucas" is full of animation, but it is the animation of the dancing Dancer; the face is puckered and wrinkled with excitement, the hands start out of the hands, every button is accurate, every part is "made up" in the nicest style, and the whole figure is poised, with wonderful adroitness, on three toes.* Different the two stately, noble, life-like figures in opposite dark corners ! The grand sweep of O'Connell's statue, the nervous energetic *retenué* of Drummond's statue, are testimony enough of Hogan's genius and success.

It is we think rather generally believed, that this statue of O'Connell was not paid for. The impression is unfounded, in one sense. The statue was paid for by a subscription to the bond. Hogan received £1,600 for the commission. The price commonly received by English artists for a colossal figure is £2,000. As people here seem to have no idea whatever of the enormous expenses a sculptor has to undergo in bringing a work of the chisel to perfection, we shall give the items of expenditure incurred by the artist before that great colossus was placed, a perfect work of art in the place of its (we should still hope, temporary

* A writer in the *The Citizen* (Dec. 1840), makes the following excellent remarks when alluding to this statue :—" Its defects are to the style which was then in vogue everywhere, but especially in France ; its merits are the sculptor's own. It was daring enough in a mere Irishman, to think of modelling a statue at all ; and it is to be regretted that Smith had been guilty of the further insolence of forming a design on his own pure ideas of what sculpture ought to be, he knew that it probably would have been openly reviled and scoffed down."

ems are found in Hogan's book of receipts
e, a book kept with a regularity and neatness
erchant's office.

	s.	d.
The marble, including the carriage to		
... ..	888	5
h April, 1846.—Labour in roughing		
... ..	422	23
th April.—Finer Work on the statue	208	11
Work on Plinth	25	24
<hr/>		
Scudi	1543	64
which is nearly	£350	
and Insurance	£147 8s. 8d.	in all about £500

RECEIVED.

October	...	£250	0	0	
...	...	150	0	0	
13th	...	500	0	0	
...	...	700	0	0	for balance due in full.
<hr/>					
		£1600	0	0	

consider therefore that this figure of the Liber-
tist two journeys from Rome to Ireland, one
of making the model, the other for placing
journeys to the caves of Saravezza, repre-
thousand miles, without aid of railway—
nt of studio—and his own labour of nearly
s easy to perceive that the net profit of the
hardly have paid for bread for his family,
was in progress. We in Ireland think it a
ve some hundreds of pounds for a statue. Let
on what it costs to create such, out of a rude
in the mountain side. Hogan seldom calcu-
his own favour. He set to work in a generous
no expense. His good fortune in these
of marble, which should rather we think be
account of his extreme care and scrutiny,
r and envy of other artists. Dannecker's
kled over, as some one says, like a Stilton
a's Venus has a black line across the bosom ;
valdsen's statues are in a bluish grey marble,
em, we are told, a chilly, frost-bitten air.

But the material Hogan worked in is *immaculate*. Finding that the enormous block for O'Connell would not fit, the artist cut the figure fully two feet higher than proposed. Certain friends of his, knowing well that an additional inch, cost something in the material as well as in the workmanship, wished him to repeat the fact. In what form the application was made for a larger payment we are not aware, but it was completely refused. It was not inserted in the "bond" that should be enlarged, consequently the fact of its refusal was ignored in the settlement. Famine times were too, and disposable resources were needed for other purposes.

To show what a centre of attraction, to Irishmen and as foreigners, Hogan's studio had now become, we give the passage from a work already quoted.—*

"The rumoured demise of Mr. O'Connell raised a commotion on the surface of society here, and the principal effect was to attract visitors to Hogan's studio, for a glance at the colossal figure of the statue, now placed in the Dublin Exchange, which forms this sculptor's workshop, (once tenanted by the artist himself) presents just now what may be termed a sort of Hibernian Pantheon. There stands the sainted effigy of the late Bishop Doyle, whose divine mercy on a suppliant figure of ill-treated Erin, whose children to legalized relief he argued in vain; whose hollow turbulence, alas! prevailed over the honest accents of his crozier whilom swayed "Kildare's holy shrine." Here stands the statue of Drummond, who first directed the operations of Dublin Castle to the amelioration of the neglected peasantry; whose beams the mild and kindly countenance of Archbishop Whately ever averse to ecclesiastical strife, and the unseemly exultation of political churchmen. Again the allegoric figure of Erin fondly embrace the bust of her aged patriot, Cloncurry. On the other hand, in a spacious monumental bas-relief, Bishop Brinkley is seen resting one hand on the celestial globe, while with the other he turns over the pages of holy writ. From another quarter the venerable Father Mathew looks forth redolent of Christian philanthropy. On the same shelf is seen the mirthful brow of Father Primate Steele himself has a niche in this Irish temple of celebrity. Somewhere, the cranium of the "head pacificator," seems idealized in the reading of the riot act. The late venerable Mr. F. J. O'Connell of Cork, as well as his meritorious partner, William O'Brien, models to any mercantile community, have their representative in several Murphys from that city, worthy men and known in their generation * * * Just at present, the sculptor is engaged on a vast design, a sepulchral alto-relievo to the

* "Facts and Figures from Italy."

the late Peter Purcell, the lamented founder of the Irish Agricultural Societies, who gave for the first time, a practical direction to the spirit of association, long applied in Ireland to mere moonshine purposes, or the selfish aggrandisement of individual ambitions. The form of the deceased worthy is accurately, yet ideally portrayed. He has fallen in the midst of his favorite pursuits. The plough is alongside the body of the departed husbandman; a shepherd's dog guarding his feet, while the genius of agriculture crowned with ears of corn, presents a palm branch from above to the rotary of food-creating industry."

As the original casts of their works are always preserved by Sculptors, their studii are generally places of considerable interest. In Rome they are the common resort of all travellers, literary people, and persons of taste. Not much introduction is required, as respectable persons on presenting their cards are invariably admitted, the privilege being but rarely abused by idlers. If the artist himself be not occupied with his living models or sitters, he generally receives his visitors, and either accompanies them or, at least, gives them perfect liberty to inspect his works. Among the visitors at Hogan's studio were often to be seen a group of Irish students, from the celebrated National Franciscan College of St. Isidoro, or from the Irish Augustinian House of Santa Maria in Posterula; or of Irish Dominicans from San Clemente. Students from the Irish Secular College of St. Agatha also found an occasional moment from their harder application to drop into their countryman's studio, where the majestic figure of a Dr. Doyle, or of an O'Connell, or a beauteous representation in allegory of their beloved country, or the bust of a Mathew, or a Mac Namara, or of some countryman whose name was familiar, met their eyes. His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, when President of the Irish College, which attained so high a character and so important a position under his fostering care, sometimes endeavoured to steal a moment from his arduous duties to look in at Hogan's studio, and all the Irish prelates and clergy in their visits to the Threshold of the Apostles, the centre of Christianity and of art, honored the Irish artist's studio with more than a passing glance. Among the distinguished Irish Ecclesiastics who did not confine themselves to the friendly visit and the respectful salutation, but who endeavoured besides to encourage native art by whatever amount of patronage was within their power, we should

not omit to mention the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, present Bishop of Newfoundland. During his long residence in Rome, and repeated visits there, whether as a humble, bareheaded Franciscan friar, or as a dignitary of the Church, this eminent man was a constant habitué of our countryman's studio. It is hard to say whether patriotism or love of art, both characteristic of Dr. Mullock's mind, were uppermost in their influence on those occasions; but when raised to the Episcopate, and with funds at his disposal, he gladly executed several valuable commissions to our artist.

Besides those already mentioned as friends and patrons of Hogan, we might mention a few more, who, in their dealings with Hogan, were considerate and liberal—among them the O'Farrell family of Dublin, Mrs. Redington, and Mrs. Purcell.

But of all people on earth the Irish are—we would say the least national—but, at all events, the least exacting in their patronage of art. Hence, while Englishmen flocked to the studios of Gibson, or Theed, or Wyse, for their commissions; and Scotchmen gathered round Donaldson; and Americans kept the chisel of their countrymen Crawford occupied; and Frenchmen, Prussians, Spaniards, and Italians, were sure to bestow *all* their patronage on the representatives of their respective nations among the artists of Rome; Irishmen, generally stingy and suspicious in giving any patronage to an art so expensive as sculpture, very frequently carried their commissions to the more fashionable studios of the Englishmen, or to the more economical ones of the Italians. With Hogan they often drove a hard bargain; and too often, we fear, they were obliged to perform the labour with the chisel, which the scarpellino should have been performing for his couple of dollars a-week, and which was referred to, in Hogan's studio, more from pecuniary necessity than from artistic necessity. It was often doubtful whether the artist or the tradesman were the better paid of the two in those works. We have already mentioned some of the public commissions in which this was more especially the case—in which, in fact, it was impossible for him to do the common workmen that were necessary, and in which he was therefore obliged to perform the most slavish of all himself.

complaint of being "inferentially cut down" did not exclusively to Irishmen, for we come occasionally to which shows that certain rich English bankers and its were not over liberal. The many instances we come under our notice of the way in which as defrauded by certain of his own countrymen "individual capacity," we forbear to mention. nicle would be a rather scandalous one—and, as n remarked, there is opportunity now afforded of estitution.

e, however, of the serious drawbacks alluded to, life in Rome was a happy one. He possessed, to as Carlyle's forcible expression, "perennial fires, namely, employments:" he enjoyed an hon-reputation, and his family was growing up in d peace about him. He has been heard to say wanted nothing in Rome. But the disastrous n was at hand, and in the conflict and wrong that time, the peaceful artist must be torn from and his work and suffer with the rest.

oman Revolution forms a gloomy epoch in the ogan. Among the many evils of which it was e, we must ever reckon this one—that it drove a home where he was neglected. There is no t some people, perhaps through ill feeling, per- here idle talk, spread the rumour that Hogan had plicated in the Revolution, and was, therefore, o fly from Rome after the expulsion of the Trium- Any one intimately acquainted with the artist's would be apt to smile at such a statement, if its ous tendency had not been equal to its injustice; s unfortunately injurious to Hogan's interests as was utterly devoid of truth. The Civic Guard was in 1847 by the Pope's own government. Hogan, citizen by his marriage, as well as by a residence y-four years in the Eternal City, was enrolled with

His talents had been employed in the service of and of patriotism; it did not cost him much now the Father of the Faithful, whose character he uch reverential estimation. The following passages letter to Lord Cloncurry, explain his sentiments osition at this time :—

156 Via de Babuino, Roma, October

My Lord,

What a change has taken place in this once *e per se* city; we are all turned soldiers. Nothing is heard or morning 'till night but drums and trumpets, drilling, marching and mounting guard. Their *montura* is peculiarly magnificent and graceful withal, especially the helmet, which is essentially Italian. We muster a considerable force in the Eternal City, being now of 20,000 on the roll. I must say that Rome, during the last year, was never so free from crime as it is at this period, owing to the vigilance of the civic guard. Pius the Ninth is most beloved by the people, for the many just acts of his public life, as well as for the countless judicious regulations enforced by him on the memorable day which placed the Pontifical Tiara on his

In Hogan's account-book we find entered, Dec. 1847, the charges for "*Montura per la Guardia Civica*"

A year later we find a different and a most disastrous prospect. Hogan, though not unwilling to serve in the Civic Guard, had a very decided objection to take rank in the *Nazionale*. That was a very different affair, and organised for a far other purpose. When, in the course of the events it became likely that he was in danger of being enrolled, he left Rome with his wife, and retired to his country there to wait until such a time as he might safely return to his busy artist life. Unfortunately he was obliged to leave his retreat too soon. It was hard to be patient, his studio was full of workmen, his daily bread depended upon the speedy completion of his numerous commissions, and his children hostages in the terror-stricken city. He had no sooner returned to Rome than he was enrolled in the National Guard. In a later letter to Lord Cloncurry we find the following passage, in which an allusion is likewise made to the direful condition of the city at that time:—

Rome, October

My Lord,

I feel that it would be quite unnecessary to mention to you anything relating to the state of Rome or Italy in general, as you probably will not only hear of the past, but even of the present events from the Rev. Dr. Ennis. One thing I must say, that throughout this land, although a prey to war, anarchy, and bloodshed, no single human being has been known to die of want; bread has been carefully supplied by the different States to those in need. Alas! how different is the lot of Italy when placed in juxtaposition with our own distracted and impoverished country where the people now expire annually, for want of food and *mananza* of labour. God, in his mercy, send us better days, and better prospects.

ound within the walls of the city during the
rse compelled to bear arms in some shape or
le the fighting men were sent to the walls
ta, the revolutionary government contented
isting muskets into the hands of unwarlike
er professional men, and making them do
he streets. Such was Hogan's fate in com-
rest of his fellow residents within the walls
the half doleful, half comic looks which he
anged with his friends Tenerani, or Fabris,
f them—his fellow members of St. Luke's
con—as they met on patrol in the Corso,
ded a kind of grim amusement. But who
s dire necessity to which he was subjected,
in the revolution?

enes of the period which he used to describe
ch he assisted to protect the Pope from the
e multitude in one of those ebullitions of
iasm of which the benignant Pius IX. was
ous to the outbreak of the revolution. The
ds among whom Hogan was obliged to act,
and holding their muskets with fixed bayo-
st the wall near which they stood, they thus
allery through which the Sovereign Pontiff
pass in order to escape from the crowd of
astic and too fickle subjects.

man used also tell how during the siege a
ed to him in the utmost dismay, telling him
all had just perforated the wall of his apart-
few inches of the bed in which he was lying.
conceive how little sense of security could
in Rome under such circumstances. The
away almost incessantly, and it was difficult
y hours rest even during the night. The
tirely deserted except when parties of armed
by, or mobs of sanguinary Trasteverini
with frantic shouts and gestures.

Hogan's character such scenes were simply
e unredeemed by any illusion. The incon-
d to himself was very serious. His men
ed out of his studio, at first once in two or
ut much oftener when the terror and confu-
; and on these occasions he was obliged to

support them while on duty. He himself seems to have escaped on the whole very well, and not to have been often required to mount guard in the streets, though his fear of being called out was always unpleasantly to him.

In spite of all, even the occasional withdrawals of men, the work in his studio seems to have been interrupted for a day during this fearful time. December 17th, 1847, to August 25th, 1849, he busily and anxiously engaged on the following works: Monuments to Rev. Justin Foley Mac Namar Curran—P. Purcell; a Bas relief of the Transfiguration and two Angels for Mrs. Ball. Of the work done these there is an entry in his account book almost day between the dates quoted above. But it was not possible to work in peace in the midst of so thunder-charged atmosphere, and Hogan being entirely without sympathy with the excitement and desperation of the time, he found no relief on any side.

Our countryman was no politician. He loved his country well, and his sentiments were those of a generous heart; but he knew nothing, and cared nothing about political systems. He was no republican, no plots, and schemes, and blood-sheddings of foreign nations were abhorrent to his really innocent mind. He had all the enthusiasm of genius, but his enthusiasm was confined to his art. Outside that he was timorous and extreme. Beyond his art he scarcely ventured to form an opinion. Often while repudiating the idea that he was implicated in the Mazzini revolution he exclaimed to his friends;—"My God! I am a poor artist; I am not a politician, and I never was!" But although none of the blood of the revolution of 1848 has stained the name of Hogan, that ill-omened event was a source of misfortune to him and to his family. When that conspiracy against God and man broke out in Ireland the doom of the city seemed to have been sealed. Art as well as religion was driven from its shrine. When the Papal government fled the patrons of art, and the sciences, and the religion and the Atheism were the order of the day. The French artillery, and the tumbling of

in the centre of the city, hardly made things to the mind of an artist.

After the siege the state of Rome was the extreme. It was doubtful when the storm; whether another outbreak would not whether the French republicans who had be relied on in the cause of order. Some ever would see a sculptor's studio again. In all periods of public gloom we see ding to despondency, and Hogan was only o felt so.

Under if in the midst of this infernal fracas of strife and destruction, our Irish artist longed thoughts towards his native land—country which ought to be his home. This misfortune. It was, however, no new him. He had often expressed his determination his children educated in Ireland. They reign, not even Roman in character and must be thoroughly Irish, as their father years earlier he had spoken of his resolution tely in Dublin. Now many things made o make the contemplated change. But day when he left a country to whose manners he had long been naturalized; in e than elsewhere to support a family upon and where, as in questions of art the mind o Rome, patronage would have more surely a very truth it was an evil day when away among the casts of his great works property as he did not care to remove giving the key of his studio to his good Benzoni, turned his back on the beloved d led his wife and young Italian children old, and cruel motherland.

amongst us in the character of a great cover with the distinction of being, as we great Irish artist. Among many who ren now in other lands, and whose talents e highest class of artists, are Irish names it is curious that not one of them can be

designated an Irish artist. Why? For the very reason we think, which made a French writer designate Roubiliac among French sculptors,—because he worked for another country, and had performed not the decoration of his native land. They have all lived on the bread of strangers, until they have fairly become strangers themselves. Ireland may boast of their chronicles because she gave them birth, not because she remembered or honored her. In their prosperity they worshipped strange gods. We pass the painters and glance at the sculptors. Young Irish Foley is a genius; there is grace, and a most natural beauty in his groups and single figures: he is native born in the land and variety of talent. But nothing more congenial to our soil is to be found in his studio, than groups of Bacchus, bathers and nymphs, and fine manly figures like English Hampden and Hardinge. Mac Dowell, a fast man, can handle a chisel with the best; but he is more at home with Roman history for a theme, or haunts the Olympus for studies of the godlike. The Kirk brothers are more at home with Homer and Shakspeare, than with the lights and shadows of Irish feeling and of Irish life. But in Hogan's studio we find no Venus, not a single figure, though a studio must look, one should say, somewhat like some without these divinities. He was as severe as any, but the antique grace we find in his Eve and the very essence of classic tragedy in his crouching Hibernia. His magnificent statues are the memorials of the greatness, the worth, and the glory of Ireland; and his studio, as we have seen, is his *shalle* or hall of Heroes. Even now, though the artist himself be gone, the first object which catches our eye as we enter his studio, is the finished cast of Hibernia, Brian Borrumha,*—the presiding deity is still there.

* It would be a mistake to suppose that this noble group is a reproduction of the Cloncurry Hibernia, or that the only change made is the removal of the bust or *hermes* of Lord Cloncurry and the substitution of the figure representing Brian Borrumha in his place. It is in fact little more than the idea of the large allegorical figure of Hibernia, every detail in the *motivo* of the drapery and in the attitude, besides most important points of the attitude being altered, and, we should say, most materially improved. The design of

was Hogan's great characteristic that he went abroad, and came home an Irishman. And of course can this be said whether distinguished in arts, or in literature! England is full of Irish talent in all departments. Her press and periodic literature are the fruits of the quick intellect and ready wit of Ireland. Those who know London life well, know where the Irish element in that huge Babel. Year after year hundreds of quick witted sons of Erin are swallowed up in that huge wild vortex, corrupted, and destroyed. Talent is required the clever children of Ireland are in hand, but unfortunately, where conduct and character are indispensable, they are not so surely to be found. Where there seems no medium for the expatriated Irishman, if he preserve his love of country, all well, but if that be taken from him, he becomes at the best, more or more French, or more American than the natives of those countries; or, which is a more frequent consummation, becoming denationalised he becomes demoralized, his very talent which he owed to his birth-right as an Irishman, he uses as the instrument of his hireling occupation, a sharp cutting weapon to wound the character and interests of his country and his people. All honour to those who have fought the good fight, and gone through it, and come out unharmed! Hogan was hero enough to go through any ordeal. But he was sure Hogan's foreign home was in Rome; and the Irishman's privilege, more perhaps than that of the citizen of any other country, that he need never feel in

as much a creation of the artist's imagination as the material out of his hands. History affords us no evidence that the traditions of Brian had any intimate connection with his triumph over the enemies of his country; but Hogan imagined therefore insisted, that the hero of Clontarf must have been a patriot from his infancy, and hence the early resolution to defend his country against the invader which the symbolism of sculpture found so beautiful a mode of expressing as we see done in the work of the Irish sculptor. The group was finished rather late, sending to the great Paris Exposition of 1855, but the group was not to it in that exhibition was not the most favourable, between two pillars, which, although they contributed to the group, prevented some of the best points of view, and a close inspection of the details.

Rome the shame of banishment, the chill of exile. to Rome is to the Catholic like drawing nearer to the of his mother. Rome is the true centre of Christ and every member of the Church rejoices in her griefs and sorrows in her passing trouble, and glories all the more in his own nationality that it is a part of her larger sorrow. An Irishman meets hundreds of his compatriots in Rome. The life blood of his country flows to that beating heart. Ireland deserves a place of honour, there at least, of her sufferings, her sorrows, and her martyr-like death.

With such claims on his country one would far more Hogan should have been met with a very cordial greeting and should have been honoured in no mean measure. The coldness with which he was received in Ireland will hardly seem strangely difficult to account for. When he came as a casual visitor, he was fêted, as we have seen, and made much of in their coarse fashion. Now he came to live up his abode in Ireland, not to be *lionised* but to be employed. There was a difference, however, between employing a genius and commissioning a sculptor. To be a sculptor a man would only make himself agreeable, and give pleasure according to the custom of society one might now do something for him! Some little jobs might be given from time to time; and if he only knew how to take opportunities, and had tact enough to push himself judiciously, he might not be so badly off in the end. Hogan had no talent at all for getting on, in this world. As he had said himself long before, he was "detained to get on by talent in spite of the Devil." Every party work was distasteful to him: jobbery simply repulsive. He was a proud man too—there is no denying it. He knew that he possessed genius, as well as the power to know that his lips were touched with fire. His life proved that, he thought, sufficiently; he cared for no mode of assertion. He was too disdainful, we grant, for his own interest. Mediocrity with pretension revolts him. He would associate himself with no clique. He cared for nothing but justice—common, even-handed justice: no party favours, nor paltry honours. Those whom he despised spirit stung were amply revenged. When Hogan was sometimes in a moment of confidence complain of the wrong done him by the manœuvres of certain parties who

ndly, we have known a friend endeavour to bitter thought, by playfully reminding him we have been the first to give offence, by the grand draw himself to his full height when some honour was offered him, and with all the pride of the Pantheon decline the proffered distinction many would have liked Hogan best at a distance: sham art, or sham anything, has a beside the true metal. And many, we are and, though they were not among Hogan's have valued him more if he had made his, and they had had to send "abroad" for We know one laughable instance, in which trances were made to the artist, because, order to make plaster casts of two original ought well to execute the commission during ay in Ireland. His enlightened patron had ving got a commission to work in Rome, he liberty to do it in Ireland: and we more at the work, in consequence, was never fully

old evil had most to do with the disasters of years. "Hogan," says the artist's true Morgan,* "was a Catholic, but the Catholic

thenæum, announcing the death of Hogan, dismissed paragraph, Lady Morgan, mindful of the artist's e honour of their common country, wrote the fol- which appeared in the Athenæum, April 10, 1858. sion to his early struggles at home, and to his later me, as well as mention of his figure of the Dead

11, William-Street, Belgravia, April 8.

* * * * *

of his found their way to public notice. One was writer of this note, a shepherd sleeping by his dog, the suffrages of all who were highest in the Irish me- reputation fell into the sere and yellow leaf of utter want of patronage—the patronage of party, which or did not seek to obtain. He worked on hopelessly that country, of all others in Europe, the one where east noticed and the last rewarded—where an Irish not have thriven, and an Irish Sheil could not red, drooped, sickened, and died within the last few

gentry, high born, are poor patrons, and the Protestant supremacy has no sympathy with papist genius." wonderful how cool people grew about figures and monuments when they found the artist not a mere convert but a thorough Roman Catholic. On one such occasion a gentleman who was actually in treaty about the execution of some work, being struck by an expression of opinion used, said to him "why, is it possible you are a Catholic?" The answer was such as one would expect from a man so decided and to the point, with a gesture and an air so proud of the confession. But the treaty was at an end, and in some miraculous way the idea of the sculptor got quite out of the gentleman's head on the moment. Then the Church from which Hogan had a right to expect patronage was at the time of his return in no condition to commission great works. Famine had depopulated and impoverished the land, and the clergy, who have always failing tithes to count on, no comfortable perspective of a quarter day to cheer them on to works of art. They found themselves in this state of things quite unable to think of, still less commission, works of art.

To crown all, many thought that because Hogan had just fresh from Rome he must have been a red republican, fancying our peaceful countryman, with the cap of Liberty on his head, and the sword of License in his hand. He doubtless thought it safest to have nothing to do with a bug-bear they had created for their own dismay. For some time after his return Hogan was quite ignorant of the wretched slander alluded to, and could in no way atone for the slight with which he was treated by former patrons, whom nothing but a too credulous belief in that most chievious lie, would have ever induced to turn away from the true-hearted artist. It is folly to say that one need be uneasy about lies—that truth always conquers and so on. Truth conquers too often with miserable slanders. It is terribly difficult to crush a lie. Those

weeks, leaving behind him a still young Italian wife, and children unprovided for.

Hogan was a Catholic, but the Catholic gentry high born patrons, and the Protestant supremacy has no sympathy with papist genius. Still pity may give ere patronage begins, and both the love of Art are called on for one of Ireland's most emaciated and most neglected children."

SIDNEY

well, know how wronged he was, and how the baseness of these imputations. It is very the proud, shy, sensitive nature, that he suffers in silence, at least as far as the public. In the seclusion of his home he poured freely, but he made no sigh before the world. It was propagated by his enemies, and fully any, that he could not return to Italy, he ac-Rome, about the affairs of his profession, and when the state of things was not fully re-established much afflicted city. In a letter, written at which never was seen by other eyes than beloved wife, until after his death it became see his memory from evil insinuations, there ing and most characteristic allusion to the ad been done to his reputation by his cow-

Roma, 26 Maggio, 1857.

ornelia,
at satisfaction to be able to prove that the cal-my enemies in Ireland, that I could not set foot of the Church, is false and envious. It is an infam-into the heads of a certain class in Ireland, who, I very well pleased if I were put in prison. * * * ornelia, that I have been received, even by the police, respect, and even on getting my passport, my trunk in Rome. * * * Little I care for the atro-my enemies. Integrity, in the end, always conquers. in this world is unjustly accused and neglected!"

ass of the people knew neither Hogan nor how could they? If they had, rude though nation's artist would not have been cheated of ed—a people's love and gratitude. Doubtless forgotten wretch whose home is in the garrets Liberties, and who can find in the whole of temporary refuge from noise, and suffering, in the sanctuary of the ever open Church, well those figures over the high altar of But he does not know them as a *Pieta*, as a he only knows that there is some virtue which attracts his wandering eyes; and that mplantation of so divine a representation he goes to the struggling, miserable, hard world, with

some consolation and more strength. Doubtless it sometimes happens that a lonely stitcher from the fetid lanes round Clarendon-street, says her prayers all the more fervently because her eyes are fixed, not on the blank wall or the stuccoed ceiling, but on the figure of the Dead Saviour which rests within the sanctuary; and she too may go forth into the infected streets shielded from some nameless evil. Little they know how the grand thought, the efficacious comfort came—from Heaven—to the artist's soul—through the work of his hands—even to their hearts. Mount O'Connell as he should be, twenty feet high in our widest thoroughfare, and see if the people would understand that. Why, you could scarcely keep them from giving three cheers for the Liberator, and perhaps one cheer more for the wonderful man who cut such an august presence out of stone. None of the fine arts can speak to the people like sculpture; there is something solid and life-like about a statue, at the same time that there is a death-like solemnity and stillness; the sense of reality, and a feeling of awe combine in a way that affects the most ignorant as well as the most cultivated. But what can the people know or feel when there is nothing, we shall not say taught, but shown them?

It will always seem very strange that Hogan should have been passed over on so many occasions since he came to Ireland. The cases are too well known to be dwelt upon; suffice it to say that an order for a figure of the B. Virgin, for one of Ireland's fine new Cathedrals, was given quite gratuitously to Giovanni Benzoni, the Roman sculptor, though Hogan was at hand here with his genius, and his marble, and his tools. Our countryman often said that "poor old Benzoni," would never have taken the commission if he knew there had been a treaty with him about it. For another Church an ungainly figure of the Redeemer by some French sculptor was purchased, and a companion figure obtained which we fear causes more distraction than edification. Dr. Murray's committee, that is to say, the committee entrusted with the charge of erecting a monument to the memory of that revered prelate, preferred a copy of a well-known type to any one of the original models in Hogan's studio. And the Moore Testimonial!—

ing the way things of this sort were managed when there was a question of a monument to think of sending in a model for competition. However, who could not believe that in an affair of trust and responsibility, there could be any skulking, or avowed disregard of public honour, to make a model. "Oh!" said he, with that peculiar to him, and which made a wave of more significant than many words, "what use?—No, they know what I can do. If another man were to say, 'C—— House he will get the commission!' I, too, urged the artist to put in his claim. I took note on the subject, which tells a great

ED CLONCURRY TO JOHN HOGAN, ESQ.

"*Maretime, 14th March.*

HOGAN.—Interest is making to erect some kind of monument to Moore—perhaps a statue. Moore has great influence with Sir Philip Crampton and I trust he is first-rate. I, however, think that no one could do justice to a statue for the Poet of Ireland; myself. I will give £100 if you get the job—only if you can.

Yours—though I so seldom see or hear of you—

"CLONCURRY."

was sent in, and rejected. It was resolved in a committee consisting of Irish noblemen, gentlemen, and artists, that Christopher Moore should get the commission. But that in Mr. Moore's peculiar department none could equal him. However, the sculptor of portrait busts to design and execute a monumental figure, would be like desiring a man to build up a Minster. It was absurd. In a heap of metal in College-street a monument was made to think it a monument to Hogan. Who ever could have placed upon that pedestal a poet in an upturned gaze, and rapt expression bespeaking a nation's joys and sorrows: outline and attitude with inspiration. In Hogan's Dublin studio was for a Moore Testimonial. In one the poet

holds a lyre, and seems to be pouring forth verse and music into the ears and hearts of a people. In the other he rests against a bank, and the listening, heaven-directed look makes it felt that the torrent of song is flooding his own soul. Poor Hogan! This was hard to bear. But he is avenged. The commonest mechanic wags his head as he passes that ungainly figure: and foreign nations laugh at this example of our patriotism, our judgment, and our art.

Such instances of stupid ignorance or wilful malevolence told with sad effect on the sensitive, anxious temperament of the artist. The disappointment caused by the decision of the Moore Testimonial (for, in spite of all, he did entertain hopes that one of his own beautiful models would have been selected) was something terrible. It looked so like a set plan to ruin him. His family were growing rapidly about him; all depended upon the work of his right hand; and the circle was narrowing. Was he to be left without work? His friends well remember the attack which he got about this time, and which is alluded to in William Carleton's terrible letter. The hemorrhage from the nose was something fearful; but it may have been the means of saving him at that moment.

In the evil day, when those about him were cold and forgetful, his faithful friend of better times, Dr. Mullock, now the Right Rev. Bishop of Newfoundland, was not unmindful of his gifted countryman. He entrusted to him the execution of two mural monuments, and gave him a commission for a figure of the Redeemer after death for the Cathedral of St. John's—commissions to the amount in all of £1150. Kilkenny gave Hogan a commission to execute a bust of Banim. In the Infirmary of Maryborough, he erected a monumental bust and tablet to the memory of the Hon. James Grattan. Cork, which seems to take an honorable pride in encouraging and commissioning native genius, employed no foreign or second-rate artist, when the living were to be honored or the dead commemorated; and Hogan was employed, since his return to Ireland, on several busts for natives of that city; and on a monument to the memory of the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy,—“the good Bishop,” whose name we found so often in his letters, and who deserved well of the

of Limerick, there was no hesitation about the
who was worthy to be entrusted with so national a
work. There is no doubt that Hogan received great
credit, while in treaty with the Committee about this

We are inclined, however, to exonerate from blame
the citizens of Limerick and the Committee, as a body,
and conclude that the letter or paragraph intimating
the value of the Liberator could be got (just as one
piece of the second-hand wares of Mary's-lane,) for
a more reasonable sum of £600, was the sponta-
neous production of some individual, who thought, by a
"dodge," to get a bargain of a priceless production
lost. The effect, however, was terrible on Hogan.
He induced a fit of incipient paralysis, which it re-
quired the skill of his devoted friend, Dr. Wilde, and the
means whom he brought about him, to bring him through.
In a few months the artist's right hand was powerless, and
his appearance became so changed, his whole frame so
that old friends could scarcely recognise him. The
testimonial, and three busts were, we believe,
the works that Dublin could afford to give Ireland's
artist, during the nine years he had his home and
office in the capital.

All the works above enumerated Hogan was suffi-
ciently and promptly paid. But how small was the profit,
after so many years! He might have borne unjust-
ice, and poverty, with a bold front if he had been
single. But his Roman wife, who, in a moment of mistaken
zeal, had severed from her country and kindred, and
left him when he was crippled, was all depending on

which would enable the sinking artist to keep his family in comfort, and educate his bright sons and loved daughters as became the children of such a father. On the matter was suggested to Hogan he would not hesitate. "I want nothing," he said, "but work." To see seemed a miracle that Hogan kept his family as comfortable. To think of a man so straitened supporting his family in comfort, meeting every engagement with punctuality and honour, and dying absolutely without debt. It means, too, to be munificent, as only the prudent man, and a glance into his books shows that he was ever ready to lend and to give. We know one case in which he had parties who were to receive payment for one of his mental works, to keep apart £20 for the poor of Cork. With what rigidness of self-denial all this was accomplished, who shall tell? Soon after his arrival in Dublin, his fine studio in Wentworth-place, but until a short time before his death it was not boarded. When urged on account of the injury he was likely to suffer from lying all day on the clay floor, he used to say, "I cannot do it; I cannot bear to take the money from my children."

His wife and children were the whole world to him. More his heart was wrung with anxiety and bitterer closer he drew them about him. "If I could only live, my children settled in some way," he used to say to

* The following letter, written on the occasion, is too charming of Hogan's kindness of heart to be omitted:—

Roma, January

My dear Sir,

Hearing such dreadful and awful accounts of the misery, deaths by starvation of hundreds of my poor but honest fellow-trymen, in the County of Cork, I hasten without further delay to address these few lines to you, and beg that you will compensate me for the loss of time, in this my most earnest and solemn request, that you hand over, for my account, £20 to the Mayor, or to the funds collecting for the relief of those poor famishing who are most in want, either in Skibbereen or Bantry, and oblige me everlastingly. The sum is small, and will be but a drop of water in the ocean, in comparison to the thousands who need. However, to be conscious of saving only one poor sufferer the horrible death of starvation, will be a source of the greatest consolation to your sincere friend and well wisher,

JOHN

John J. Lacy, Esq., Cork.

whom his hopes and his sorrows were ever
out, "If they were safe, for my own part
ughted to go to my God." To his children,
left them thousands, he would be an infinite
them so carefully, watched over them with
They are children in years, but far more
bearing. They were kept apart from the
all evil, by the jealous care of their father.
ld not bear to be away from them. When
invitation, he was never at rest until he got
was a very odd time indeed that he was to
society. Occasionally he attended a soiree
of Trinity College, or was a guest of Dr.
latter, who all through Hogan's latter years
ach constant and disinterested kindness,
om known, and Mrs. Wilde, who seems to
in the shape of talent, were trusted and
of the artist. Lord Cloncurry, calling on
found him at dinner, seated, according to
the head of the table, with one of the younger
hand, and the rest ranged in order along
oble Cloncurry lifted up his hands in amaze-
it was the finest sight he ever saw; and
like him! he sent under some pretence £20
rightly judging that the mother of such a
no loss to know what to do with a gift of
he evening it was the artist's custom to sit
and while the children were engaged with
would read some amusing book; now and
assage struck him, translating it into the
lian for his wife. At nine o'clock the whole
d was dispersed for the night; unless when
sion, as one of the great festivals of the church,
ould have more particular family devotions.
ool holidays he always occupied himself
teaching his two eldest boys to draw from
we may add that his pupils showed an apt-
ek not unworthy of an artist's sons.
must not pity Hogan. He had joys which
envy; and in his trials he knew where to
tion. Many a sleepless, restless night the
passed in his quiet little room. It was his

habit when he could not sleep to light a lamp and read a chapter of his favourite book *De Imitatione Christi*. "a poor way-farer "in a desert place where there is no water," has sought and found in that divine book more comfort and peace than all fortune's gifts could give. He would often get up, and wander about the house. On one occasion it was discovered by mere chance that he had left his room and had gone down in the middle of the night to his studio, where he was found kneeling in prayer before his own figure of the dead Saviour. What a triumph! And what a vindication of true art! From the time that in the world those inspirations had visited his soul, which by the vigour of his genius he had wrought out in the coldness of marble. He had been faithful to his ideal, making his form—we had almost said take life; and so, the statue remained unbroken, in the day of his trial, his soul was ordered to go forth heavenward, even by the work of his own hands. It was this same work, which more than twenty years ago he had done, our readers may remember he told his father was the best he had ever admired by the artists in Rome, and though his own work had sometimes affected himself.

But the artist was to have a splendid dream fulfilled. He went. The installation of the O'Connell statue in Limerick was a bright spot in his latter years. He was there in person, and was received in a manner worthy of his name. He had spoken to the people, and they had understood him. The poor country folk coming in on market days, would hold their hands in admiration, or sunk on their knees before the statue of the Liberator, and said, "he is not dead!" The people of Limerick found this was a triumph, and to make an appeal, and teach a lesson in that way. They were determined to have a statue of Sarsfield, the hero of the Treaty:—and Hogan should make it. There were intimations that other cities and towns would do the same, and that Tipperary, Ennis, Kilkenny should have their statues; and there was no longer a doubt who should be their artist. The metropolis should at last inaugurate a statue of Oliver Goldsmith, and it was believed that the artistic clique would, in this instance, be able to rob the writer of due honor. Cork sent an order to have modeled in Hogan's studio for a statue of Father Mathew. Lord Carlisle took care that one of the works in his

the Wellington Testimonial should be entrusted to him; the subject—the Duke's concession to civil and religious liberty. And—a great sign of the times—the Irish preachers are building a beautiful church in Lower Minnick-street, not for a fashionable congregation, or for the wealth and rank of Dublin, but for the poor, devout, and hardened population of Britain-street, and Liffey-street, and the nameless lanes and alleys that intersect those thoroughfares. And this church is to be no barn-like square building, with decorations of *ormolu* and tinsel; no tame, silly, mock Grecian structure; but from the long line of the stone pillars, arches spring aloft; and windows, and the tiled roof, are rich with intertwining traceries. An Irish architect has planned this worthy temple—and one* whose munificence rivals the splendour of the Medicean era, has commissioned Hogan to execute a *Pieta* for the high altar of St. Saviour's!

The era which he had so longed for seemed at last to have dawned—what he foresaw nearly thirty years ago as a certain result of Emancipation was about to be accomplished, and the arts should now be “pushed on gloriously in Ireland.” He had often counted over with his friends the different cities, towns, churches and convents of Ireland which possessed works of his. He took a secret pleasure in this; presently the bead roll should be increased, and his country the richer of his works. Now indeed there is something like hope. “If I live but two or three years,” said Hogan, “with heaven's blessing I shall see my family independent.” The very thought of usefulness was a joy to him. He had designed in sculpture some type of every other character of worth and value which Ireland had produced in these latter years. The patriot, the prelate, the apostle; the poet; the man of letters, the princely trader. Now he was to have the soldier with his chivalrous bearing, his action of command, and that magnificent Jacobite uniform! It was easy to see what was to be done. He would go to Rome where his studio was still undisturbed, and filled with the casts of his great works; and in the old ground where he had lived and toiled so many years, and near his dear good friend

* Mr. Higgs of Abbey-street.

Benzoni, and with his bright-eyed boy—his sculptor son*—he would work once more on noble themes, with noble aims, and a heart full of thankfulness and hope. He had a vision of the promised land—No more.

He may be said to have been dying during the last year. He was quite broken down; and the grandest light that ever shone on human eyes could not scare away the death shadow. In the latter end of March he lay down to die. The Sunday before his death he left his bed and stole down to his studio. He looked round on his unfinished works, and pausing before the *Pieta* for St. Saviour's, he said to his son, and to Mr. Cahill his assistant, "finish it well boys, I shall never handle the chisel more!" He was done with art; and yet not quite. Its power, in its most spiritual and subtle influence, was still over him. When he lay down, he directed search to be made for an engraving which he had stowed away somewhere, and which they did not know he possessed, and he had it pinned to the wall for it was not framed, in such a way that he could see it from the position in which he lay. The subject was Thorwaldsen's figure of the Redeemer. He said that figure alone would have immortalized a sculptor, and he was never tired looking at it—the gently outstretched arm and whole attitude so well expressed the idea—*Venite ad me omnes*. Without a murmur, without one appeal for life, he felt the last hours approaching. He had received the sacraments of the Church. There was nothing more

* How early Hogan dreamt that this son should inherit his genius with his name, is touchingly shown in a letter to one of the artist's sisters dated Rome Nov. 22, 1842. The citizens of Cork even so far back thought they ought to have some portrait or memorial of the great sculptor. Hogan was the least vain of men, and there neither in painting nor in sculpture a representation of his noble head. A very fine photograph by Glukman is the only portrait to be found. However, when the wishes of his Cork friends were made known to him, he returned the following characteristic answer:—"It (the request) is certainly very complimentary, and would be highly gratifying to any one desirous of ambition. I hereby acknowledge my gratitude to him (Sir Thomas Deane) and my other friends who have been desirous of such an object. But at present I cannot spare time for such silly trifles. I must reserve that commission for my darling son and Roman boy Giovanni, when he is competent to undertake such a work, and when I am persuaded through the merit of my productions that I am worthy of sitting for my portrait."

arth. From time to time he spoke with
 nds who were around his bed of times long
 e especially who were gone before him to
 e talked of his father, of his saintly mother,
 er who died early, and of the sister who
 f to God. He spoke of them as if they
 n him. And then he would pray for his
 king his wife's hand assure her that he
 ver her—most certainly watch over her."
 w to realise that anything could deprive
 rdianship. For some hours he seemed in-
 that when they read the prayers for the
 y made the responses; and for a long time
 e uttered were—"beautiful! how beauti-
 collection, or some blessed anticipation
 eath chill; and without one struggle, one
 at, he breathed his last—and the soul of
 th God.

7th March, 1858, Ireland lost one of the
 of her sons. Three days after, the re-
 were carried to Glasnevin Cemetery in a
 e sides, so that as the procession passed
 it was seen that on the coffin lay the hat
 bard and sword belt, worn by members of
 he *Pantheon*—the insignia of the honours
 yman had won and worn with pride in the
 s four sons followed, and a long train of
 d in every calling, members of the bar and
 ne medical profession; literary men and
 esentatives of the secular clergy, the Friars
 e Jesuit Fathers. For, as the *Europe Ar-*
 enius has its triumph even in the vain,
 ublin, and the funeral car of Hogan, the
 ho died poor as he had lived, was yet fol-
 ave by a file of private carriages long
 two of the Boulevards of Paris." The
 y College, two hundred in number it is
 at honour be it remembered, without any
 uperiors of the University, when the pro-
 d the college gates, issued two by two
 ntrance, and wearing academic cap and
 d by Professor Shaw, F. T. C. D., and

Professor Carmichael, F. T. C. D. took up their place in front of the procession, lifting their caps as they passed the hearse in respectful reverence for the dead, and the mournful cortege in its passage through the city. The Committee of the Glasnevin Cemetery had offered ground gratuitously in any part of the Cemetery, and the grave should be chosen for the grave of Hogan; and was called "O'Connell circle," and near the resting place of the Liberator, all that is mortal of the great sculptor, the Resurrection.

Where it will be asked, were the Lord Mayor, Corporation? Where the organised and palpable the Royal Dublin Society? Where the Hibernian Association? And the Royal Irish Academy? It is not here as in countries where such associations think it one of their common duties to honour genius while living, and to people that even its memory is the inheritance of the future. When Rauch, the Berlin sculptor, died some few years since, we read how the Dresden artists decorated his coffin with flowers and laurel wreaths, accompanied with honour to the railway station, and how the artists and members of the Royal Academy carried the remains to the "Trauerkapelle" where Professor Kiss (the Amazon) had arranged a mournful decoration of delabras, and tapers lighting the dead sculptor's statue of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and the winged Victories. We said to ourselves, how *un-English*! We might have crossed the channel for a word. When Schwanthaler, the King of Bavaria had him laid in his own sepulchre by side of a royal race, because the magnificent building for his great sculptor was not yet finished. And when Thorwaldsen was carried to the grave, the streets of Copenhagen were lined with military, and the companies of trades. All the members of the Academy of Fine Arts followed the hearse headed by their King, the Crown Prince. And at the entry of the Chamber of Majesty the king awaited the arrival of the cortege, the Queen and Royal Princesses assisted at the ceremony. We have something to learn yet.

But there is one thing we can do—and Heaven knows if we don't do it! We are a famous people the more for our *post mortem* tributes. There is more now to be done

regret might urge, or a vain shame compel. We waited to honor Hogan till he died. Let us not delay to his wife and children to our heart until we have to regret for having deserted them.

Hogan could have only thought that generous noble would have taken these loved ones to their own, and the Irish nation would have been proud of their adoption. His last earthly thought would have been a happier one. This consolation was not vouchsafed him. But let what he, even in the shadow of death, thought he still be able to do. Let us protect his wife who is dearer amongst us, and cherish, educate, and establish in his sons and daughters. It is scarcely to be believed that a government pension will not be obtained for Hogan's services. Lord Eglinton, our present respected Viceroy, Lord Chancellor, and the Attorney General, have surely power enough to have this, at least, secured. But why delay? If Lord Carlisle were in office now we should have to ask this question. But then he knew Hogan; he knew his talents and his worth. The noblemen and gentlemen now in office have not perhaps had the like opportunities; but as this is no party question they would listen to representations properly made. Where are the Irish members? Why are they not united for once, to petition, or solicit, some provision for Hogan's eleven chil-

While we await an answer to these questions, we must consider what more remains to be done. A government pension, according to our usage in this country, would go a little way in such extremity. It would in fact be more than an acknowledgment of a claim on the nation. Some men of public spirit, who well understand the necessity of freeing the country from an accusation of shameful supineness, have formed themselves into a committee for receiving in the City of Dublin subscriptions to the Hogan Fund. Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., the most able advocate of many a good cause, and Dr. Wilde, a rare exception, finds time in the midst of a busy professional career to give aid when public good and national interests are concerned, hold the responsible office of secretary; and members of many parties, and of every creed, have given valuable assistance, whether as subscribers or

its intended effect. We have here referred to the *successful* administration of a drug, but in many instances it entirely fails to produce the desired result, acting injuriously upon the organs of the system, quite contrary to the effect intended. We will now compare this treatment with the hydropathic mode of producing the effects aimed at by sudorifics; their usual appliances consist of the lamp and Turkish bath, and the result is this, that by their method a most powerful effect is produced on the skin in the course of about half an hour, after which the patient feels lightened, strengthened and invigorated, no deleterious substances are passed into the stomach, irritating its membranes, and the process may be *repeated* as often as may be necessary with undiminished effect. Who ever sees a patient recovering from the perspiratory process according to the orthodox allopathic mode of treatment, who was not weakened and somewhat dejected, whilst buoyancy of spirits and vigor of the system, are the usual accompaniments of the hydropathic process. Take another example from the process of wet-sheet packing, and examine its effects in subduing inflammatory and febrile affections; by this simple process the pulse is often reduced from 120 pulsations per minute to 65, in a short period of three-quarters of an hour, the circulation equalized throughout the body, and a soothing effect produced on the patient, which it is almost impossible to describe: what no drug or combination of drugs in the whole of the pharmacopeia, is capable of producing; in this case again little lowering of strength is produced, and the stomach is again saved from the injurious irritating effects of Tartar emetic and other drugs; instead of fever raging for a period of three *weeks*, it is generally subdued in as many *days*, when the patient goes forth, but little reduced in strength, instead of being weak, miserable, and emaciated, with the prospect of some six weeks elapsing before he is restored to his wonted strength. Sir Lytton Bulwer thus describes from personal experience the process of wet-sheet packing:—"The skin, after being well saturated is well wrung-out,—the patient quickly wrapped in it—several blankets bandaged round, a down comforter tucked over all; thus, especially where there is the least fever, the first momentary chill is promptly succeeded by a gradual and vivifying warmth perfectly free from the irritation of dry heat,—a delicious sense of ease is usually followed by a sleep more agreeable than anodyne ever produced. It seems a positive cruelty to be taken out of this magic girdle in which pain is lulled and fever cooled, and watchfulness lapped in sleep."

effect of wet-sheet packing in cases of congestion of other internal viscera, we fear an unfavourable result again be drawn between the effects of the hydropathic modes of treatment; in these cases the effect is to relieve the oppressed and congested from the superabundance of blood with which it is supplied, and it appears to us that this effect is probably, more quickly and more permanently, without injurious effects, by the wet-sheet packing, and other appliances, sitz baths amongst the rest, than can be effected by all the drugs in the Apothecary's shop. Hydropathy appears to possess greater power in *stimulating and regulating the currents of the blood* than any other system of therapeutics at present revealed. It can stimulate the circulation when low, reduce it when excessive and disordered, determine it from the head in cases of cerebral congestion, and drive it to the surface of the body in cases of visceral congestion; an engine capable of producing these effects *without weakening* the constitution, and in addition the power of bracing and stimulating the system when weakened, and of soothing and allaying inflammation wherever it may exist, more effectually than any other system we say, must ever occupy a high, if not the highest place amongst all existing systems of Hydropathy. Physiological effects of wet-sheet packing are thus described by Dr. Wilson:—

"In many indications according to the various phases of the disease, you revert to what I have said of the specific effects of the packing process, you will see sufficient results. By using the invaluable aid of the wet sheet in these cases, you will find that the system is restored."

"We often want heat to be abstracted in these cases. By the use of the wet sheet, the nerves are soothed, the circulation equalized, the fatigue removed, a movement of the fluids to the surface, interior congestions to be dissipated, equilibrium of the fluids established, secretions and excretions promoted, ill-conditioned solids to be broken up, the tissues of the skin to be soaked, its pores emptied and cleansed, its sentient extremities relaxed, and through them the brain to be quieted on the one hand, and the ganglionic* system to be roused on the other."

*The sympathetic nerves are those which cover the stomach, and other sensitive organs: they are also called the "*Solar Plexus*."

How many lives have been sacrificed by the practice of bleeding in feverish and inflammatory cases, from the adoption of wet sheet packing, which causes no loss of blood, and leaves behind none of the debility and consequent protracted convalescence, which bleeding and strong medicines necessarily occasion; it is to us indeed inexplicable how so insensible a process as bleeding can still be resorted to in this 19th century, a process which deprives nature of her vital fluid, and dries up the stream on which our *very existence* depends.* This cutting of the strings of life be defended when a patient is sent for lowering inflammation without reducing the heat, or presents itself for adoption by the physician, one who has no action purifies the blood, reducing fever by the abstraction of heat and by the removal of the serum or watery constituents from the blood, which contains all its impurities. Will the patient any longer place confidence in the physician who who attempts to cure them, would weaken them by bleeding, and who interferes with the operations of nature by depriving her of that vital fluid, the existence of which her self-restoring properties depend? will they prefer a system which ensures a long convalescence to the patient, to that in which he recovers from his illness without any sensible diminution of his strength, or injury to his constitution? The system of wet sheet packing is so simple, ordinary, and satisfactory in its results, that he who resorts to it make use of it must lag behind, whilst success will attend the efforts of him who judiciously applies it in the cases in which it is suited.

The compress and hot stupe, next demand attention; both are usually applied to the stomach; the compress consisting of a vulcanized India-rubber bag filled with water which is laid over a towel, the under folds of which are moistened and placed next the body, a most efficient and convenient form of fomentation; these remedies are applied in the treatment of nearly all chronic diseases, where there is no action of the stomach, liver, or kidneys; this form of treatment Dr. Wilson calls the "*ne plus ultra*" of poulticing, and derivation being by it most perfectly obtained, a most successful and greatest degree. Each operation has on deep seated

* The late melancholy case of Mr. Stafford O'Brien is a striking instance of this injurious practice; that gentleman was copiously bled, and it is less than probable that he might be the better enabled, in his so enfeebled state, to resist the action of a powerful poison (opium) afterwards administered with deadly effect.

ne of its qualities, the advantageous effect of a mustard plaster, without any of its drawbacks, inflammations, in all nervous or neuralgic pains, of colic, biliousness, or sickness of the stomach, or derangements from dietetic errors, and in the progress in fevers and inflammations, in sore throat, swellings of the lungs and air tubes, it is then found an agreeable and potent anodyne and equalizer of

"It in effect accomplishes the most salutary results, without any risk of congesting the liver, or at sickness and atony of the stomach, and all but the lower bowels which result from the use of

"No nervous irritations," says Dr. Wilson, congestions, especially if of recent formation, but cured by this powerful *revulsive rubefacient* and by the dissipation of those interior congestions of pains and spasms, or flatulence which lead to a severe state of suffering, the release of nervous headaches, neuralgic pains, asthmatic fits, are all their origin near or remote in visceral obstructions, &c. In most cases where for a longer or shorter time any organic action has been embarrassed, sleep is quieted, and the patient irritated and exhausted; by aid of the fomentations, in a brief time the place of organic tumult, ease succeeds and the whole apparatus feels to work normally and with alacrity. What I have just described, you will hear repeated and descanted upon in the same terms by the patients."

Hot-stupe in the removal of irritation from the immediate cause of dysentery, &c., is very remarkable. Our knowledge of its effects, we have often repeated, is so simple and rational an expedient was not required in the treatment of those diseases by which our army was more than decimated in the late Crimean Campaign. On this subject Dr. Wilson, remarks, "so strong was the effect that I wrote to my good friend Lord Rokeby, to offer my service through Mr. Sidney Herbert, to remain there (at Scutari,) entirely at my disposal as a "water doctor," but as an ordinary medical man, willing to lend a hand, and make himself generally useful. I stated that I had almost lived in hospitals

for seven years, had afterwards witnessed the practice of every great hospital in Europe, and could undertake all operations, and any amputations with little preparation: I had been twenty-five years in practice. After some weeks I received a polite letter thanking me, but fearing it could not be not being quite the custom. About this time there was a outcry for medical men, those at the hospitals were too far from the work, they were worn out with fatigue."—Further he adds—"I have had a great many patients suffering from Chronic diseases from climate, exposure, and want of care, &c. Patients from India, Ceylon, and the Antipodes, with long continued diarrhoea, dysentery, and intractable fever of an intermittent character. From the success of this simple treatment in those cases, I have not ceased to regret that I did not introduce Scutari on my own account without permit or introduction; it might have introduced the practice gradually, being sure it only required a trial to have been adopted by the medical staff with great satisfaction."

We join Dr. Wilson, heartily in this regret, as it would have led to the introduction of this remedy if proved efficient; it silenced its advocates if it proved a failure. Nowhere could two systems have been more severely and satisfactorily tested; we should all have benefitted by the result; the relative merits of the two systems would have been decided, and the question no longer left to hang in doubt between them.

The sitz bath and foot bath next claim our attention. The former acting with marked effect in cases of congestion of the liver and other internal organs; by abstracting heat from the surface of the body submitted to its influence, a transference of fluids takes place from the centre to the exterior, and the congested organs are relieved from their excess of blood; the effect being thus determined to the surface; this effect, at first temporary becomes *permanent*, when the use of the bath has been persevered in for some time. Let us now compare the effect of this bath, in the cases of congestion of the liver, with the treatment usually pursued by the orthodox physicians; the remedies consist in dosing with Calomel, or Taraxicum, or the application of leeches to the affected region; the two former stimulate the action of the liver, in spite of the congested state which oppresses it, but they do not attempt to deal with the causes of this congestion, the result of which is that the liver being weakened by its unnatural exertions consequent on the use of unnatural stimulants which have been administered to it, sin-

of the unnatural stimulus has worn away,—into a debilitated and exhausted state, and the original cause remaining unremoved, matters become worse. In the case of leeching the topical bleeding reaction *for a time*, but this is a remedy which cannot be repeated in consequence of the weakness it engenders, when the bleeding is given up, how do matters stand?—the patient is in statu quo; not so, however, the constitution, which has been weakened by the bleeding, and nature being unable to cure herself *chronic* disease of the liver. On the other hand the hydropathic treatment necessitates the removal of the blood from the congested organ to the surface. This, to remove the disease, can be repeated as often as desired, and renewed effect, until permanent relief is afforded. Success in the treatment, and the patient improves in health, *pari passu*, with the cure of his particular complaint. The effects of the sitz bath, are it appears either tonic or sedative according to the length of time during which it is used; if a tonic effect is desired, a period varying from 15 to 30 minutes is prescribed—if a relaxing or derivative effect is to be produced, the period is extended to half an hour or more.

In the use of the foot bath, we may observe that the hydropathic administration subverts all our preconceived notions of the proper mode of treating those affections for which leeching is usually prescribed; for instance the old mode of treating affections of blood to the head, or in cases of congestion to apply cold to the head and warmth to the feet by the use of hot flannels, hot bricks, and stupes; now the hydropathic mode of proceeding is the very reverse of this, viz. to apply tepid water to the head and place the feet in cold water to the ankles of three inches, up to the ankles: friction of the feet to accompany their immersion, the whole being continued for about ten minutes. Let any person suffering from congestion of blood to the head, try this remedy, and they will satisfy themselves of the efficacy of the practice which enjoins it: its rationale is as follows. The application of warm water to the head of the patient, does not increase the flow of blood to the head, but the subsequent evaporation from the moist surface of the head cools it gradually, and so diminishes the flow of blood to it, whilst the cold application to the feet, for a secondary result the attraction and retention of parts of great quantity of blood, and consequent increased temperature there. In fact," continues Dr.

Gully, "a cold foot bath of 12 or 15 minutes *followed* by a walk of *half-an-hour*, is the most certain way to warm the feet that can be devised; just as per contra, the most certain way to ensure cold feet, is to soak them in hot water. This principle applies to the hands. When the patient is in a condition to take it, a walk is necessary to obtain the circulating system alluded to:" he adds, "the warmth remains for several days." Very frequently I have heard persons say that they have never known cold feet since they began to take cold foot baths.

We would next make some observations on the various modes of treating that fatal and mysterious disease, which has so long baffled the curative efforts of the most eminent physicians of their day, we mean pulmonary consumption, gratifying to find that a great step towards a rational and successful mode of treatment based on sound physiological principles has lately obtained in the case of this disease, which treatment we hope soon to see generally adopted by the medical profession.* The unsuccessful treatment of this disease has long cast a slur on medical science, and it is not to be wondered at that little success should have attended on the old mode of treatment, since recent observation, and matured experience have shown, on physiological principles, that no worse mode of treatment has been devised for curing it, nor a surer one for producing an aggravation of its symptoms. This new mode of treatment is very ably set forth in Dr. Lane's work, which we heartily recommend to the perusal of our readers, as a plain and modest statement of the benefits resulting from Hygienic treatment in cases of this description. Dr. Lane looks on pulmonary consumption as essentially a *blood* disease, in which he is confirmed by the first physiologists of the day, and by those physicians who have had most experience in the treatment of that particular disease, Sir James Clarke, Dr. Bennett, Dr. Balbyrnie, and others. These physicians all agree in stating that indigestion or derangement of the stomach and digestive organs is a universal forerunner of pulmonary consumption, and without this derangement pulmonary consumption cannot exist; consequent on this derangement of the digestive organs, imperfect blood is assimilated

* We do not pretend to assert, that consumption is curable in its organic disease of the lungs has actually been established, but we maintain that the disease is *perfectly curable* in its incipient stage, though not by drugs, nor banishment to a foreign clime. Treatment may somewhat prolong the disease, but will not cure it in its *accident*, when of a very mild form.

oily elements, and containing an *undue* amount of oleaginous materials, that in consequence of the presence of oleaginous elements, the blood is incapable of being changed into true cellular tissue to replace the effete elements of the lungs, and the superabundant quantity of albumen has a tendency to exude upon the lungs on their exposure to the air in the form of tubercles, which process is unaccompanied by any inflammatory action; these facts are based upon the results of direct chemical analysis of the substance of the tubercles, which consist of almost pure albumen, and they verify the wonderful effects of cod liver oil in consumption, and the great emaciation of body which results in the one case are satisfactorily explained; in the one case, cod liver oil supplies in a light and digestible form the deficient element in which the blood is deficient; in the other case, we have recourse to the fatty or adipose matter of the blood, and the oleaginous principle, but now the question arises, what does this indigestion, and consequent indigestion of the blood proceed from? this question Dr. Barter touches upon, but we believe that Dr. Barter, the hydropathic physician of Blarney, considers that it is the defective vitality* in the blood, caused by deficiency in the system, more immediately proceeding from the imperfect action of the lungs and imperfect action of the skin. If this be the case, it must be remembered, are supplementary to the action of *either*, and death inevitably ensues, whether the action be perfect or imperfect action, perfect or imperfect action. This view of the disease is illustrated by the case of the monkey; in its wild state, the best authorities agree that it gets consumption, but domesticate the animal, and the action of the lungs from want of sufficient wholesome air, and imperfect action of the skin, and the same cause, and it usually dies of this disease; the same laws equally apply to all cases of scrofulous disease, which physicians estimate as carrying off premaritally the whole human family.† Of this terrible

the structure and vitality of our bodies depend upon the combination of oxygen with the oxydizable products of the system, the necessary supply of oxygen be interfered with, the system flags, and disease results. The origin of scrofula points to the origin of the disease, from the Latin *Scrofa*, a pig, in allusion to the condition in those persons in whom a scrofulous habit has

disease, the scourge of the human race, we may here see that consumption is merely a form of it, and that it is *hereditary*, thus showing it to be a true *blood disease*.

Having referred to the fact of the lungs and skin being complementary organs, the principal duty of both being to purify the blood, it may be interesting to lay before our readers the following extracts from the results of experiments on this point, which have been made by Monsieur Fourcault with the view of ascertaining the effect of the suppression of transpiration by the skin, in animals, by coating their bodies with an impermeable varnish. The committee of the French Institute thus describes these experiments.

"The substances which he used were givet-glue, pitch and tar, and several plastic compounds, some of which varnish was made to cover the whole of the animal's body, at other times only a more or less extensive part of it. The experiments which follow this proceeding, are more or less complete, or incomplete, general or partial. In every case the life of the animals is soon much impaired and their life is shortened. Those which have been submitted to those experiments, under our observation, have died in one or two days, and in some cases *in a few hours only*."

"In the opinion of the committee, these experiments are full of interest for the future,* * * The experiments of M. Fourcault cannot fail to throw a new light upon the physiological and pathological phenomena, and upon the double function of *inhalation* and *exhalation* of the cutaneous system."

Monsieur Fourcault himself, thus writes:—

"The mucous membranes were not the only parts affected by the artificial suppression of the insensible perspiration. We also observed the production of serous effusions in the pericardium, and even in the pleurae. These effusions demonstrate that dropsies are found in the same body as the discharges. Several dogs died with paraplegia, and could only drag themselves along on their forepaws; *scrophulous* and *atrophied* and their lungs contained milinary *tubercles* which appeared to me from their whiteness, and softness to be of recent formation. It was therefore, now impossible to see the influence of the suppression of the insensible perspiration of the skin upon the changes in the blood, the mucous exudations, and finally upon the development of local

ts of these experiments differ *in toto* according to partial or general, or as it suspends the incompletely or completely. In the first of the blood is not carried so far, as to on of its organic elements; it can coagulate, ne few cases, a buffy coat of little consistency, mblance to that which is found in inflam- s to the tissues affected, they however appear he anatomical characteristics of the conse- nflammation.

application of very adhesive substances upon body quickly suppresses the cutaneous ex- sequently prevents the action of the air upon kes place much more speedily, and appears of *true asphyxia*. The breathing of the nted upon is difficult, they take deep in- er to inhale a larger quantity of air than h is violent, and is often accompanied by ents. On dissection, we find in the veins, ties of the heart, sometimes also in the left, the arteries, a black diffuent blood, forming ft and diffuent coagula, and coagulating very exposed to atmospherical air. This disso- d from the formation of large ecclymoses and the lungs and other organs; the capillary y injected. One can see that the alteration een the true cause of the stagnation of the order of vessels.* * * *

nt to state that man, in the same way as ani- *mutaneous asphyxia* when his body is covered applications. I shall detail, in another work, researches upon this subject, and facts which neral history will enter into the province of at Florence, when Leo X., was raised to the d was gilt all over, in order to represent the is unfortunate child soon died, the victim of xperiment of a novel kind. I have gilded, d several guinea-pigs, and all have died like nce."

rcault in summing up his researches remarks

h, diarrhaea, paralysis, marasmus, convulsive

movements, and finally the phenomena of *asphyxia* as results of the same experiments. Cutaneous asphyxia cause the death of man and animals ; in this affection presents, in the highest degree, the refrigerant, and qualities of VENOUS* blood."

The above extracts are our answer to those medical objectors, who would argue, that death is not in the above cases by the exclusion of atmospheric air from the system, but by the suppression of poisonous salts in the skin ; the effects of the suppression of the morbid and irritating of these is well known to the physician. The phenomena which they present bear no analogy to the phenomena presented in the case before us, which exhibit all the appearances of true suffocation ; if however the results of these experiments be not sufficient to convince him, we are prepared to meet him, on a more convenient battle field. Arguments which would only prove tedious and unavailing to the non-professionable reader, may be adduced to serve, in support of our position.

Now if it be conceded that the main cause of consumption (tracing the disease back to its earliest stage) is to be ascribed to an insufficient supply of oxygen to the system (which is the success attendant on the treatment, based upon the principle we would lead one to suppose) we would ask our readers to reflect how can consumption be cured by drugs? how can the much required oxygen be supplied to the system by any such proceeding? We think that the results of such a system afford a satisfactory answer to this question. Failure marking its course wherever it has been tried. Again as regards the fashionable remedy of going abroad are we likely to get more oxygen supplied to us abroad than at home? A mild climate may certainly prove less irritating to our native air to a diseased and disordered lung and the irritation and uneasiness consequent on the irritation may be allayed, but we are not a whit nearer being cured. We are properly gone to work† to remove the main source of the origin of the disease.

* When blood is overloaded with carbon, and deprived of a necessary supply of oxygen, the term "Venous" is applied to it.

† Where consumption has been relieved by residence in a mild climate, the benefit derived must be attributed to the action on the system by the hot climates to which the patient is usually ordered. Recovery in this way has been confined to very mild forms of consumption and cannot be looked upon, as a scientific mode of treatment.

ers bear in mind the following aphorism of those bedrooms make the graves of multitudes;" that that impure blood is the origin of consumption, that *impure* air, causes *impure* blood.

These principles, in curing consumption, Dr. Barter aims to place the system in a favourable condition by a supply of oxygen, first by a direct inhalation of a pure and atmospheric air through the lungs, secondly by a large amount of active exercise in the open air, and sleeping at night with open windows, thus producing a healthy action of the skin,* and conducting through it, of oxygen to the blood, by the inhalation of the Turkish bath; this mode of treatment, he has proved most successful, whilst the old mode, of which it is the very antipodes, viz., of placing the patient in a heated and impure atmosphere, and of forcing food to the mouth, has proved most unsuccessful. Now it could ever have entered into the brain of any man to commend the use of a respirator as a cure for consumption, are at a loss to imagine, a more ingenious mode of getting out the pure atmosphere essential to our existence, and exchanging it for one loaded with carbonic acid, (the disease which it seeks to cure,) could have been devised. Man in a state of health requires a constant renovation of his existence, and can it be supposed that, if in a state of disease, he will be able *more successfully* to resist the action of poison on his system, than when in a state of health? He in a state of disease be strengthened and invigorated, the loss of that, on a due supply of which, when in a state of health, the nuance of his health and strength would be maintained, the experience of our readers furnish them

with the idea of the skin deserving to be considered rather as an instrument of health than by design; as otherwise more attention would have been paid to so important a matter, and there would have been no need for ordering the patient abroad, as similar results might have been obtained much more easily and effectually, by keeping the patient in a pure atmosphere, the use of the Turkish Bath conferring all the benefits of a pure atmosphere, followed by the tonic effects of cool air and the debilitating effects of *continual* residence in a pure atmosphere obviated.

Dr. Barter's remarks—"The more active and open the skin is, the more will the people be against obstructions and diseases of the chest, stomach, and lower stomach; and the less tendency to gastric (bilious) fevers, hypochondriasis, gout, and varicose veins."

with a single case of recovery from consumption caused by use of a respirator, or does it not, on the contrary, supply t in every case where it has been resorted to with instance the bad effects attendant upon its use?

In support of the view taken by Dr. Barter, we w observe that *narrow and contracted lungs, an impure at sphere, uncleanly habits, sedentary occupation, indulgence alcoholic liquors, and over eating*, all directly tend to the loading of the blood with carbon, and they are also the frequent causes of consumption; but the success attending treatment is the argument which will have most weight the public, and tend to its extension and adoption by profession at large; when this takes place we shall not consumptive patients sent abroad to seek restoration of health,—“to Nice, where more *native* persons die of consu tion than in any English town of equal population,—to Mad where no local disease is more prevalent than consumption to Malta, where one-third of the deaths amongst our tr are caused by consumption,—to Naples, whose hospitals re a mortality from consumption of one in two and one-third the patients,—nor finally to Florence, where pneumonia is to be marked by a suffocating character, and a rapid prog towards its final stage. Sir James Clarke has assailed much force the doctrine that change of climate is beneficial cases of consumption. M. Carriere, a French physician, written strongly against it. Dr. Burgess, an eminent Sc physician, also contends that climate has little or nothing do with the cure of consumption, and that if it had, the cur effects would be produced through the skin and not the lu by opening the pores, and promoting a better aeration of blood.”

Before leaving this subject we would entreat our rea seriously to consider the observations here addressed them, and the facts which have been adduced in sup of the mode of treatment which we have advocated. subject is one of fearful moment, as on this disease b rightly understood, the lives of millions of our country depend: if a rational mode of treatment be adopted, its f ravages may be successfully encountered and stayed, but if the pallid spectre will stalk, as it has hitherto done, unche through the length and breadth of our island, bearing dea millions of her sons.

With regard to water drinking, an important part of hydropathic process, and against which much prejudice ex

the following extracts from the pen of the justly celebrated allopathic physician, Sir Henry Holland, will not, we hope, be considered out of place. In his work styled "Medical Notes and Reflections," treating of "Diluents," he thus writes:—

"Though there may seem little reason for considering these as a separate class of remedies, yet I doubt whether the principles of treatment implied in the name is sufficiently regarded in modern practice. On the Continent, indeed, the use of diluents is much more extensive than in England; and, under the form of mineral waters especially, makes up in some countries a considerable part of general practice. But putting aside all question as to mineral ingredients in water, the consideration more expressly occurs, to what extent and with what effects this great diluent, the only one which really concerns the animal economy, may be introduced into the system as a remedy? Looking at the definite proportion which in healthy state exists in all parts of the body between the aqueous, saline, and animal ingredients—at the various organs destined directly or indirectly, to regulate the proportion—and at the morbid results occurring whenever it is materially altered—we must admit the question as one very important in the animal economy, and having various relation to the causes and treatment of disease. Keeping in mind then this reference to the use of water as an internal remedy, diluents may be viewed under three conditions of probable usefulness;—first, the mere mechanical effect of quantity of liquid in diluting and washing away matters, excrementitious or noxious, from the alimentary canal;—Secondly, their influence in modifying certain morbid conditions of the blood;—and thirdly, their effect upon various functions of secretion and excretion, and especially upon those of the kidneys and skin. The first is an obvious benefit in many cases, and not to be disdained from any notion of its vulgar simplicity. It is certain, there are many states of the alimentary canal, in which the free use of water at stated times produces good, which cannot be attained by other or stronger remedies. I have often known the action of the bowels to be maintained with regularity for a long period, simply by a tumbler of water, warm or cold, on an empty stomach, in cases where medicine had almost lost its effect, or become a source only of distressing irritation. The advantage of such treatment is still more strongly attested, where the secretions taking place into the intestines, or the products formed there during digestion, become vitiated in kind. Here dilution lessens that irritation to the membranes, which we cannot so readily obviate by other means, and aids in removing the cause from the body with less distress than any other remedy. In some cases where *often* and *largely* used, its effect goes farther in actually altering the state of the secreting surfaces by direct application to them. I mention these circumstances upon experience, having often obtained much good from resorting to them in practice, when stronger medicines and ordinary methods had proved of little avail. Dilution thus used, for example, so as to act on the contents of the bowels, is beneficial in many dyspeptic cases,

where it is especially an object to avoid needless irritation to the system. Half-a-pint or more of water taken when fasting at a temperature most agreeable to the patient, will often be found to afford singular relief to his morbid sensations. In reference to the foregoing uses of diluents, it is to be kept in mind, that the lining of the alimentary canal is, to all intents, a surface, as well as the skin, pretty nearly equal in extent; exercising some similar functions, with others more appropriate to itself, and capable in many respects of being acted upon in a similar manner. As respects the subject before us, it is both expedient and correct in many cases to regard diluents as acting on this internal surface analogous to liquids on the skin. And I would apply this remark not only to the mechanical effects of the remedy, but also to their use as the means for conveying cold to internal parts;—a point of practice which, either the simplicity of the means, or the false alarms besetting the mind, have hitherto prevented from being duly regarded."

Again he writes :—

"Without reference, however, to these extreme cases, it may be repeated, that the use of water, simply as a diluent, scarcely requires any attention and discrimination enough in our English practice."

And again :—

"As I have been treating of this remedy only in its simplest form, I do not advert to the use of the different mineral waters farther than to state, that they confirm these general views, separating, as far as can be done, their effect as diluents from that of the ingredients they contain. The copious employment of some of them in the continental practice gives room for observation, which is wanting in our more limited use. I have often seen five or six pints taken daily for some weeks together, (a great part of it in the morning while fasting,) with singular benefit in many cases to the general health, and most obviously to the state of the secretions. These courses, however, were always conjoined with ample exercise and regular habits of life; doubtless influencing much the action of the waters, and aiding their salutary effect."

With this quotation we take leave of Sir Henry Hall, who is merely observing, that no hydropathist could say more on this subject than he has done, and that the continental practice, as referred to, of drinking large quantities of water conjoined with ample exercise and regular habits of life, is precisely that practice which hydropathy enjoins.

It may not be uninteresting to observe, that under Hydropathic treatment, chronic disease frequently becomes acute, as the body improves in strength the more acutely will any existing disease develop itself, and for the following reason: partly caused by an effort of nature to relieve the system of some morbid influence residing in it, and the stronger the constitution,

greater efforts will it make to remove that morbid influence, and therefore the greater will be the pain; but on the other hand, when the body is enfeebled, its efforts to relieve itself, though continual, are weak and inefficient, and the disease remaining in the system, assumes the chronic and less painful form. Now with these facts before them, we have been amused at hearing physicians observe, in their efforts to decry the "Water System," "Oh it is good for the general health, but nothing more." When speaking thus they do not however reflect, that they are affording the strongest possible testimony in support of the system which they seek to decry, inasmuch as every physiologist, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, admits the principle, that the cure of disease is to be sought for in the powers of the living organism *alone*, and it must be evident that the more you strengthen that organism, the more you increase its powers to cure itself, and diminish its liability to future disease.

Having trespassed thus far on the attention of our readers, we would conclude by inviting them and the medical profession generally, to a calm and dispassionate investigation, as far as their opportunities allow, of the relative merits of the allopathic and hydropathic modes of treating disease, approaching the investigation with a mind devoid of prejudice and bigotry. Their duty to themselves and to society demands this enquiry from them—two antagonistic systems (we use the term advisedly) are presented for their acceptance, which will they lay hold of? To assist them in determining this point we would recommend for their quiet perusal, either or all of the works alluded to in this article, the study of which will be found interesting and profitable. If they conclude that drugs are wholesome let them by all means be swallowed, but if they are proved to be injurious, deleterious and unnecessary, then away with them; if opiates are innocuous let them be retained, but if they congest the liver, sicken the stomach, and paralyse the actions of the vital organs, the sooner they are erased for ever from the Hygienic Pharmacopeia the better—let them gracefully retire in favor of the improved system of hot stupes, fomentations, and the abdominal compress.

We would ask the medical profession of Ireland to reflect on the fact, that Dr. Barter's establishment at Blarney contains at this moment upwards of 120 patients, with many more frequently seeking for admission within its walls, most of whom leave the estab-

lishment ardent converts to Hydropathy, determined for the rest of their lives to "throw physic to the dogs," fleeing from it as from some poisonous thing. It will not do for them to pooh pooh the system, and tell their patients, as many of them do, that it will kill them; such language only betrays ignorance on their part, and will not put down a system which daily disproves the lie to their predictions by affording ocular demonstration of its efficacy, in the restored health and blooming cheek of an emaciated friend. Men are too sensible now-a-days to pin their faith on the dictum of a medical man, who runs down a system without fairly investigating it, and examining the principles which it acts, to say nothing of the prejudice he must feel in favor of his own particular system; but if a mode of treatment be rational, producing cures when every other system of treatment has failed, and recommend itself to the common sense and reason of mankind, we believe such a principle will prevail in its way despite of all the opposition it may encounter, and very progress the water cure is at present making.

The very simplicity of the processes of the water cure, which people cannot believe capable of producing the effects ascribed to them, has chiefly militated against its more universal adoption, by the lay public, together with the belief (ingrained long habit,) in the absolute necessity for drugs, in curing disease; but this belief, if not rationally founded, will soon give way: were the condition, however, of affairs reversed, and Hydropathy become as old a system as the Allopathy, the belief, in the efficacy of an old school, might be securely maintained; for no one would think for a moment of exchanging a system, fixed, intelligible and certain in its action, as based on scientific principles, and consonant with the laws of physiology, for the uncertain, groping, empirical, and injurious practice of drug medication.

VI.—“WIGS ON THE GREEN.”

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, there may yet be hope for the Board of Trinity. The next step may possibly raise them to the sublime, but the last has made them supremely ridiculous. Exposed to the fire of formidable batteries on all sides, north and south, English and Irish, daily, weekly, they in solemn conclave resolve to open fire in return. Hereupon they plant with mighty preparation, and with no less we fear, though

— Facilis descensus Averni,
Sed revocare gradum,—
Hic labor, hoc opus est—”

...tive of events will introduce our remarks. Since the elections on the hustings in April last, drew public attention to the affairs of the college, the newspapers of Dublin, Liverpool, and other places, have kept up and intensified the attention by a continuous series of articles. The Board were equally amazed, the former at the state of affairs discovered for the first time, the latter at the revolution which was not overawed by the venerable assembly of seven. In their dismay they cast about for some expedient, that they could trace some of those sharp misanthropic hand! the arrow marked specially “for Alexander” should be returned with envenomed barb. At length, on a grand move which should, as they hoped, put an end to the matter in the bud. They remembered that two of the members had actually written and signed two letters in the name of the college, to be sure the letters were of the most innocent character, but would only render the example more telling. They, therefore, were summoned before the board. They were informed that the statutes forbid any member of the college from prosecuting another in an expul-
sion of expulsion. It was inconsistent with the college statute, they were told, to write on College public papers. This smells of casuistry. It was

at all events, as 'the *Saturday Review* justly remarked, queerest recognition on record of the jurisdiction of the proctors. The Board were ill-advised when they resolved to strain an ancient restriction on the side of strictness. These rusty tigers have a trick of snapping, if screwed too tight. The fact is, that just as an old woman of eighty calls her grandson a boy after he has passed two score, worthy seniors are accustomed to regard the non-tutors as schoolboys whose youth, in fact, excludes them from tutorship and who will be frightened out of their wits, and come down on their knees at an angry look from a senior, glad to get without a whipping. These schoolboys, however, are strong enough to be bishops, and many of them are not younger than senior fellows themselves used to be in olden times. So the Board found they had caught a couple of Tartars. The proctors censured appealed to the visitors, and presently after the article was announced to appear in the *Dublin University Magazine*, which would at once carry the question into the London press. Here was a pretty pickle! what on earth was to be done? The first move was to establish a censorship of the press. The publishers were requested to cancel the article. This of course they could not do. Perhaps, however, the Lord Lieutenant would do them the favor to require the author's signature to every article published, in which case collegiate discipline might be brought to bear again. All in vain. The article appeared, sharp and decisive, and as was expected the London papers immediately took up the question. The plans were mooted from day to day. Should they reply? If they do so in their own names, would make matters worse. Should they prosecute some one paper for libel? Some members of the Board better acquainted than the rest with modern law and ideas, reminded them that the law of libel had been changed. At last a move was actually adopted, that the proposed author should be summoned, and required to come. We will not venture to affirm that a rack was obtained for the museum to have its persuading powers tried. Fortunately an accident prevented the monstrous scheme from being carried out immediately, and the following day (which was Sunday) brought with it wiser counsels. But something must be done to shew that the Board is not to be trifled with with impunity. Elphinstone! the publisher of the *Magazine* being also bookseller to the University, was informed that he could not retain the

Senior Fellow could be expected to enter a shop, in
 object to meet his senses would be that nasty
 the shocking mass of corruption, which had
 its pages. Thus the only sufferer from the ven-
 Board hitherto has been a bookseller. With
 censure of Messrs. Shaw and Carmichael, the
 probably decide before this is published, whe-
 justified by the statutes. They will of course
 allowance for the Board, who as a plain mat-
 dy, could not understand that the phrases "tri-
 blic opinion," "verdict of the press," &c.,
 be taken literally as implying a recognised
 l be a strong temptation to the Archbishop of
 f the visitors, to read them a lecture on the influ-
 on thought. We shall expect to see this notable
 ed in the next edition of his Grace's Logic. As
 wever, have recognised the existence of a public
 ope they will feel bound to respect its decisions.
 rs should decide that writing in the newspapers
 meaning of the statute what will be the result?
 oe observed that the punishment enacted by the
 demically speaking, *capital*, nothing short in fact
 And we may note that if the board believed
 owa to have been guilty of such an offence, they
 d them plainly that the next offence committed
 would be visited with expulsion. Would the
 ublic opinion tolerate such a punishment for such
 The Board in fact have been endeavouring in
 tiquated fashion to follow the example of some
 States, who used occasionally to fortify a law
 apital to propose its repeal. They have chosen an
 dent, and an unlucky occasion for its imitation.
 must utterly fail. There is no need to sign letters in
 , and the Board will gain little by changing avowed
 as publications. They will talk of course of
 scribblers" but with little effect, as long as they
 to quit the anonymous. They must then revive
 ' to compel authors to confess, and this they
 ey are at least prepared to attempt. But more-
 surely plead in any court by word of mouth, as
 ing; and that no less in that court which the
 t recognised than in the Queen's Bench; the

Board must therefore either shut up the fellows in cells to prevent communication with the outer world, or must have a system of espionage, its Dionysius' Ear which will convey to the august presence the murmurs of the whole city.

The nearest approach to a violation of this now no statute which we can call to mind occurred in 1852, before the University Commission, which had some claim to be regarded as a Royal Court, though not judicial, and the authority of which in respect to collegiate matters, the Provost and Senior Fellows expressly declined to acknowledge. Before that court, however, the Provost brought against the whole of non tutor Fellows, the charge of being useless and a "source of discontent."*

The Board might have had some ground for their censuring if they had charged the two fellows with a violation of the clause in the fellow's oath, which binds them to promote the health, peace, dignity and comfort of the Senior Fellows. Would they silly enough to imagine that the dignity and comfort of the Senior Fellows would be promoted by the publication of their college affairs? They know the Board long enough to be aware that publicity is the last thing it desires. Now that the proceedings of former years are being raked up, doubtless the next step will be to demand the regular publication of all proceedings of the Board for the future: alarming foreboding. Why, how could those nice little arrangements of which the Senior Fellows now reap the fruits ever have been adopted if publicity had been necessary? The Board have a vested right to secrecy.† Without it their power is incomplete, even in c

* About two hundred years ago, the Irish Parliament found it necessary to inquire into the conduct of Provost Chappels, and issued a commission for the purpose. The scholars alleged that the statute bound them not to give information, but the Parliament made short work of the objection, by suspending the statute. We mention this partly to show that a commission such as that of 1852, would according to precedent be understood to come within the meaning of the statute.

† This line of argument suggested in jest, has been actually adopted by the Counsel for the Board. If he had read the oath he would see that the clause cited binds every fellow to promote the welfare &c. of the College, and of every member thereof, especially the Provost and Senior Fellows. It therefore binds the Senior Fellows to promote the welfare and dignity of the non tutors or scholars. Have *they* (to borrow Mr. Brewster's polite phrase) forgotten their oath?

the authority of the Board alone is competent to watch would be kept upon their innovations by members of the College, if their proceedings were would of itself serve as a check. There are however, in which the intervention of the visitors is necessary to give validity to the measures of With the help of secrecy this little obstacle is nted. An apparently innocent resolution comes tors or the government, for their assent; it is not y members of the College, for its existence is hem, but of course this silence appears to the crown, to imply consent, and consequently the comes law. It may not be discovered until it is easily remedied. Probably it may only be the wedge, the pressure of which is not felt until of immemorial usage is alleged against those who ing crushed. The remedy is publicity.*

Remarks seem in any degree exaggerated? we readers to recollect that it is only a few years of Trinity College, concocted a statute intended the members of the University who were be k for a constitution. This statute affected the privileges of some two thousand persons, now , besides all future graduates, yet not a hint of , much less of its contents, was conveyed to any ns or to their parliamentary representatives. It quite accidentally by one of the fellows, as our member, in the printing office, where it had lain dergoing corrections from time to time for two nally obtained the Royal sanction, without an ing offered to any member of the University to discuss its merits, or to suggest amendment.

worth while to notice the argument put forward Board, that the candour with which they offered on to the Royal Commissioners proves that they do publicity, and contrasts favorably with the Univer- and Cambridge. Now many of the Colleges in these give full information to the Commissioners; and ased did so on the ground that they were private forbidden by their founder's statutes to acknowledge ers authority. Trinity College, Dublin, is a royal erned by royal statutes, and wholly subject to the to refuse information asked by the founder would

No; that would interfere with the object of the Board was, seeing that the University was likely to obtain a constitution, to secure for themselves alone the framing it, and thereby of neutralizing by subtle clause apparent privileges which might be granted. The policy which resulted from this notable policy, was criticized by the clearness and exactness familiar to all of board-room literature. As to the grammar one should like to know whether the Civil Service Commission would consider a man qualified to be secretary to an in board, who after two years devoted to preparation for exercise, should write of "all such power as to the Fellows and Scholars, have been given granted or possessed. But there is a more serious fault. In the opinion of a lawyer, the letters patent, if understood in the only sense the words naturally can bear, would be of necessity *void*. The words must be taken in a non-natural sense if they are to have any force at all. In this a device intended to familiarize the Dublin Students with "non-natural construction? But in whatever sense the words are taken the letters patent, according to high legal authority, cannot accomplish what they were intended to do, but something different, and what they have done has been executed in a manner as to leave unsettled the most important points of detail. To complete the insolence (we cannot say less) of this proceeding of the Board the letters patent obtained were not communicated to those concerned; say the Junior Fellows of Trinity College were favored with a copy, but the members of the University Senate or those entitled to become such, were left in ignorance of the matter affecting them.

Another instance less noticed is the Queen's letter offering giving compensation for renewal fines. It is probable that renewal fines were divided by the Provost and senior fellows at an early period; the fact is, the amount was formerly small to cause any dispute, and moreover, from the secret of the Board, no one else could know what estates were leased and what fines were received. We cannot discover in the Statutes any justification for this distribution, other than the one that it is not prohibited. The Statutes provide "that the intention of increasing the salaries, may be brought into effect," that in all College leases, "the Sta-

h cases made and provided be fully observed, one half of the annual value be reserved as rent. The Statute of Charles I., here referred to was enacted with reference to colleges, hospitals, ecclesiastical corporations, and the intention is expressly stated to be, to prevent the revenues of such corporations from being anticipated, for example, a bishop from leasing the see in a manner as to leave to his successor only an annual rent. It was not implied so far as we can learn that governors of hospitals, or of colleges, had the power of appropriating the fines to their own private use. If the intention expressed would have been, to prevent sufficient revenue for the general purposes of the corporations. And the very same observation applicable to the intention expressed in the college statute, which is to prevent a future increase, and to prevent the Senior Fellows absorbing the entire of the College revenues. We may naturally ask, how is it in other foundations. At Cambridge, which in many respects resembles Trinity College, Dublin, the fines are divided according to a proportion among all the fellows. In Brasenose, the Senior fellows * divide the fines, but the commission at they do not consider the arrangement justified. The Dublin statutes make no special provision for fines, but they provide that if the revenues should admit of an increase in the salaries the same proportion should be preserved. The clause determines the distribution of the fines, and the rents, let the reader judge. However, that may be put the matter, as they supposed, beyond dispute. Obtaining in 1851, (*while the University Commission was sitting in England*,) a Queen's letter, granting £1000 annuum each in lieu of the fines which they were to contribute to the common chest. Of course, nobody stepped forward to the Government, Let not the question of the distribution of the fines, be prejudiced by the Commission,† for the whole matter was arranged

worth notice that the Senior Fellows of Brasenose, one of them, actually junior in College standing to the Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, U.D.

we have not seen the letters patent, but we suppose they do not prejudice the previous question.

privately. Now we do not want to have this part of Senior Fellows' revenue disturbed; they ought to have a pretty good salary, and this is now the most unobjectionable part of their income. But there are one or two points which we would direct attention to; first, we have here a man's confession, that the revenues of the College have admitted a very large increase in the original statutable salaries; but a violation of the statute, that increase has been, since 1793, wholly given to the Senior Fellows. Their fixed income increased nine fold since that date, while that of all other officers in the College has remained the same. That increase, however, does not by any means represent the augmentation of their whole income. There are sundry other sources of revenue not yet sanctioned by Royal Letter. There are Degree Fees, of which a good deal has been heard lately. There are the Decremments, under which head the Senior Fellows receive an amount which, doubtless to suggest insignificance, they reduce in their answer to the Commissioners to a weekly sum. Each Senior Fellow, say they, is worth three farthings a week by each pensioner. They might, we would think, have done the thing respectably when they were about it, and made it a penny a week, with the customary addition of turf. Then there is an additional fee paid to each Senior Fellow in turn as Senior Lecturer, and passing over other minor fees, there is lastly, an income tax of five per cent on the whole College revenues paid to each Senior Fellow in turn, as Receiver's Fees. All these fees are alike unsupported by the statutes, all alike were introduced, no one knows when, and all were condemned by the Commissioners. How soon they may please the Board to obtain a royal letter, granting them a fixed annual compensation in lieu of these fees, we cannot tell; perhaps they have done so already. We rather think, however, that the publicity which has been given to College affairs lately, will interfere with any comfortable settlement of this kind. A royal letter will hardly be granted, without some little inquiry; and if the compensation for renewal fees had not been obtained by an able stroke of policy, before the Dublin Commission sat, it is probable that it would not have been tacitly submitted to, without some stipulation as to other items to which we have referred.

We have observed that the period at which these renewal fees were introduced, is unknown, but unless we are mistaken

out at least, a limit, and not only so, but the probably led to the adoption of these innovations. As accessible to the public are but few, so that to pick out and follow up the slightest traces, we were investigating the early history of Rome. We may, however, go back much more than a century. We remind the reader of the clauses in the Caroline Charter, that when the College revenues should be augmented the salaries of fellows, &c., should be in the same proportion as was thereby assigned; the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and Visitors, however, to make such augmentation. Now the first recorded instance to which the Prince of Wales, as Chancellor, alluded, was in 1721. We should expect, therefore, that the salaries cited in his letter as then existing, should be in the same proportion at least, in the same proportion as those enacted in 1609, or else that allusion should be made to some other augmentation. Not so: a reader of the letter would naturally conclude that it contained the very first augmentation, and that the salaries were those originally fixed. In comparison, we find that at some previous period, an augmentation taken place doubtless by decree of the Board, in which the salaries of the Fellows now appear to be the same as those of the native scholars were not increased. For, the salary of the Senior Lecturer had now become one-third of its original amount, while that of the Sub-Lecturer, equal to it, had been only doubled. The letter augments all these salaries in such a manner as to restore exactly (except in the case of the Provost,) the original proportion.* In order to do this, it was necessary to increase the salaries here; twenty-three pounds, six shillings, and six pence there; twenty-five shillings to a third, and this shews a desire to restore the old proportion, though this intention is not stated. This rather looks as if the old proportion had been violated before, but that it was to be remedied by the mischief quietly, than to take any notice of it. But who took the pains to have it remedied?

salaries of the officers had been doubled, except the Senior Lecturer, and the of Deans, which had been quadrupled; of the Fellows, tripled; of the scholars, not natives, doubled a-half times. The letter of the Prince of Wales, restores five times the original amount.

In the first place the scholars were the party chiefly aggrieved but without help from those in authority, they could do little. The Senior Fellows were not likely to give them this help of their own mere motion. But in the second place the Provost, Dr. Baldwin, then but recently (four years before) appointed, and his character is better known than that of almost any other Provost of former times. He is known to have been constantly in opposition to the Senior Fellows; he nominated Fellows more than once, and scholars once, against the will of the majority of the Board; and on one occasion even procured the expulsion of a Senior Fellow. This Provost, Baldwin, is traditionally reported to have been a kind governor to the scholars and students generally, and of his popularity with them, after a period now referred to, we have a lasting proof in his portrait which to-day hangs in the dining-hall; and which was procured "by voluntary subscription of the scholars as a mark of respect;" such an honor was never paid to any other Provost, and we think it goes far to prove that to him the scholars were indebted for the recognition and assertion of their claims.

The next and last augmentation took place in 1758, shortly after the death of Dr. Baldwin, and only a few months previous to his death. He fixed the salaries of the Senior Fellows at £100, of the Juniors at £40, and of the Native Scholars at £20. Although the value of money has fallen considerably since that date, the nominal salaries remain the same. It was probably after this time that the method of augmentation by augmentation was adopted, for it does not seem probable that any attempt would be taken to increase the Bursar's salary from twenty-five pounds, if he were in receipt of five per cent of the College Revenues, or that a paltry sum of four pounds would be added to the salary of the Senior Lecturer, if the latter formed an insignificant part of his income. But as long as the Junior Fellows were Tutors, deriving the greatest part of their income from the fees of their pupils, there was no sufficient motive for objecting to the fees which the board might require to exact for the improvement of their own incomes. The scholars in fact were then the only party who had reason to complain, and that solely on the grounds which we shall presently mention. The foundation of Non-Tutor fellowships entered this. On the impolicy of that act we shall not dwell. But we may observe that the object at which it aimed was itself sufficient to condemn it. That object we are informed

the junior men by the pressure of poverty to accept livings, and thus to ensure a succession of vacancies; means of securing the acceptance of livings could be sectional; and supposing it to succeed the only effect in the body of Fellows would be in the tail, the upper members being as sluggish as ever. It is not as if those who have adopted would have been as diminished by the inequalities of a Fellow's income in the difficulty through which he passes. At present every ten years a Fellow's life actually increases considerably the interest in his Fellowship, the nearer approach to the end prizes much more than counterbalancing the diminution of life. On the contrary the value of any salary and salary is of course continually lessened, and in action the Fellows become more and more indolent, the higher they rise in the list. Moreover, the number is in fact increasing, and therefore we may expect a larger number of vacancies in future, and a still larger number (on an average of many years) of Non-Tutors. These will of course devote their energies to some other occupation, and the best years of their lives are lost to the College. They cannot apply themselves to original research such as would make them, as they are intended to become, distinguished ornaments of the University; if some reform is not effected the existence of the College will be ruined. The six steps of the Non-Tutor will pass, will ruin the efficiency of the College, is no exaggerated statement; we are sure of this, and the reader reflects upon it the more will he be struck by a monstrous arrangement should be allowed to exist of which is in short to prevent the College deriving any benefit from ten or more of the best years of the life of a Fellow. Even this does not represent the whole of the difficulty. It must be remembered that teachers are required in the College for the Fellowship examination, but when a student is required to prepare himself for these? While his time is occupied in making a livelihood by the knowledge he has already acquired, and when he is at middle-age, is he then in favourable circumstances for commencing the study of a new subject? Is he able to commence at that late period, to apply himself to the subjects of which he is already master?

Those who are most experienced in the work of private tuition be best able to answer. Who can say what would be the result of a contrary system, one which would enable every fellow to spend a year or two following his election, to improve himself by foreign travel (as Bishop Berkeley did), or by the study of some special branch for which he might have some taste? It is needless to present to dwell further on this point. The Scholars' cause demands a brief notice.

The case of the scholars as we would put it, is brief. It is desirable that a clever and industrious young man should be able to obtain for himself a maintenance at the College during his preparation for the business of his profession; if not during the whole of his undergraduate course. It is not desirable that by a single success early in his career he should secure such a maintenance for any lengthened period, as this would in most cases tend only to encourage indolence ever after. The latter proposition will not, we presume be denied; with respect to the former it is sufficient to observe, that in every College in the realm, except Trinity College, an able student may by his own exertion in the pursuit of his ordinary collegiate studies, obtain an income sufficient at least to render resort to school teaching or the like unnecessary. In Trinity College, Dublin, a scholar on the foundation of one of the royal schools may do the like; but students from other schools, however industrious or accomplished, are not rewarded by the College with a public maintenance. We shall not argue that philosophically speaking it is desirable, especially in a poor country like this, that ample provision should be made for such students. We are mistaken if we think country will not think itself entitled to demand it.

But for those few persons who approve of leaving their children to their fate, they are we would observe, that other Colleges, as we have shown, do make such provision; and multitudes of students who are not rich, but give good promise of future distinction will be infallibly attracted to those Colleges where where their merit they have is sure to be recognised, not by a piece of parchment but by the more satisfactory honor of one of the scholarships, worth from five to one hundred pounds a year, which will both encourage and enable them to apply themselves to their studies with increased diligence, so that they will throw lustre on their College, and thus give it a new attraction for future students. This is the manner in which the ex-

promotes the prosperity, and, therefore, again enues of the College which is liberal enough. It is a most short-sighted policy which cuts in a great place of education, such as Trinity is said, the present scholarships are good ass of men who obtain them, considering the nents which the examination requires. A ght as reasonably decline to introduce an im- to the market on the ground that the existing equivalent to the price paid for it, and satisfied ut he knows that a better article may com- ice and bring a better custom to his own. And one would think it equally plain that the mpetition must be determined by the nature will not be long before the Fellowship Ex- es an illustration of this obvious principle. Board in 1843, but increased competition is ecated ; a greater number of students than at drawn off from their ordinary studies to read and would be seriously injured thereby. We mazed at this statement proceeding from the lege. Reading for scholarships has positively, injurious effect on the education of the students, follows that the only benefit to the successful small pecuniary emolument. If this be true, minations for College prizes are swept away the accordance with the second principle mentioned t would be very unwise to raise all the seventy value much larger than the present. If the native and other scholars had been retained, h classes being increased, if not exactly in portion as provided by the statute, yet so as nsiderable advantage to the native scholar, profitable places might very well be disposed to them those scholars who were most distin- Degree Examination. This distinction was l, in 1828 ; but there is no reason why some ot now be adopted which would have a similar necessary to found new Scholarships, it is y out the principles laid down in the Statutes make thirty of the existing Scholarships of e than the rest. Scholars who distinguished

Dublin, in similar circumstances, is worth exactly £40. The fellowship in Dublin is made valuable only when combined with a Tutorship. And as most of the fellows are Tutors, it is common to compare the income of a Tutor in Dublin with that of a non-resident fellow without duties elsewhere. The fact is, that the Tutors in Cambridge have very large incomes in some of the Colleges, we believe, £800 or £1000.

Now see what a prospect is open before a man of ability in one of these Universities; from the very year of his matriculation, he may obtain as the reward of his diligence and application, prizes amounting to over £100 a-year; this enables him to apply without interruption to his University studies. He obtains, perhaps in addition to his College prizes, a University Scholarship worth £75 a-year; he distinguishes himself in degree examinations, and obtains a further increase of income besides the certainty of election without further examination to a Fellowship worth from £200 a-year upwards. If he chooses to devote himself to any professional occupation he is unfettered by any Collegiate restrictions; if on the contrary he prefers remaining within his College, he has no duties to interfere with his pursuit of literary studies, or if he chooses to increase his income, he may do so by a Tutorship, for example, if he should be appointed to it giving him a very large income indeed. And lastly there is a large number of less valuable livings,* of which he has, in his rotation, a share. He may be elected Head of his College, then he is nearly as many heads in Oxford as Junior Fellows in Dublin, or University Professor; in short a man of ability has but little to blame if he is not in a position to choose the occupation most congenial to him.

Contrast with this the circumstance of the Fellowship in Dublin, the most distinguished man of his year nevertheless has never been provided by his *alma mater* with a sufficient maintenance, pursuing his studies under difficulties, obliged perhaps to take pupils by day, and read for Fellowship by night, ultimately, perhaps, after years of toil, disappointed in his aim, not for want of merit, but because no vacant

* Besides the livings in the patronage of the College, those in the neighbourhood of Oxford and Cambridge, are usually as a matter of courtesy supplied from men of distinction in the respective Universities.

n, failing, when it is too late to commence
different profession, and then perhaps settling
at in a school. Or if he does succeed finding
several years in a position in which he feels
amped, and his efforts for self-improvement
tion which precludes him from taking profes-
ent out of College, and yet does not provide
ar occupation within, at least not on terms
ader it prudent for him to accept it. If the
rship is diminishing and the opportunities of ob-
ing rarer, while the path to success in all other
ing made more open to men of ability, we may,
er's magic glass, see the future Fellows gra-
Les Infiniment Petits.

ART. VII.—STEPHEN COPPINGER.

Within the last five months have passed away three soldiers in the ranks of the old Catholic Association organised by the great leader, O'Connell, fought and glorious battle of civil and religious liberty. Without to emulate the diamond wit and showy flowers of Sheil, the vehement eloquence of "Honest Jack Lawless," the of Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, Eneas M'Donell, and Coppinger, formed at one time an important engine of trated oratorical strength which accomplished some remarkable cases of political conversion, and no doubt considerable effect in breaking down the hostile policy of the rulers.

In the midst of life, and of health, and of happiness are in death. On Friday, May 23th, we met Mr. Coppinger and while the sensations of heart and hand, produced a hearty "shake" with which he usually greeted his friends still vibrating, we heard of his sadly sudden death. Coppinger departed this life on Saturday morning, May 24th.

As Coppinger may be regarded as the last of an illustrious national band, we may, perhaps, be permitted to indulge in a few words of tribute to his memory.

Born in 1795, of an old and respectable family in County Cork, of which the patriot prelate, Dr. Cloyne, was a member, Mr. Coppinger received the advantages of a sound early education, and a subsequently successful course through Trinity College, Dublin. His father, Stephen Coppinger, of Leemount, in the County Cork, perceived some indications of talent in the boy, and spared no pains nor expense in developing it.

Mr. Coppinger was an alumnus of Alma Mater during the struggle between John Wilson Croker and William Conyngham Plunket for the representation of the University; and Coppinger was stored with interesting anecdotes illustrative of that exciting contest. Amongst the number, we have him tell the following. Croker, although a high Tory, advocated the question of Emancipation as warmly as himself; and Dr. Sands, the Provost, (afterwards succeeded by the Bishop of Killaloe and Cashel), a man of liberal and

as to whether he should support Plunket or his
al. A recollection of the very virulent tone of
h on the trial of Robert Emmet, gave Dr.
distaste towards Plunket, and the Provost finally
ring his vote and interest to Croker. Plunket
nours of the operating cause of Dr. Sand's
him, and relying upon his great powers of
asion, he sought and obtained an interview
t in order to explain his conduct on the memo-
ecution in question. "Here," said Plunket,
ment from his pocket, "here is the report of
tim : read it, and test by ocular demonstration,
guage expressed by me upon that occasion has
ly exaggerated." "Sir," replied Sands, "I
hat is enough!"*

8 the plan of the Catholic Association was
O'Connell and Sheil at Glancullen, the resi-
te Christopher Fitzsimon, Esq., Clerk of the
powerful confederation soon assumed a decided
and tone; and amongst its first adherents we
f Stephen Coppinger. He had only a short
been called to the bar—namely, in Hillary
and he well knew that in openly joining what
of the day regarded as a treasonable conven-
ieu to all hope of professional advancement.
s the Right Hon. Anthony Richard Blake, a
ter, had just been appointed to the high office
mbrancer of the Exchequer, an event which
fect in fanning the flame of ambition in the
pecially among the young and ardent members

owever, until the year 1824, that Mr. Coppinger
ent and a fluent speaker at the meetings of the
ation; and from that date until the achieve-
ipation his name is continually met with in the

add that Mr. Charles Phillips, in his interesting
"Curran and his Contemporaries," mentions that
trated with Dr. Sands in language of such force and
he Provost at length relented, and eventually became
devoted partisans. No version of Mr. Coppinger's
subject has ever been published before the present

records of their proceedings. To render the popular organization if possible still more irresistible, O'Connell devoted a series of aggregate and fourteen days meetings which he constantly working in connection with the Catholic Association at the more advanced period of its existence; and this important adjunct Mr. Coppinger always acted as secretary. He also discharged the duties of this office at the principal provincial Catholic meetings of the period, and the following extract from Mr. William John Fitzpatrick's "Annals and Times of Cloncurry" shews:—

"The reader will be amused to see that Lord Cloncurry's 'unalterable conviction' at this period was, that emancipation never could be obtained, nor would it be worth obtaining, from an Irish Parliament. As the following extract from a letter of Mr. Coppinger's to the author is introductory to Lordship's communication, we subjoin it:—'In the Autumn of 1827, a great provincial meeting of the Catholics of Munster was held in Cork, to which I was appointed secretary, and subsequently a grand public dinner at which the present British ambassador at Athens, Mr. Wyse, presided. As secretary, I sent invitations for the meeting and dinner to several Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, Members of the Irish Parliament and others, who were most distinguished for their support of Catholic emancipation; and, foremost among these friends of civil and religious liberty, was the late patriotic and lamented subject of your forthcoming memoir, to whom I addressed a warm invitation, and received in reply the letter which I now enclose.'

LORD CLONCURREY TO S. COPPINGER, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"Lyons, Celbridge, 28th August, 1827."

"DEAR SIR—I am sorry to be so circumstanced that I cannot avail myself of the kind invitation of the Catholic Association of Munster for the 30th inst. Pray make my most grateful acknowledgements to them, and assure them of my unaltered devotion to their cause as founded in justice, and vital and essential to the best interests of my country.

"Ireland can no longer be despised; she can no longer be plundered with impunity of her wealth and her rights. Her voice will be heard, and her cause respected, in every quarter of the globe. How glorious will it be to the Catholics, if, by their efforts, their country shall owe her restored prosperity! if, by getting whatever is personal, they demand their own rights."

ly of what is due to Ireland. Does any man doubt that
 that legislature would long since have emancipated the
 Catholics? Does any man recollect famine, contagion, or death
 in the midst of superabundance, whilst we had to
 parliament, corrupt as it was?*

an enemy to half measures. That they are not only
 valuable but useless is, I am certain, at this moment felt,
 by so by the great statesmen of England, who have
 sacrificed so much to the hope of doing good. Much as
 my Catholic countrymen, I would not have voted for the
 at the price of emancipation; and I am strongly of
 that emancipation never can be obtained, or be worth
 getting, but from an Irish Parliament.

These, my unalterable opinions, have, under every circum-
 stance, given me the comfort of an approving conscience, and
 secured me what I value above all earthly possessions, the
 peace of my countrymen.

I beg leave, my dear sir, to return very many thanks for
 your obliging letter, and remain, with great respect, &c.,
 "CLONCURRY."

Coppinger's speeches read well; but he had too strong
 a talent to render his oratory pleasing. His articulation
 was distinct, and his voice sonorous, which always
 was heard and understood with ease. Before closing
 it may interest some of our readers to quote as a
 specimen of Mr. Coppinger's style and matter, one of his
 speeches at the Catholic Association. We have opened the
Freeman's Journal, for 1828, and merely select the
 one at random. It by no means merits to be regarded as
 Coppinger's best speech, but, most assuredly, it is not his

long and anxious watching on the part of the
 body, for some relaxation of the Penal disabilities
 which they labored, a glimmer of light and hope at
 1828, radiated for an instant the clouded horizon of
 destiny. Many able speeches, and some remarkable
 ones, were made in the Houses of Lords and Commons,

phrase must, we think, include some typographical error.
 "to resist Parliament" be "*a native Parliament*"? And
 no notice of this obvious inaccuracy in the errata of the
 I. Q. R.

and as an indication of the improved tone of the public in England, the *Courier* newspaper, which for two years had labored with virulent and unflinching perseverance against the Catholic cause, of a sudden changed its tone, and sought to qualify what it had so long been saying.

England it will be remembered was, at this time, troubled with the ambitious fury of the Czar.

Mr. Coppinger rose and said :—

“When the official account of the Battle of Waterloo and subsequent surrender of the late Emperor Napoleon, first published in London, the organ of the English Government, the *Courier*, in the insolence of its triumph, vauntingly exclaimed, in the presence of the French officer on seeing Charles the Twelfth dead in the snow before Frederickshall, ‘the play is over, let us go to supper.’ Was this announcement hailed by the Catholics of Ireland with similar feelings of exultation and of joy? No, my Lord, for a good reason; they felt that England was after obtaining a victory, but not a glorious one, for it was a victory over pride, a victory over a people’s liberty; and they felt and foresaw a victory over their own. For thirteen years has the *Courier* been enjoying its blood-stained repast; for thirteen years has it been the oriflame of despotism over the ruins of European liberty. Thirteen years has it been incessantly proclaiming to the people of Ireland that the term of their bondage is to be perpetual; that for them no ray of hope shall ever break in upon the horizon; in a word, that they must for ever lie down in their native land; that hope, which comes to all, shall never reach them, while their only motto must be—

‘*Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.*’

But, my Lord, when the *Courier* thus announced that ‘the play is over,’ it forgot altogether that the *afterpiece* was yet to come. It forgot that although the curtain was dropped for the present, the theatre was still open—it forgot that although the great scene was removed from the stage, other actors may appear upon the scenes—it forgot that there was a spirit and an elasticity of hearts of Irishmen that no pressure could break down, no suffering abate or destroy. (Cheers.) At length the curtain has been raised once more—the note of preparation has been given, and, ere long, we shall doubtless see the different performers in their respective places; nay, the very trumpet of war has already been sounded—the sword is drawn—the Rubicon has been past—and from the Neva to the Guadalquivir, all eyes are now fixed upon the operations of the Russian army. In this state of foreign affairs, the genius of Ireland stands forth, waving her green banner, proclaiming, in accents of joy and congratulation, that the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty has gained another triumph. The vote of the British House of Commons, which, after a protracted debate (if that can, in truth, be called a debate),

all the reasoning, justice, and eloquence, were exclusively on the side of Ireland) has agreed to take our sufferings into consideration. (Hear.) To celebrate, as it were this triumph in a manner worthy of a great people, have we assembled upon the present occasion, and although, my Lord, I am not among the number of those who indulge in any very sanguine hopes of success in the present session—although I cannot bring myself to think that the citidal of bigotry and corruption will at once surrender, merely because we have succeeded in carrying one of the outworks, yet I am not the less rejoiced that the first assault has been successful; and, trusting in the swelling tide of events, aided by the eternal and immutable justice of our cause, I am convinced the day is not far distant when Ireland must be free. (Cheers.) Indeed it is impossible to read the different speeches reported to have been made during the discussion on Sir Francis Burdett's motion, without feeling satisfied of this, and at once perceiving the high and commanding position on which we now stand, and from which, to use a metaphor of the late Lord Castlereagh, unless 'we turn our backs upon ourselves'—unless we desert our posts, or meanly make a surrender or compromise of one iota of our rights, not all the power of our enemies will be able effectually to dislodge us. Nothing could be more irresistible or convincing than the eloquent and powerful reasoning of our advocates; nothing more flimsy or miserable than the sophistry employed against us; and here, of course, I am only speaking of what appears in the London newspapers—as we are presumed not to be acquainted with what passes in the honourable House, and it would be well for the fame of some of its members, if this fiction of law was well founded in point of fact. The campaign was opened against us the first night by the English Solicitor General, Sir Nicholas Tyndal, with no better supporter to sustain him than the member for this City, or, more correctly speaking, the representative of all that is illiberal in Dublin, Mr. George Ogle Moore, '*pur nobile fratrum*,' twin brothers in eloquence and liberality of sentiment. But, perhaps we should not be surprised at the conduct on this occasion of Sir Nicholas Tyndal, for, having himself ratted to each successive Administration that was formed during the last twelve months, he concluded he could not better atone in certain quarters for his repeated desertion of his friends and colleagues, than by pronouncing a tirade against Catholic Emancipation. But his special pleading about the Union and the Treaty of Limerick, was so completely blown into the air by the stubborn facts, so eloquently and forcibly put forward by the Knight of Kerry, that it would be a waste of time to say a single word upon the subject, and, as to poor Mr. Ogle Moore, whom some wag in the *Evening Mail* describes as a 'leading speaker' in the House of Commons, '*lucus a non lucendo*,' his speech was only remarkable for the colours in which he held forth the late King, George the Third; for he assures us that his Majesty consented to the Union in the hope that it would put an extinguisher for ever upon the prospects of the Catholics, although, at the very same time, his Minister was secretly pointing to it as the *avant courier* of Catholic Emancipation; so that Mr. Moore was holding up George the Third,

not merely as a stupid bigot, but also as a finished hypocrite—this I suppose he would call backing his friends.

The enemies of Catholic Ireland were not more successful in their plan of operations on the second night of the debate than they had been on the first; for, although Sir Robert Inglis, and Mr. F. Foster, true to his unvarying principles of intolerance as the matter came to the pole, endeavoured to make a rally, they were successively driven from all their positions, and compelled to quit the field completely comfited and defeated. (Hear, hear.) Even all the artillery of reasoning that Mr. Peel himself could bring to bear upon the question made no better impression upon the house, although he was determined as ever in his oppositions to our claims.*

The third night of the debate exhibited our opponents in no better plight than either of the preceding ones had left them; and although the Attorney-General, Sir Charles Wetherell, attempted to cover the retreat of the no-popery combatants the roars of continued laughter with which he is reported to have been received, prove the little effect set upon his arguments or assertions. But, to turn to a more pleasing theme—'look on this picture, and on that'—how gratifying it is to reflect upon that brilliant array of talent that was so generously arrayed on the side of civil and religious liberty, and which triumphantly sustained a well fought day. (Hear.) Sir Francis Burdett, in the way in a powerful and impressive speech, judiciously bearing in mind that the first onset was half the battle; and ably was he supported by the Knight of Kerry, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Doherty,† whose speech Mr. Brougham describes as a masterly induction; by Lord Leveson Gower,‡ Mr. Lamb,§ Mr. Charles G. Brownlow¶—by such men as a Horton, and a North, a W. and a Brougham, not forgetting the spirited eloquence of a Sturges, the honest and powerful arguments of that real representative of Dublin, Mr. Grattan (loud cheers)—the reasoning of a Huskisson, the youthful liberality of an Ennismore, or the masterly and rivalled eloquence of a Mackintosh (cheers), whose vast and comprehensive mind, richly stored with philosophic lore, brings to subject all the penetration and foresight of a statesman; whatever he touches, he is sure to delight and instruct all around him. (Hear.)

With such a host of talent on our side, were the question of Emancipation to be decided by fair reasoning, justice, and argument, it must have been at once carried in our favour by an overwhelming

* It is a remarkable but notorious fact that in exactly a year after that date he succumbed to the thunder of the Catholic claims.

† The late Chief Justice Doherty, whom O'Connell so often abused and reviled as "Long Jack Doherty from Borrisokane." Though a staunch advocate for Emancipation Mr. Doherty was one of O'Connell's most formidable and implacable political foes.

‡ The late Earl of Ellesmere.

§ Afterwards Lord Melbourne.

¶ Now Lord Glenelg.

¶ The late Lord Lurgan.

majority ; but, such is the hostility still existing against us, such the infatuation of our opponents, that the motion of Sir Francis Burdett, which was merely to take our sufferings into consideration, was only carried by a majority of six—and, even this majority, small in itself as it was, I have no doubt, on my own mind, was caused by the intelligence which arrived in London the morning of the deviation, and which was nothing less than a declaration of war against Turkey by the Emperor of Russia. (Hear.) That declaration, although long expected, came like a heavy blow upon the English cabinet—it placed England in a dilemma out of which she will find it difficult, if not impracticable, to escape at least with honour or security to herself. Well may the battle of Navarino be described as an ‘untoward event,’ in the King’s speech to Parliament, drawn up by his Grace of Wellington ; for ‘untoward’ it certainly was in the eyes of those who hoped to be able to perpetuate the degradation and slavery of Catholic Ireland. (Hear.) But, my Lord, it was something more ; the first cannon fired on that glorious day by the gallant Codrington, blew for ever into the air the flimsy structure of the ‘Holy Alliance ;’ it threw the game which she so long desired completely into the hands of Russia ; it gave an opening to the young and ambitious Nicholas to carry into execution the favourite project of aggrandisement, so long cherished by the great Catherine the Second. And who is there so short sighted as to suppose that he will now stop short in the middle of his course—that he will be satisfied with anything short of the possession of Constantinople—that he will allow the crescent to wave in triumph over its four hundred mosques—in a word, that he will be so weak as to enter into a treaty with the Porte, which declares that it only enters into treaties in order, like *other* countries, to break them when it has the power ? England, he well knows, is too crippled in her finances, too broken in her internal resources, to be able to offer him any effectual opposition. The time is gone by when she might say, ‘thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.’ Remonstrate and complain she may ; but, beyond this the Russian Emperor may exclaim to her Ministers, ‘*ulterius tentare nolo*’—by the by, my Lord, these vetos are sometimes very dangerous things to meddle with. (Hear.) But this is not all—for, not content with the subjugation of Russia, the ambitious Nicholas, flushed with the European conquest, may be induced to turn his eyes from the Bosphorus to the Ganges ; and, perhaps, ere long, England, stripped of her oriental dominions, the spell of that power which she long exercised over seventy millions of Asiatic subjects being broken and dissolved for ever, she may at length see verified in the person of the Russian Emperor, the words which the Roman poet applied to another Emperor, the great Augustus—

—“*Super et Garamantos, et Indos,*

Proferet imperium.”

Nor is the prospect, my Lord, for England more cheering and encouraging in the West ; Canada is full of discontent, is already ripe for revolt, and only pants for an opportunity to be admitted under the fostering wings of the Republican Eagle. (Hear.) To what, then, has England to look to as her last resource ; to sustain and

stand by her in the hour of difficulty and of danger which has come upon her? To Catholic Ireland, and to Catholic Ireland alone. How may she secure her fidelity and support, even in the eleventh hour? Simply and solely, my Lord, by an act of justice, by granting unqualified and unconditional emancipation. This, and nothing short of this, can, or, I trust, ever well satisfy the content the Catholic people of Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Since the first moment of their connection with England, the hour of difficulty and distress has been to them the only one of hope and relief. The first relaxations of the penal code, 1778, followed the glorious struggle that terminated in the triumph of American independence; while it is well known that the concessions of 1801 were only extorted through the fears of the French revolution. England has not less reason to indulge in fears at the present moment than at either of the periods to which I have referred, unless her councils are really guided by 'worse than madness.' Will listen, before it is perhaps too late, to the voice of Ireland, which exclaims to her, in these emphatic words, 'be just and not.' (Cheers.) But whether success or defeat shall now attend the people of Ireland have one consolation to sustain them: they have borne persecution for centuries; they have clung to their ancient and venerable religion with a desperate fidelity, 'through evil as well as through good report.' This religion is doubly dear to them, as being the only remaining monument of their former greatness and prosperity. Let no considerations induce them to forsake what the sword and gibbet could not destroy, filched away from them by the wolf in sheep's clothing. And while the second duty of every true Irishman is to achieve the liberty of his country, let him not forget that the first and most sacred obligation imposed upon him from above, is to preserve and maintain inviolate the purity and independence of his religion.—Mr. Coppinger sat down amid loud continued cheering.

O'Connell felt it necessary as leader of the great organization to assume at the National Council, perhaps more the demeanour of a dictator than was calculated to make him a favorite with the minor labourers in the cause. He was split with Jack Lawless, Eneas McDonnell, Lord Clonmell, and in the subsequent agitation for Repeal, with Smith O'Meara, and others. Coppinger appears to have been one of those who assumed an independent attitude whether right or wrong, we shall not now pause to discuss. We have heard him say that in 1827, O'Connell requested him to give up the "Washington Motion," in the Catholic Association—a motion upon which Coppinger had set his heart, and already given notice. "In fact," said the great Tribune, "His Excellency Lord Wellesley particularly desires that you should; and you must persist, Lord Killeen, Sir Edward Bellew, and the whole

cracy will desert us." Coppinger argued the O'Connell, but was unable to convince him. Overcome however by antagonism so influential, he introduced the "Washington Motion," and prefaced it by a very short speech.

Differences of opinion as to policy occurred between O'Connell and Coppinger, until at last they burst into the question of Catholic burial grounds. Coppinger to some points insisted upon by O'Connell, who defended himself by sallies of that retaliative vituperation for which that man was remarkable. "Boys," he said, addressing the assembly, "which was plentifully sprinkled with coal did you ever see such an ugly, or a more hungry man? Stingy Stephen refuses to give us the light of the sun—*oh wirrasthrue*." And, following up this attack, O'Connell subsequently nick-named him "the Rueful Countenance."

When he heard Mr. Coppinger say that immediately after the act of emancipation, O'Connell met him and exclaimed, "Coppinger you see I have emancipated you." Coppinger replied half in joke, and half in earnest, "that notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary in obtaining the blessings of emancipation."

Coppinger was stored with anecdotes of an exclusive nature, and the writer of this paper thought it worth while, in the course of his narrative, to note a few of his conversations. Speaking of the late Bishop of Charleston, he said that he possessed a greater fluency in writing than almost any man of his age. He had been editor of an influential Cork paper, and did it with great patriotic spirit, and ability. The Bishop feared his influence,—which was decidedly great,—and a memorial signed by nearly all the Bishops of Ireland was sent to Rome praying His Holiness to appoint him to some vacant foreign See. Some of the episcopate seemed to fear that on the death of the Bishops of Cloyne, Dr. England might be elected to the dignity, true or false he was suspected to have been tinged by revolutionary principles. Dr. Coppinger, the venerable Bishop of Cloyne, entertained a great regard for Dr. England, as well as a hearty appreciation of his talents, and signed the memorial to Rome. This fact was

communicated to the subject of this paper by Dr. Coppin himself.*

The following anecdote throws some light on the precipitate conversion of the Duke of Wellington to the Catholic cause in 1828, which a short time previously he had vowed to oppose to the death. The Right Rev. Dr. England, Bishop

* Mr. Fagan, M.P., in his *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*, thus refers to Dr. England:—

"He was a man of great powers of mind, amazing intellectual energy; possessing, too, a masculine eloquence, and a stern, unflinching determination, well suited to a popular leader. He had all the qualities that contribute to the influence, and are necessary to the success of an agitator. No literary labour was too great for him; no position was too powerful. He was, from the first, a decided Vetoist. Indeed, we may affirm, he was the guiding genius of the anti-Quarantotti movement. He was, at the time we write of, Editor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, an honest, well-conducted paper, the downfall of which is a lasting stigma on the patriotism of the South. He worked up the movement against the local Catholic Board; and at last forced the members to publish their proceedings. Why was it Ireland afterwards lost the services of that distinguished man? Why was his lot ultimately cast in a foreign land—in the Southern States of Republican America, where his genius butted against, amidst a race of uncivilized slave-owners? He sacrificed himself to the service of religion; but would he not have rendered more service as a Prelate, in his native land, co-operating with the able and exalted men as Doctor Doyle, in improving the condition of the people, and making Catholicity respected even by its enemies? The endowments of a mind like his, were partly lost in the barbarous sphere of Charleston, and those Southern States of America, of which he became Bishop. The boundless region of the Far West, presented opportunities too few for the exercise of those accomplishments and gifts, with which he was enriched. His mission might be propagated by intellectual inferior agencies. Among the busy, money-loving, pre-occupied, and scattered sojourners of those wild, half-settled territories, one mind, however masculine and energetic, could accomplish little. His profound learning—his theological acquirements fell upon a barren soil—though, as the result proved, from their intrinsic vigour, they took root and flourished."

It was, therefore, always a source of deep regret, in after years, that under those circumstances, we believe of a private nature suggested his appointment to the Episcopacy in America.—He who broke down the *veto* spirit in Cork, would have rendered invaluable services in the various subsequent struggles for civil liberty, and social and political amelioration. For his was a master mind; and it was on such a stage, as society in Ireland afforded, that his noble and various attributes would have found material and room for action."

North Carolina, informed Stephen Coppinger of Dr. Miley, and "honest Jack Lawless," who personally organized, in 1828, a force of men, which, headed by General Montgomery, Irish Refugee, was intended for the invasion of Catholic Emancipation continued to have been. Coppinger added that the Right Hon. Sir T. the *History of the Catholic Association*, was exact; and made an indirect allusion to it in that work, that the Duke of Wellington was in full of the Bishop of Carolina's scheme; and to its success, and not to the dread of internal civil war, it succumbed. "This is a very important historical fact," Mr. Coppinger, "and not at all known. I myself knew very little about it, although I did; but the rumour was always hushed up as to O'Connell's influence and prestige as the Catholic Ireland."

Dr. England to have been the work of O'Connell. * * * *

Thomas Wyse, he said that he rattled over the Catholic Association with too much rapidity to do justice to the work. Report went abroad that Maurice O'Connell was writing it, and would have given Wyse and Purcell O'Gorman respectively the start of him. O'Gorman obtained the papers of the Association, and carried home with him, without leave or license, the papers necessary for the completion of such a work. But he was naturally inattentive until his death, near thirty years ago. His work has still to be written. Mr. Wyse corresponded with Coppinger during the progress of his work, and sent him a presentation copy. Mr. Coppinger noted his criticisms, and enclosed them to Wyse, who courted the letter, by saying that he valued them for the praise he had received from the public press. Mr. Wyse was always an intense admirer of the first Napoleon, and occasionally wore a locket, in which some of the medals he had been tenderly preserved. Mr. Coppinger, in his scolding, "*Et tu Brute*," when he read in Mr. Wyse's attack on Buonaparte. Wyse, it will be remembered, was connected by marriage with the Buonaparte family. He was meeting in Dublin, in honor of the Bard of Erin, in very complimentary terms to Sheil. Sheil

got upon his legs soon after, and made a very brilliant rhetorical speech, but carefully avoided all allusion to Moore. Most persons present thought it had an odd appearance. "I did with you," said Coppinger, "Moore might speak of Sheil, Sheil could not afford to speak of Moore."

Some of the rising generation who have seen the great colossal statue to Moore, in College-street, bent and stooped the top-heavy frame of an enormous old man, may have been spoiled with a false notion of Moore's real altitude, which point of fact was exceedingly diminutive. Coppinger has been invited to an evening party, at Moore's mother's in Abbot-street, sat down on a low footstool to converse with "Bea" and her caro sposo. Moore was standing, and his face, though in close proximity, was barely on a level with Coppinger's.

Coppinger had some amusing Bar anecdotes, of which he had personal knowledge. Everybody is tired hearing of jokes of Lord Norbury; but Standish O'Grady, afterwards Duke of Guillemore, was quite as much a wit. A well-known Dublin attorney, having practised in early life in the police courts contracted, to some extent, the phraseology usually heard before—what a London cockney would designate, "Bea." Sometime about the year 1820, he became engaged in a case tried before Chief Baron O'Grady, in the Court of Exchequer, and addressed the Bench as "your worship," repeatedly during the day. The Chief first smiled at the misnomer, but afterwards waxed testy, and in a burst of irritation exclaimed, "Sir, you have been *worshipping* me all day." The attorney bowed, and sat down, but having occasion again to address the Bench, observed, "My Lord Chief Baron, if I might presume," "Sir," roared O'Grady, cutting him quite short, "You have been presuming since 11 this morning."

O'Grady once asked Jack Ryan, a well-known solicitor, to dine with him. Ryan paid very marked attention to the claret. At length the Chief asked him if he would like punch. "No thank you Chief," responded Ryan, "being particular, I'll stick to the claret."

But enough of the cap and bells. Some short obituary notices of Mr. Coppinger have recently appeared in the newspapers, the tone of which cannot but be gratifying to his friends and admirers. The *Dublin Evening Post* said:—

"Mr. Coppinger was one of the steadiest labourers in the national movement for religious freedom; and to the last hour of his life, he was sincere, consistent, and really patriotic."

n's Journal said :—

ary to the Catholics of the great County of Cork, considerable distinction by the ability and the energy worked the Catholic question in that fine county. e unknown in the greater meetings on Burgh Quay, ed a prominent position among the more distinguished Since then, however, Mr. Coppinger withdrew and lived quietly, and unostentatiously, a simple en content to discharge less stormy duties than those lent to a more youthful period of his life. He had anecdote respecting the public men with whom he n early life, and by his information could supply e chain of events which have been unchronicled by conversant with that interesting period of our

ger was an accomplished letter-writer : but it within the objects of this paper to publish any his correspondence. There is one letter, how- not long before Mr. Coppinger's death, which, touching language to a domestic calamity that erated his end, and embittered his last moments, nteresting to subjoin. The letter is addressed f "*The Life, Times and Contemporaries of Lord*

58, *Amiens-street, Dublin.*

Wednesday.

Sir,—I was favored at a late hour last night t kind and esteemed letter of condolence on the loved child, conveying in terms at once feeling, and such *only* as could flow from the pen of *one* s are so universally prized, the expression of that ch you, and Mrs. Fitzpatrick so tenderly en- afflicting bereavement it has pleased Providence h. For this sympathy I feel, be assured, as t to do, deeply, and sensibly grateful. That ink of me at such a moment, when the angel of ck my darling child, who was the *pride* of my ose cherished memory can never be effaced from heart, is such a proof of kindness, that I know press my acknowledgements sufficiently. I beg a that I sincerely appreciate this generous uveyed in words at once so touching and so

true, and at the same time, so calculated to impart balm of consolation in the hour of affliction. It was of trice fever of fourteen days duration my sweet child died for the last two or three days, we had but slender hope of her recovery.

"Requesting you will present my sincerest regards to your good lady, and again thanking you for your very kind sympathy."

I remain with grateful esteem,

My Dear Sir,

Ever yours most faithfully

STEPHEN COPPINGER

To William John Fitzpatrick, Esq.,
Stillorgan."

Mr. Coppinger is reported by the *Freeman* as having been amongst those who paid the last tribute of respect to the remains of Mr. John O'Connell at Glasnevin Cemetery on Friday, May 28th. On the same day he attended the meeting of the Prospect and Golden Bridge Cemetery Board at Usher's quay, and the expression of his face betokened internal decay and debility that Mr. Matthias J. O'Kelly, in a covered car in which he brought his suffering friend, perceived. In a few hours after he was dead. *Diabetes*—the worst disease which so suddenly carried off the late Judge Jackson had been fatally at work.

Mr. Coppinger having been through life a practical realist there was no need for a hurried death-bed repentance; he died calmly and happily. How expressively true are Wordsworth's words: "Heaven is not to be won by short hard ways." The last, as some of us take a degree at the University with much irregularity and negligence. I prefer a steady pace from the outset to the end, coming in cool, and dismounting quietly.

POETS AND POETRY OF GERMANY.

Poetry of Germany—Biographical and Critical
by Madame L. Davéziés De Pontés.—2 Vols.
Chapman and Hall, 1858.

Every people undergoes with the nation to which it belongs, certain changes or phases dependant on the state of its intellect, wealth or power. At first the rude-ness or tribe-life, produces war songs, or metrical achievements of heroes, sung perhaps extempore to excite the followers of chiefs to glorious deeds. Mixed with these, the superstitions of heathenism, and the power of the mind of man in a savage state is greater than in a civilized one. Earthly power, are introduced to terrify the people and to lead them forwardly into the observance of the duties they owe to their countrymen, by the idea of unseen agents watching their conduct. When the nation has settled down to pastoral life, and abandoned the roving, marauding, or conquering life of the barbaric era arises, when the delights of country life are enjoyed, woodland deities are invoked, and a host of spirits, such as fairies, elves, and nymphs, who protect and assist the husbandman, are invented. The gathering of the people for the building of fortalices, and the consequent wars, give rise to romances, songs celebrating the exploits of heroes, and ladies' love, and a more advanced form of religion, founded on the more agreeable part of the former. These forms of poetry alternate with each other, and the popular element has gained the upper hand, and the simple affections, high class lyrics, epics and dramas, bring the language to its highest state of

development. The people the first phase partakes more of the character of the mythological, as among the Greeks and Romans, where the gods and mortals were kept separate and inferior to the heroes. As the Scandinavians and Teutons, mythology is almost exclusively, or the heroes themselves are the gods. Odin, originally a mere mortal, peoples the world with his paladins and followers. Thor, the god of thunder, is supposed to have been originally conceived as a blacksmith, and his hammer by which he vanquished giants. The semmel, or hammer, is almost completely wanting among the relics of

the Teutonic tribes, the only evidence of its having existed being the legendary lays of gnomes, cobolds, dwarfs, and other inhabitants of the woods and fields, which take a very large part in the pages of early German romance. The third phase is by far the most prolific, reproduced at intervals from the 8th to the 16th century, alternating the lyrics of minne-singers, the songs and hymns of the *Minnesänger*, and the legendary tales of wizards, witches, and giants. When all these had died out, and the wars engendered by the reformation had spent their strength throughout the last century, the revival of letters in the rest of Europe produced a chaste influence on the literature of Germany. Bodmer and others brought their influence as professors in many of the universities to a more fashionable taste of the people and them to a due appreciation of the merits of composition. They commenced the modern poetry, which has been brought on by various degrees of perfection to the writings of Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller and Goethe. Whether the German language has attained its greatest degree of perfectibility, is a question not yet decided, and probably will not be finally settled for some half century. But the most reasonable theory is, that the German is a language, which in its present form has not been fully formed and shaped into general use, for a long time after the period when the tongues of Europe had been so, it may still require a considerable amount of developement. Certain it is that its literature within the last few recent times has advanced with giant strides.

German writers generally distinguish three marked periods of their national poetry. The first or heathen extends to the earliest times, when the achievements of Odin and his heroes and deities were celebrated in the Edda, down to the twelfth century, when the Hohenstauffen dynasty ascended the throne. The second or Schwabian period comes down to the times of Wieland and Goethe, whose age formed the third period, sometimes called after Charles Augustus, Duke of Weimar, the celebrated revivor and patron of letters. The heathen period cannot be said to be properly named, as it includes not only many Saga, dating from before the spread of Christianity in the north, but also many metrical ballads and poems of the middle ages, in which are introduced the superstitious elements of the new religion. This classification is however not convenient, as the poetic power of the German people does not during that great lapse of time, undergo any considerable increase of strength or perfection.

recorded writer in German prose or verse is that when he was exiled among the Getae, he compose a book in their barbarous language.

et ! et Getico scripsi sermone libellum.

etique sunt nostris barbara verba modis.

hear however what was the nature of the tongue composed, most probably Gothic, resembling the modern German. He chose for sub- and apotheosis of Augustus, no doubt in order or with the emperor and shorten his exile.

period the Edda dates cannot at present be as- tained. No doubt it has been added to, and ous times. The collection of the present t name is chiefly due to Charlemagne. They rements of Odin or Wodin, and his heroes and indicate a great analogy between the an- of Greece and Rome, and that of Scandinavia ces. Some doubt has been thrown upon the vinities of the Scandinavians and Teutons, but e Anglo-Saxons of Britain had the very same ons respecting them, before the introduction are mentioned in the Edda. Odin appears to ough some consider him more resembling Mer- giant strength and redoubtable hammer" have ith the attributes of Hercules. Balder sug- f the gentle Apollo ; and Hertha, who drives in a car drawn by white oxen, disarming the flowers and fruits of the earth to spring , recalls at once the benignant reign of Ceres. he actions of these deities are many legends kable personages, the most striking of which, or Veland Smith, brings to mind at once cer- formerly existing in parts of England, and the Icarus, the Cretan, who gave his name to a Wieland was a cunning forger of metal, who ne of the *Valkyres*, or maidens presiding over attle, is deserted by her at the sound of a trun- way from him by means of a robe of feathers vours to imitate. The King of Sweden seizes s him to work night and day, having cut his order to prevent his escape. Wieland revenges

himself by slaying the king's two sons, making drink of their skulls, and breast-clasps of their teeth, as a price to the parents. He flies away afterwards with the king's daughter, having discovered the secret of the robe of feathers, and the king in the distance with an account of his revenge.

Attached to this mythology is a goodly array of spirit-minor order, Elves, Dwarfs, Gnomes, Cobolds, and Nixes, who peopled the woods, fields, and rocky caverns, in the same manner as the Fauns, and Nymphs did among the Greeks and Romans, and interfered in the affairs of men. The stories of them and their good or evil propensities are innumerable; the most remarkable are those of the white women, denoting a transition from Paganism to the rites of Christianity.

There are the white women who often appear at early dawn on a dewy evening with their pale sad faces and shadowy forms. They are the goddesses of ancient Paganism condemned to wander in the middle ages to expiate the guilt of having received divine worship, and sentenced at length to eternal punishment unless redeemed by mortal aid. At certain times they are permitted to appear to mortals in view to seek that which alone can procure them salvation. A fisherman in the neighbourhood of Fieben, suddenly beheld a white woman standing before him; "Home, home!" she cried. "I have brought a boy into the world, carry it hither, let me kiss it, and I may be redeemed." The fisherman amazed, hastened to his home, and found all as the white woman had said; but fearing to trust his new born infant into the hands of a mortal, he performed the ceremony of baptism, and then bore it to the sea shore where he found the white woman weeping bitterly, for the condition of her salvation was, that the child should not be baptized! At times does she appear upon the sea shore sighing and lamenting.

The goddess Hertha, mentioned by Tacitus, designating the middle ages by the name of Perchta, plays a most conspicuous part in these legends. She had been spoiled by Odin, and watched over certain districts of the country with a beneficent sway, having the privilege of appearing on the night of the three kings to the inhabitants of upper earth. In the sequence however of a slight put upon her and her attendant dwarfs, she withdrew from the neighbourhood, and soon lost its fertility, and became lone and desolate. Such are those fables indicate the influence which the first seeds of Christianity had among the people, and the way in which the priests endeavoured to turn these superstitions to the advantage of the new creed.

ation of the Scriptures in the Mæso Gothic by Ulphilas, Bishop of the Visigoths, in the fourth century, may be looked upon as the earliest of German literature extant. It is still preserved in a manuscript at Upsal under the title of the "silver book," having been brought from Prague by Count Saxe-Meiningen. It is partially written in metre, and adheres in some places to the rythm of the Greek version. Thus in the 10. xi. verse xvii, the original runs thus:—

Ἡμεῖς ᾄδομεν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ᾤκνησασθε
Ἐδῆγησάμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκνέψασθε.

of which is ; "*we have piped to you and you have not lamented and you have not mourned.*" This Gothic version of Ulphilas is as follows :—

glodedum izwis, jah ni plinsideduth,
snodedum izwis, jah ni gaigeroduth.

of this passage do not seem to have much affinity with German, except those "jah ni," which are evidently of the "ja nicht" of the present day.

There is a great hiatus of nearly four hundred years in which there does not appear to have been any literature produced among the German nations. No doubt there were warlike chaunts and songs celebrating achievements of heroes, but the first signs of revival are in the twelfth century when the Northmen began to form their piratical states.

One of these "Ragnar the sea king," the hero of the sagas, who was taken prisoner while invading the British Isles, King of Northumberland, and perished by the bite of serpents in a loathsome dungeon, has left a poem sung in the midst of tortures. It is composed of strophes, without rhyme, each commencing with a line fought with the sword." A series of similar poems may be reckoned the Weissbrunnen Gebet, Hildebrandslied of Aquitaine and Beowulf, form the Frankish heroic German poetry, in which a certain number of lines are constantly reproduced in different views and variations. They are rhymeless, the measure consisting of a fixed number of syllables, formed by the accentuation of the principal words in each line commencing with the same consonants. The most famous are the Hildebrandslied, the Huns, Hagenfried, Etzel, or Attila, King of the Huns, and the Nibelungenlied, Great under the name of Dietrich of Berne or

Verona, Günther, King of the Burgundians, and his v Hagan and Hildebrand, are the principal personages mentioned through the whole.

Walter of Aquitaine appears to be the most complete series, although the only manuscripts now extant of it are in the Latin tongue. It commences with an account of a expedition by Etzel and his Hunnish army, in which he Hagan and Walter, then mere youths, as captives from Burgundians. When they grow up the former escapes his servitude, and the other having made Etzel and his drunk, flies off with the king's daughter Hildegunda and boxes of treasures. They arrive in the territories of Günther the King of Burgandy, who sends out Hagan and twelve men to seize the maiden and jewels. They are vanquished, Walter and Hagan's son Patafred slain. Günther and Hildegunda afterwards attacked Walter together, and fight until he lost a hand, another an eye, and the third a foot, when he considered it right to make up the quarrel, become good friends, and return to Worms in company. This lay is attributed to a monk of St. Gall, Eckard, who lived in the ninth century. A manuscript copy dating from about that period is still preserved in the library at Carlsruhe. From some passages it is evident that it was translated by Madame Pontés in a discursive ballad style, and gives a good idea of the manner of that strange age. Walter's declaration of love to Hildegunda, when he persuades her to fly with him, would not disgrace some of the more finished romances of the present day. He finds Hildegunda pensive and alone in the royal apartment, and the following scene takes place :—

Upon the maiden's lips he prest a tender kiss, the first.
Give me a draught of wine, he cried, or I must die of thirst.
Not long the maiden tarried, she loved the hero bold;
She filled with rich and sparkling wine the cup of ruddy gold.

She gave it to the warrior; he crossed himself and drank;
Then clasped in his the maiden's hand, her gentle zeal to thank.
She did not draw her hand away; but fixed on her his eye,
Sir Walter drained the generous draught and laid the goblet by.

I was destined for thy husband; thou wert chosen for my bride;
How often, lovely maiden, has the youth stood by thy side!
And never has a single word those lips of coral passed,
And never e'en a single glance thou hast deigned on him to cast.

But why deny each other in this sad and foreign land,
The only consolation which we can yet command?
But she did not dare to trust him, that fair and timid maid,
Awile she kept her peace, and then looked full at him and said;

"Thy tongue affects a language which is foreign to thy heart;
It is but bitter mockery, in which love has no part;
Young queens of radiant beauty thy hand and homage crave:
How canst thou think of Hildegand, the captive and the slave?"

Then thus the prudent hero to the damsel made reply;
"Nay, speak to me without deceit, lay empty phrases by;
I have spoken to thee frankly, from my very heart, believe.
It is the truth, sweet maiden, Walter knows not to deceive."

Then at his feet the maiden sank, and cried with trembling tone,
"Command whate'er thou listest, I am thine and thine alone,
No power on earth shall hinder me thy bidding to fulfill;
For Hildegand lives only to do her Walter's will."

We now enter upon the cycle of the Niebelungen, containing several lays all relating to the same personages under different phases, and forming such a train of extraordinary encounters as are read of in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The first is that of the Horny Siegfried, who may be styled the Achilles of the North, for he owes his extraordinary power to a bath of dragon's blood, which changes the surface of his body into horn, and makes him invulnerable. He delivers Chriemhild, a princess of Burgundy, from the jaws of a monstrous giant, and is married to her at Worms to be stabbed by Hagan, Günther's fierce vassal, in the only spot where he is vulnerable. Thus the termination of the poem is anti-classical, ending in the slaughter of the hero himself.

The Niebelungen lay itself, the crowning effort of ancient German chivalrous poetry, is of such a truculent nature that it is very difficult to conceive how it can have formed the delight of the ladies' bower of those ages of romance. The characters are nearly the same as before; Siegfried is introduced winning Chriemhild, the sister of Günther, by his prowess. The Burgundian king, seeking to obtain the hand of Brunhild, a warlike princess of Isenland, employs Siegfried to overcome her in the combat. A rivalry ensues between the two ladies, and Brunhild obtains the assassination of Siegfried. Chriemhild, for the sake of revenge, marries Etzel, the king of the Huns, and having invited her brother Günther and his wife to a banquet, procures them to be murdered. A general slaughter ensues, only three of the characters being left alive at the end of the poem. The action of the epic extends over a great period of years, nearly thirty, and by some has been regarded as proceeding from several hands, not put together by one composer. There are many passages of great power and beauty, impossible to give in a translation, which have caused

it to be compared with the great Greek and Roman heroic poems, but its unartistic arrangement, prolixity, and truncation, depreciate very much its merits as a production of human genius.

Another lay of this cycle, the Gudrune, may be considered to have more interest for our readers, as one of the principal personages is Siegbert, king of Ireland, and Hagan, his daughter, Hilda, the daughter of the latter, is persecuted by three suitors, who carry her off at various times, but she is at length married to her real lover, Herwig. The construction of the poem and verse is said to be much superior to the other lays, while many tender and artistic touches soften the harsh manners of the age portrayed. This, along with the *Nibelungen*, was preserved in the Castle Ambras, near Innsbruck in the Tyrol, by the Emperor Maximilian the First, 1517. It contains some 4,700 verses, of a gentle, melodious kind, well calculated to draw the reader on to a full appreciation of its beauties.

Another cycle, that of Dietrich of Berne, or Theodor von Verona, contains the *Ecken Ausfahrt*, *Battle of Ravenna*, *Dwarf Laurin*, and the *Rosengarten*. The principal character throughout is Dietrich, but in the last poem several of the characters of the *Nibelungen* are introduced. It is thus in ballad style:—

Upon the lordly Rhine, there lies a fair and goodly town,
An antique city and well known to knight of high renown.
Here dwelt a gallant hero, all both knew and feared his sword;
His name was Giebig, and he reigned, a mighty prince and lord.

His gentle wife had given him three sons both fair and brave;
The fourth child was a girl, who brought unto a bloody grave
Full many a noble warrior, as the old tale hath said.
Her name was Chriemhild; never yet was seen a lovelier maid.

A garden of sweet roses was the beauteous virgin's pride;
A mile at least it was in length, and half a mile 'twas wide.
Around, instead of walls of stone, was a silken thread so fine.
No bower on earth, Chriemhild exclaimed, is like this bower of mine.

The bower is guarded by twelve knights, whom Dietrich and his followers engage to overcome. All are conquered except the horny Siegfried, husband to Chriemhild, whose account of his early friendship Dietrich does not wish to repeat. He is induced to do so, however, by a stratagem of one of his own warriors, old Hildebrand, and comes off victorious. There is more of chivalry and knightly bearing in this poem than in the others. It remained a favorite romance in German

ture, and is the last of the extraordinary ballads of half barbarian heroes of the middle ages. Charlemagne from the 9th to the 12th century, did much original composition in the vernacular German; the conqueror and lawgiver of the Saxons established schools and universities in every direction, to foster a desire for learning in Europe. The chief productions in Latin tongue, except some few of a religious nature in native dialect, Heliand's Evangelical Harmonies, and the Hildebrands lied, which celebrated the victory of Louis the Great over the Normans at Salcourt. The latter was written by Heinrich Heine, who may have wielded the sword as well as conned his breviary, in the troublous times. Heine was however a cultivator of the drama in the person of a nun of the convent of Gandersheim, founded by Matilda in 859. She imitated Terence, wrote six plays, and called herself "to the glorification of female chaste deeds on saintly subjects and a panegyric on the emperor." It was the age of mysteries and farces, in which sacred plays were represented according to holy writ for the edification of the people.

The reigns of the Otthos, Henry IV. and Henry VI. do not appear to have been any advance made in literature by the German race. Their language still partook of the Frankish and Gothic dialects, in which almost all the remaining song, the Anno Lied in praise of the Emperor of Cologne, is written. There succeeded however after a new cycle, or series of poems, similar to the Hildebrung, called the Lombard, evincing a more advanced state of civilization, more exclusively Christian belief, and more knightly manners in the heroes. These were Duke Heinrich, Count Rudolph, King Ruother, Orendel, &c. The legend of the holy coat of Treves, and a more detailed account of the Saviour's death. It tells of how he is thrown into the sea, swallowed by a fish, and rescued by an animal. It relates the adventures of Orendel, and how he rescues a princess from her rebellious mother, who is rescued in turn by her, with the aid of a dwarf. It is evidently of a piece with the extravagant romances of the middle ages, brought to such perfection in Italy.

Frederick III., of the Hohenstauffen dynasty, there was a great spirit of poetry throughout Germany. The cru-

sades had been carried on for some time, blending together different nations of Europe, and importing the manners into the other. The Troubadours and Trouvères of France carried with them a prevailing influence, which changed the habits of the German courts from their semi-barbarousness, to an excess of chivalrous and almost effeminate refinement. The minne-singers imitated the minstrels of the other side of the Rhine, almost deified their lady loves. "Frau Minne" (love) became the divinity of the age, her favourite being settled in Horselberg, a mountain near Eisenach in Thuringia, and called the Venusberg.

The Minne-singers with rare exceptions belonged to the knightly class. Their duty was to protect the feeble, to deliver the oppressed. Every knight had his lady-love, who was in most cases the wife of another. So universally indeed was this usage, that the husbands generally acquiesced without any objection, and in their turn benefitted by the privilege. In a *Prose Romance*, *Philomena*, composed in the 12th century by a knight whose name has not come down to us, *Oriunde*, the wife of the King *Matran*, besieged in *Narbonne* by the army of *Charlemagne*, had no other chance to see the *Paladin Roland*, and they become enamoured of each other. In consequence *Oriunde* most unpatriotically abandoned the success of the foe, and to the just reproaches of her husband that her delight is the result of her love for *Roland*, and that day she will be punished for it, she replies, "Seigneur, I will myself with your wars, and leave me and my love. It is a dishonour you since I love so noble a chevalier as *Roland*." *Matran* having heard this, retired quite discomfited and abashed.

All husbands, however, were not quite so accommodating. *Count de Limousin* for instance, not only banished *Bernard de Ventadour* from his court and kingdom, on discovering his amorous devotion to his wife, though we are assured it was innocent, but actually shut up the poor lady in her chamber, and kept her a close prisoner for a considerable time. But such instances of exaggerated scruples seem to have been the exception to the rule. That the choice of a knight or a lady-love was not as an affair of no ordinary importance, is attested by the ceremony with which it was everywhere accompanied. The knight lay down before his lady, swore to serve her faithfully until death, while the fair one accepted his services, vowed truth and fidelity, and presented him a ring, and then raising him, imprinted a kiss on his forehead. Although it was in France, and above all in France, that those singular customs took their rise, the Germans we shall see, were not long behind their neighbours in the practice of gallantry.

Of course marriage was reduced to a mere material transaction, with which love was deemed absolutely incompatible.

strange anomalies this system gave rise may be imagined ; a lady promised one of her adorers to accept him for her knight, if the other to whom she was sincerely attached, was lost to her. Having, however, married the object of her affection, and happening to love him still although he had become her husband, she was somewhat embarrassed when his rival claimed the fulfilment of her engagement, and refused to listen to his suit. But Eleanor of Poitiers, to whom the case was referred, decided it against her, alleging that she had really lost her lover, by accepting him as her lord.

This curious system was not however carried so far in Germany ; the minne-singers who were all noblemen attached themselves to the courts of particular princes, by whom they were held in great respect. The dialect in which their lays were written was principally Swabian, from the native country of the reigning family. The first lyric in the German language is referred to Henry VI., son of the great Barbarossa. Spervogel and Wernher von Tegernsee produced devotional verses, and Henry von Veldecke, the most famous of all, wrote a new *Æneid*, in a low dialect of German. Frederick von Haissen was so engrossed by the devotion for his lady-love, that he continually said "good night" for "good morning," and turned his doublet wrong side outwards. He died in the Holy Land in 1190, having rendered his name and that of his lady-love famous by his deeds of valour. The reign of the Emperor Frederick II. may be looked upon as the golden age of poetry in the middle ages. The lays of 160 minne-singers of the period have been collected by Roger Manesse of Zurich, himself a member of the craft in 1300, of which Walter von der Vogelweide, Gottfried von Strasbourg, Wolfram von Eschenboch Hartmann von der Aue, Ulrich von Lichtenstein, and Jacob von der Warte were certainly the most superior. The last has left the following delicate little lay.

I.

Now, the little birds are singing,
Merrily o'er mead and vale ;
Lays of grateful praise are ringing,
From the daintie nightingale.
Look upon the dewy braid,
On the heath with wild flowers bright,
See how gaily they've bedight,
By the homestead hand of May.

II.

Many a pretty little flower
Laughs out from the sweet May dew ;
In the sunshine, hill and bower
Don their very gayest hue.
What shall soothe my bosom's care !
What shall comfort me I trow !
She with whom I fain were now,
Will not listen to my prayer !

A version of the poems of Walter von der Vogelweide was brought out in the modern German tongue in 1832, by Dr. Carl Simrock, and some by Tieck. The following will give some idea of his style.

I.

To me it chanced, as to a wayward boy,
 Who seeks in vain the charming face to
 clasp
 Which in the glass he sees, with eager joy,
 Until the mirror breaks within his grasp;
 Then all his joy is turned to woe and pain.
 Even so I dreamed that bliss would be
 mine own.
 When I sought my sweet lady, but in vain;
 Much grief from that fond love,
 And only grief I've known.

II.

Both pure and beauteous is my lady fair,
 And chaste and lovely as the lily white;
 Her breath is balmy as the perfumed air,
 Her eyes are like the sky on summer's
 night:
 The strawberry is not redder than her lip,
 Would I were but a bee, its dewy sweet
 to sip!

2.

When in her bower, to lyre or lute she
 sings,

The nightingale doth hush her
 strain;

The falcon rests upon his outstretched
 And hovers listening o'er the grass
 In all she does, there is so much of
 I know not which most sweet,
 Her music or her face.

3.

Her beauty thaws my heart, e'en as
 Thaws ice or snow; but oh! not
 Doth she show forth her beams! she
 won

By sigh, or pray'r, or tuneful m
 And yet I've loved her from a little
 And sum up ev'ry hour that she
 hath smiled.

4.

What boots it that all others greet
 With loud applause! that ladies
 bright

List to my song! I only seek her
 I only seek to shine in her dear
 Star of my solitary heart! look do
 And soothe my bitter woe, or kill
 thy frown.

Ulrich von Lichtenstein was a wealthy Austrian noble, who pursued his lady with the most unremitting gallantry. He was disfigured by a deformity of three lips, of which he got cut off for her sake; then he lost a finger in a tournament for her honor; afterwards he assumed female attire and obtained an interview with his mistress, she caused him to be thrust out of the castle window into the moat for his devotion. At length he was cured of his love at the age of forty-four, being maimed at the command of the cruel fair one.

Conrad von Würtzburg, Henry von Ofterdingen, Klingsohr of Hungary, were the last most celebrated minstrel-singers. The two latter are said to have defeated all other minstrels of Germany at the "minstrel war of Wartburg," which was made the subject of a poem in the year 1207. The contest is said to have taken place at the court of Hermann von Thuringen, the most polished in Germany. It was decided by the lady of the castle, as a tournament. The executioner did the duty of his office on the unsuccessful minstrel, a barbarous practice not to be found in the other and provençal or German lyrics.

To the minne-singers succeeded a number of romance writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their favorite subject was that of the Saint Graal, or vase in which the water of life turned into wine at the marriage feast of Cannah. Arthur founded on Arthur and the Knights of the round table called the Parcival, composed by Wolfram of Eschenbach, along with Godfrey of Strasbourgh and Hartmann von

Aue, my be considered the novel writers of their age. Their dimensions however are altogether too large for our space.

Another cycle followed, that of the romance, whose heroes were taken from ancient history. The Alexander-lied and Pseudo Callisthenes are specimens of this. Charlemagne and his Paladins furnished also subjects for the rhymers of the day in the Roland-lied, Flos and Blankflos, and several of a like nature. These however all declined at the accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg in the end of the thirteenth century. This emperor being wholly engrossed in the improvement of the commerce and wellbeing of his subjects, discouraged to a great extent the minstrelsy, which had been supported by his predecessors. It died away for a long period, to be reproduced in another form among the lower classes, the artizans of some of the most considerable towns of Southern Germany, Mainz, Augsburg, Ulm and Nurnberg, who obtained the appellation of *meister sänger*. Their songs have generally a religious or moral character, such as those of *Rosenblut*, and *Michael Beeheim*. Fables became also a favorite form of poetry, those of Bona and Hugo of Trimberg being the most celebrated. The *Narrenschiff*, or vessel of fools by Sebastian Brant must be considered an able satire on the absurd manners of the age. At this period arose the sanguinary wars of the Hussites in Bohemia, which so disturbed the centre of Germany, that very few traces of poetic composition during their continuance have been left.

The drama however began now to shew some signs of cultivation. As in the rest of Europe it commenced by mysteries taken from subjects of Holy Writ. The devil was a favorite character, on whom all sorts of tricks were played by cunning mortals. Dr. Paracelsus especially was often pitted against his satanic majesty on the stage. The character of these productions is of too scurrilous and doggrel a character to merit a place among the literature of a nation.

The French fable of *Renard the fox*, was successfully imitated in Germany at different times. Goethe has given since a delightful version of it, but the earliest "*Reinecke fuchs*" dates from the thirteenth century, and is supposed to have contained a covert satire on a certain Duke of Lorraine. Its subject is well known as representing a meeting of the animals, at which the lion presides, the pranks and subtleties of the fox forming the main interest of the piece. The wit or incident is not at

all equal to that of the French original, although it remained a popular favorite up to the middle of the last century. *Narren Beschworung*, or *Exorcism of Fools*, and the *Schwarzenburgerlied*, were satirical poems of the same class, levelled against some of the religious fanatics of the day, or the assumed grandeur of some of the wealthy burghers of the town.

The writings of Luther in the commencement of the sixteenth century, his translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and the invention of printing, had a great effect in hastening on the perfection of German literature. Between his language and that of Bona two centuries before, there was much difference, as between Chaucer and the English writers of the sixteenth century. His studies were not confined to Theology; he delighted in poetry and music, and influenced very much in these matters the spirit of his times. The Reformation produced many men of independent genius in all ranks of life, warriors, poets and theologians. Ulrich Hutten was one of these adventurous men whom that movement brought forth. He had been destined for the cloister but was driven from it in disgust. His mishaps and those of his countryman Johann, who was murdered by Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, on account of too handsome a wife, would form a good tale of romance. He has left various sonnets and small poems commemorating many of them. Germany at this time was troubled with the horrors of the war of the peasants, who had risen against the burthens imposed upon them and the coercion of their religion. Luther at first was the main cause in routing them, but subsequently he declared that they ought to be exterminated. The sect of the Anabaptists renewed the contest and relighted the flames of civil war. In other countries the arts of peace, literature, sculpture, painting, &c., were being carried to the highest perfection, while Germany could only produce Hans Sach, Hans Holz, Fischart, and a few of note. The first was a shoemaker, but of a most prolific in composition. Before he was sixty years of age, he had written some sixty thousand verses, besides three hundred comedies. Many of the former are hymns, others fables and satires full of humour and naiveté, which notwithstanding their rudeness, have elicited the praise of Goethe himself.

The benightedness of this period is no better evinced than in the persecution which was practised on many unfortunate old women and men on the plea of witchcraft, and the gen-

belief in the power of certain men, such as Paracelsus and Cornelius Agrippa, to control the elements. The legends of women changed into wolves, and witches assuming various forms, became so multiplied as to form the staple romance for nearly a century. The persecution of the unfortunate victims reached such a height that between the middle of the 16th and the end of the 17th century, it is calculated not less than 100,000 persons perished by fire. In the Bishopric of Bamberg in the space of three years, 225 women were committed to the flames. No wonder that the story of Dr. Faustus became one of the favourite themes of poetry and the drama. The subject was not always such as it is represented by Goethe, and it was frequently brought out in puppet shows and marionettes to the delight of the vulgar. In one piece 'tis by means of a ring that he recovers his youth, when he travels to Venice, Athens, and other luxurious cities. The ring is stolen from his finger by a lady that he loves; he loses his youth, and is carried off by the demon. In another play he has the power of evoking the heroes and heroines of Homer, and brings up Helen of Greece for some of his boon companions at a tavern. That such a person as Dr. Faustus really existed there can be no doubt, as he is mentioned personally by several writers of the age. Johannes Manlius knew him, and says that he was born at the village of Kundlingen in Wurtemberg, and studied magic at Cracow. He seems to have resided a considerable time at Leipsic, where many of his exploits are depicted on the walls of Auerbach's cellar. Here it was that he played the trick upon the students, who asked him to cause to grow from the table a vine covered with bunches of grapes. He did so, but when they stretched forth their hands to seize the bunches, the tree vanished, and each man found his neighbour pulling his nose with one hand, with a knife in the other as if about to sever it. The doctor's ride out of the cellar on a cask is also commemorated there, and other feats, which at one time formed the subject of many a ballad or farce in the middle ages.

The calamities of the thirty years' war retarded for a considerable time the growth of letters in Germany; it was not until near the end of the 17th century, that they began to revive from the prostration state. Gradually, however, certain schools of poetry began to arise, which though humble at first, laid the way for the great blaze of genius afterwards displayed. The

Silesian school of which Opitz was the leader; that of Klopstock whose chiefs were Dach and Albert, that of Nuremberg ruled by Philip von Lezen and Holstein, with the second Silesian of Hoffmaunswaldau and Lohenstein were the academies in which the rising taste was fostered. The greater number of these however are mere versifiers, much inferior to Fleming, who has left many gems of sacred poetry. Andreas Schlegel composed several successful tragedies, as well as his brother Paul Gerhardt too, a preacher at the Nicolair Church in Berlin, delighted his age by various effusions on moral and sacred subjects. All these however were only as preludes to the opening of the modern vein of poetry.

In the midst of the thirty years war, Gottsched published his poems, and was at once "bathed as a star of the first magnitude." He has been since reduced very much in publication on account of his want of invention, stiffness and want of imagination. But great thanks must be due to him as professor in the university of Leipsic for asserting the value of the German tongue against the Latin, and his improvement in dramatic composition. Frederick the Great, who in contempt for German poetry, permitted his verses to be published before him.

But the real regenerator of letters was Jacob Bodmer of Zurich; he stands in the very gate of the temple of the modern Germanic muses. He was at first sent to Bergamo in Italy to prepare himself for mercantile pursuits. He then returned up, returned to Berlin, applied himself to attainments, studying English, and at length was appointed professor of literature at Berlin. He admired Addison, and Roger de Coverly, published a journal on the model of the Spectator, and produced a translation of Milton's Paradise Lost. These created a paper war between him and Gottsched, who then reigned supreme, and served to open the eyes of his fellow countrymen to the defects in their national literature. His two comedies "The Triumph of the good Wife," and "The Beauty" were acted with great applause, causing a revolution in public taste. To him is due the collection of the lay and minne-singers, the discovery of the Niebelungen Lied and the story of Parival. Several of his school, Kestner, Professor Ruge, Hagedorn, Von Haller, the two Schlegels and Gleim, laboured very much to improve the public taste, and to break down the rough method of composition of the old

Gleim, was principally inspired by the heroism of the Great contending against nearly all the power of his war songs and hymns were chaunted by the warriors, and contributed not a little to the discomfiture of Maria Theresa. He produced also a drama which gained a great reputation at Berlin. His aim was to form a complete German Academy of literature by drawing there together the first men of the age. The public mind was not ripe for such a consummation until the first era of the French Revolution, and a dictatorship among the French people.

He produced four other names, once the reigning poets of their day, Kleist, Gellert, Gessner, and Uz. The latter was a major in the Prussian army during the seven years' war, and great favour with Frederick on account of the services he rendered. He was inspired by the courage of the warriors, by means of which he inspired the courage of his countrymen. His poem of "Spring," raised him to a high estimation of his countrymen, although it was a rhapsody of the times about shepherds and flocks. At the battle of Kunersdorf, he led his regiment against a battery, and had his leg and arm wounded. The Cossacks then stripped and rifled him, leaving him a heap of rubbish. He was carried off prisoner to the Oder, where he died from hardship.

He held the post of professor of literature at Leipsic, and produced many hymns, fables and dramas, very few of which above mediocrity. Yet he was very famous in his age, and rendered essential service to German literature, by his attack on Frederick the Great, who held the German people in contempt. He delivered lectures in the Oratorium of the University, which had a beneficial influence upon the youth of his age. He is known in this country for his Idyls and the characters in which are of such a pure, simple nature, as not to belong to this earth at all. His effusions are elegant, but convey no feeling of reality. Uz enjoyed a great reputation during his life, and was even styled the poet of Germany; but he is now considered as unworthy of the crown of laurels.

We now arrived at a very striking era in German literature, Klopstock's Messiah. He was the son of a farmer, and having received a good education in his native

town, and at the University of Schulpforte, he was able to appreciate the translation of the "Paradise Lost" by Boissset, and to see how much his countrymen were inferior in the cultivation of the muses to the English and French. He undertook the composition of an original poem, the *Messias*, having first prepared matter for three cantos in prose, so as to imitate the hexameter verse after the ancient model, as most poets do, the sublimity of the subject. The first part appeared in a paper named "Bremen Contributions," and produced a great burst of enthusiasm in its favour. The new metre was naturally and justly applauded as being peculiarly suited for the German tongue, on account of its involved construction similar to that of ancient Greek and Latin. This however may be objected, from the difficulty of producing dactyls and spondee long and short syllables, where the words are composed of many consecutive consonants. It procured for him, however, the admiration of his countrymen and the patronage of the King of Denmark, who settled on him a pension of 200 thalers, or about 24 pounds a-year.

He was not at first so successful with the fair sex. A young lady, named Fanny, to whom he had devoted his heart and soul, listened to his proposals and ended by rejecting him in favour of another gentleman. He was introduced, however, by a friend Giessecker to a second, Margaretha Mollar, who criticised his poem in a favourable style, and consoled him for his lost love. She corresponded with him under the name of Meta, and they were finally united in 1754. Unfortunately he lost her in four years afterwards, when giving birth to a child, shortly after his father had been carried to the grave. The image of domestic happiness was not entirely lost from his mind, although he mourned for a long time over the loss of his youth. After 33 years of widowhood, in a green old age he was again married to Frau von Wideman, who attended his declining years.

His great poem was not completed until the year 1777, after 27 years of labour. The subject of it is so well-known that it is needless to set it forth here. There are, however, some strange characters in it, such as the lovers, Selma and Sidli, who are resuscitated beings, constantly engaged in temptation and praise. Where their mutual affection and worldly feeling comes from, it is difficult to discover. It is said that a fallen seraph, who had been induced by Satan to

unceasing remorse and repentance. After being despair on the day of Judgment, he is finally perceived into Heaven, contrary to the creed of the the tone of the composition is kept at such a it requires a religiously enthusiastic mind, to be the poet. Or as Madame de Stael says ; " a e of monotony results from a subject so continually soul is fatigued by too much contemplation ; the onally requires readers already resuscitated like mar."

ve the following specimens of his composition in e reader may have some idea, both of the new e and versification, which he introduced into the be able at the same time to understand a little of the original. The commencement of the Messiahlar, is in these words :

olliche Seele, der sündigen menschen Erlösung,
sias auf Erden in seiner Menschheit vollendet,
ie er Adams Geschlecht zu der Liebe der Gottheit,
ödet und verherrlichtet, wieder erhöht hat.
des Ewigen Wille, Vergebens erhob sich
den göttlichen sohn ; umsonst stand Juda
uf ; er that's und vollbrachte die Grosse Versöhnung.

e been translated by the celebrated Lessing into Latin hexameters.

sub carne Deus lustrans terrena novavit
ne depressis, cane, mens æterna, salutem,
is Adæ generi dum foderis icti,
ine reclusit fontem cælestis amoris.
atum æterni: Frustra se opponere tentat
æ proli Satanas ; Judæque frustra
r. Est aggressus opus, totumque peregit.

e where Abbadona is pardoned and received into s thus rendered by Madame Pontés.

bows down in mute despair, when after a long and he hears the joyful words.
Abbadona ! come to thy Redeemer :

rift as borne upon the tempest's wings,
aph soared on high. Scarce had he breathed
air, when once again his form
d angelic beauty, and his eyes
on God, beamed forth with light divine.
er could Abdiel restrain his joy ;

With arms outstretch'd, he rushed towards the being
 He loved so well ; his cheeks glowed with delight,
 Trembling with bliss he sank upon the breast
 Of the forgiven ; but from that glad embrace
 The seraph tore himself, and lowly sunk
 Before the Judge's throne. On every side
 Arose the sound of weeping—blissful sound.

Klopstock carried his love of the ancient metre and composition into his minor poems. He composed a number of odes in various forms of construction to be in Horace, Iambic, Trochaic, Cataleptic, &c. One will be sufficient to shew the effect in German.

Sie schläft, oh, giess ihr, Schlummer, geflügeltes
 Balsamisch Leben über ihr sanftes Herz !
 Aus Edens ungetrübter Quelle
 Schöpfe den lichten, krystallnen Tropfen.

Und lass ihn wo der Wange die Röth, entfloh,
 Dort duftig hinthaun ! Und du, oh bessere,
 Der Tugend und der Liebe Ruhe,
 Grazie deines Olymps, bedecke

Mit deinem Fittig Cidli ! wie schlummert sie,
 Wie Stille ! Schweig ! oh leisere saite selbst,
 Es welket dir dein Lorbersprössling,
 Wenn aus dem Schlummer du Cidli lispelt.

Which Mme. Pontés translates thus :

HER SLUMBER.

She sleeps ! oh slumber, from thy dewy wings,
 Distil thy sweetest balm on that pure heart,
 And let her draw from Eden's silvery springs,
 Those crystal drops that bid all pain depart.
 Where the Red rose that virgin cheek has fled,
 There gently print thy fragrant touch ; and thou,
 Peace, holy peace, which love and virtue shed,
 Inmate of Heaven, but rarely found below.
 With thy soft wings, my best loved Cidly shade,
 How calm her rest ! Then let thy harp strings sl
 Thy budding laurel wreath will surely fade,
 If with thy song thou break'st that slumber deep.

Klopstock's great work is certainly, as Herder says, "tasteful in parts, but faulty as a whole." His leading traits of grandeur and patriotism, strike the reader very boldly, but at once perceived, that he adheres too servilely to the models he had placed before his mind's eye. He stands out as the first who relieved his fellow-countrymen from a

ng French authors and styles of composition, but he
a certain extent another extreme, that of the Græco-

ck lived until the period of the French Revolution,
d great admiration for the efforts of France to free
n tyranny. He celebrated the states general in an
as elected a member of the French National Institute

porary with him was another writer, of a more
ind, who in a different direction, chastened and
e taste of Germany. This was Lessing, the son of
at clergyman of Saxony. He at first applied him-
stage, but at the request of his family gave it up.

himself then to literature, he met at Berlin
n, Nicolai, and De Louvaine, secretary to Voltaire.
he brought out his plays, *Miss Sara Sampson*, and
on, which astonished his countrymen from their
l vivacity of style. Shortly after he was appointed
nanager at Hamburg, where the German drama was
to establish an independent existence. Here also

iced publishing a weekly journal, named "*Drama-*
which he attacked the French style of writing for
he ultra classicalities of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire
hewed how much the observance of the poetic unities
l place and action hampered the composition of a
pointed out how the range of the drama could be
oy not confining it exclusively to high class person-
, princes &c. Shakespeare appeared to him the purest
se historical plays, he said, when "contrasted with
s of French taste, are something like an enormous
ting in comparison with a miniature."

s writings are thoroughly German; he rejects with
Frenchification introduced by Frederick the Great.
na von Bornhelm" which appeared in 1763, was
his two former plays. The interest of the piece
e fact, that the hero who is disgraced, thinks him-
hy of the heroine, who is wealthy. Before the end
their respective situations are reversed, and they
y of their former ideas. Two other dramas followed.
allotti," once esteemed beyond price in Germany,
the *Wise*," without doubt his master piece. He
quarrel with Klotz and some of the French school,
pelled him to give up his post at the theatre at

Hamburg. He fell into bad habits, gambling, &c. notwithstanding that he had married a Mme. König, who had died in a year after, while giving birth to a son. He died from the effects of a paralytic stroke in the year 1781, leaving behind him more celebrity as a critic, than as a poet.

Wieland was neither so lofty in his fancy and sentiment as Klopstock, or so correct in his taste and vigorous in his argument as Lessing. He had been intended for the study of Theology by his father, but being obliged to relinquish it on account of ill health, he returned to his native town, where he fell in love with a young lady named Sophia. She at first quitted his passion; her parents however opposed their union and she married another. This mischance seems to have influenced very much the rest of his life. He commenced writing many minor pieces, none of which except "Agathon," the hero of which is a young Athenian Epicurean, seem to be of any value. Of another piece, "Musarion," on a somewhat similar subject, Mme. Pontés gives the following sketch:

"We must agree with Gervinus that 'Musarion' scarcely deserves the admiration Goethe expresses for it. The subject possesses very absorbing interest, and the moral is anything but common. The young Athenian Phantias, having dissipated his patrimony, retired to a little farm on the sea shore, resolved to fly for ever from the world of which he fancies he has exhausted the enjoyment. Where, at all events, he can no longer shine. He received no more visits from his two most intimate friends, Theosophron and Cleanthes; the former is a disciple of Plato, the latter of Diogenes. Musarion, a courtesan, whom in the days of his splendour he had loved, but who had refused to listen to his suit, now moved by his sorrows comes to visit him. Ashamed to be seen in his present humble condition, Phantias refuses an interview; but Musarion persists, and at last prevails. The friends arrive. They order a supper, of which the recluse is forced to partake. While at table Musarion victoriously defends the doctrines of Epicurus against his assailants. The friends pass on unheeded. The disciple of Diogenes falls dead drunk from the table. The Platonist makes love, in no very Platonic fashion, to one of Musarion's female slaves, and in short Phantias, convinced of the folly alike of his misanthropy, and of his high-flown expectations, yields to Musarion's generous affection, and permits her to share his retreat.

In justice to Wieland we subjoin a translation of a few verses, premising that if their grace and melody do not answer the reader's expectation, the fault lies in our version, not in the original.

Wearied upon the grass he sinks again,
Unmoved he gazes on the landscape fair,
Unmoved he hears the nightingale's sweet strain,
Her tender lay soothes not his bosom's care.

The gloomy night of inward grief and pain,
 Hangs o'er his soul, and darkens all things there
 Since the last obole from his purse has fled
 His friends have disappeared, and flattery's self is dead.

Yes! false and fleeting as the wind, are all,
 Friendship's fond vows, and love's deceitful smile,
 Soon as the golden showers no longer fall,
 Cold is the heart that lures us with its wile,
 Soon as the goblet's dry, in vain we call
 On our Patroclus! yes; that metal vile
 Is stronger still than virtue, wit or beauty,
 That gone—the swarm goes too, and *Lais* talks of duty.

Now thrill'd and saddened by the mournful truth,
 How vain those dreams so transient, tho' so bright
 Which lull us in the rosy days of youth,
 As in an atmosphere of life and light
 When man's a God unto himself in sooth,
 Phœnix resolved this time to choose aright;
 To tear himself, although 'twas somewhat late,
 From the delusive past, and brave the storms of fate.

The poet soon consoled himself for his lost love, by marrying the daughter of a merchant at Augsburg, but seems to have still kept up a species of Platonic attachment for *Sophia*, then *Mme. de la Roche*. He had several interviews with her, even in the presence of her husband, when she still shewed a very warm affection for him. He was appointed by the elector of Mainz to the directorship of the university of Erfurth, which he endeavoured to regenerate, and succeeded in attracting crowds of students to his lectures. The professors were annoyed with him on account of certain innovations, that he had introduced into the old system, and they and the clergy attacked him on account of the too great freedom of his poetic compositions. He gave up his directorship and repaired to Weimar at the solicitation of the duchess, as tutor to the young Duke. Here he brought out a journal, the "*Mercury*," in which he criticized the tastes of the day, and published various satirical pieces against the imitations of the French school. "*Oberon*" was also commenced here. It is founded on a story of French chivalry. "*Huon de Bordeaux*," and introduces the *Oberon* and *Titania* of *Shakespeare*. It is well known in these countries by the translation done by *Sotheby*. This was the last of his romantic works.

He purchased a small estate called *Osmanstadt*, with his accumulated savings, and retired there with his family. His

mother shortly joined him, as also *Mme. de la Roche*, who lost her husband through political discomfitures. destined, however, to misfortune in his declining years. His wife, mother, and several children died; his property reduced in value on account of the French wars; he was obliged to sell it, and retire to Weimar. After the battle of Jena, his house was sacked, notwithstanding the order of Napoleon to the contrary. Marshal Ney visited him, and remedied, to a certain extent, his distress. At the conference in Erfurth, during 1809, Napoleon expressed great desire to see, and conversed with him in the most cordial manner. He was the subject of Cæsar, who, Napoleon said, should have foreseen his assassins, as he had known them long before.

Wieland, at the age of eighty, translated "*Cicero's Letters*" and though he had suffered a severe illness, after which he broke his collar bone, he lingered on to January, 1813, when paralysis put an end to his existence. He was buried with his wife at Osmanstadt, where a pyramid of white marble marks their remains, with the following inscription by Wieland himself: "Three souls who loved each other during life. Their mortal relics sleep within the same sepulchre." The inhabitants of Weimar have appreciated his talents so much, that they inaugurated his statue, along with those of Goethe and Schiller, in the month of last September, when the following tribute was paid to his name:—"Wieland was the first German author whose works were translated and admired by our neighbours, and by means of whom our poetry was replaced in the ranks of European literature. Goethe expressly called him his master. His whole existence flowed on like a so fruitful and cheering the spirit of the nation, and our posterity will hail him, even as we hail him now, as the immortal Wieland!"

The poet and the critic were joined together in Lessing, the latter perhaps in a greater degree than the former. The reverse was the fact with respect to Herder, the incidents of whose life, as related by *Mde. Pontés*, possess much quiet interest. His passionate love of study when young; the admiration he excited when a preacher at Riga; his travels with the Princess of Holstein; his meeting, and subsequent marriage, with Caroline Flachsland, are all told with feeling. Herder did not produce much poetry, his compositions being chiefly translations from Scotch ballads, lyrics called "*Lays of the People*"

and the "Cid," a free version of the Spanish romance. In his "Fragments for German Literature," and "Critische Walder," he drew a very truthful contrast between the writings of the ancients and those of his fellow-countrymen poets. The philosophy of the age, Kant and Fichte, did not escape his criticism, by which he showed its tendency to destroy all true religion. He visited Italy late in life, where he met the celebrated Angelica Kauffman, whose misfortunes and virtues excited a great deal of interest in his mind. His acquaintance with Goethe and Schiller lasted for a great number of years; by both was he esteemed as a man of great worth. "I come from Herder," writes Schiller to his friend Körner; "If you have seen his picture at Graff, you can represent him perfectly to yourself; only that his countenance is not sufficiently stern. He has pleased me much; his conversation is full of vigour, intellect, and fire; but all his sensations consist of love and hate. Goethe he loves with passion, a sort of adoration. I must be quite unknown to him, for he asked if I were married. He treated me like a person of whom he had seen nothing, but who possessed the reputation of being somebody. Herder is amazingly polite. One feels one's self at ease in his presence." He died in 1803, having contributed much to elevate the taste of Germany in literature and poetry.

Schubart's life was much more extraordinary, combining reckless extravagance with the most fearless patriotic feeling, and great love of the muses. His follies obliged his wife to fly from him. He then set up a paper at Augsburg, in which he attacked the tyranny of the nobles, and the luxury of many of the German courts. Driven from thence, he took refuge at Ulm, where he became partially reformed, and was joined by his wife and children. The enmity of the Duke of Würtemberg pursued him; he was suddenly seized and thrown into prison at the fortress of Hohenasperg, where he lingered, sometimes between life and death, during a period of ten years. It was during this confinement that he wrote some of his best pieces, though unable for a long time to procure paper or ink, on account of the jealousy of the governor. A pair of snuffers was his stylus, and the wooden table of his apartment the tablet, on which he inscribed many touching lines. His mind was constantly occupied with his misfortunes, the miseries of the wretched subjects of the prince who held him in durance vile, and many romantic subjects. When he was released, he

resumed the publishing of his journal with great vigour, having unfortunately broken his arm, his health failed, and he died in 1791. To his talents as a writer and poet, he added those of a good musician, having filled the post of organist at Ludwigsberg during some period with much distinction.

Voss commenced his classical studies by joining a club of twelve students, each of whom took, in turn, the mastership, and lectured his fellows. From Klopstock Ramler he learned to versify in hexameters, and commenced sending contributions to the "Göttingen Almanack of the Muses." He obtained a post of professor in the Philological Seminary from his friend Heyne, whom, notwithstanding, he attacked in a low, improper tone, and in consequence lost his post again. With a number of young men he formed a society named the "Göttingen Friends," which furnished materials for the "Almanack of the Muses." In this club were a number of poets of the day, Bürger, Boie, the Stolbergs, Miller, and Klopstock himself; they called themselves the "Göttingen, or Hainbund," and often celebrated by songs and verses, under wide-spreading oaks, the names of their favorite poets. Voss describes one of these festivals:— "either side of the table sat the children of the bards. The first, the head, leaning back in his arm chair. Toasts were first Klopstock's. Boie stood up, took the glass and exclaimed, 'Klopstock!' Every one followed his example, raised his glass, uttered the sacred name, and, after a reverential sip, drank. Then were proposed other healths, but not so solemn. Lessing, Ramler, Gleim, Gessner, Gerstenberg, &c. were one, Boie I think, named Wieland. We sprang up with our glasses, and exclaimed, 'Death to the destroyer of music! death to Wieland!'"

The taste and freedom in versification, which Lessing and Herder introduced became so general, that each of the members of this society conceived himself to be a poet, and his verses, which were criticised and commented on by the others. Voss, who on account of his straitened circumstances was barely able to get an education at the college at New Hamdenburgh, and afterwards saved some money as tutor in a gentleman's family, became a member of the bund, through the kind friendship of Boie. Some of his fugitive verses were published in the "Almanack of the Muses," the organ of the "Göttingen Friends." Klopstock even encouraged him.

pursue the path of poetry, and he gave up his vocation of a clergyman, for which he had been educated. He proceeded to Hamburg to visit the author of the "Messiah," whom he looked on as little less than an Apostle. A short illness afterwards confined him to bed in Boie's house, where he was attended by Ernestine, the daughter of his friend, and fell in love with her accordingly. He settled down afterwards at the village of Wandsbeck, with his friend Mathias Claudius, and though he missed the directorship of a school, which he had solicited, yet his income from the "Musen Almanach" was about 500 thalers, or £65 per annum, at that time a reasonable stipend and sum to live on in Germany. This income was not, however, considered sufficient by the mother of Ernestine to allow of her marrying her lover; they were obliged to wait until Voss obtained the directorship of the "Musen Almanach," and an increased salary of £70 a year. The life of the young couple on this pittance must have been very constrained indeed; still they did not despair of better days. He hired a small garden pavillion in addition to the room he had occupied as a bachelor; a table, a few chairs, sofa, foot-stool, and curtains, were all their furniture, yet they were happy.

Here he composed several original poems, the "Evening Walk," "The Penitent Damsel," and worked heavily through a versified translation of Homer. This is one of the most surprising productions ever brought forth by man. It follows line for line, almost word for word, and in hexameter verse, the original Greek. He was obliged, however, to publish it at Hamburg, in 1781, by subscription, on account of his limited means. This translation had a most important effect on the literature of the time, and the German language. It brought the German hexameter almost to its greatest perfection, and rendered it ready and pliable for the master-hand of Goethe. Though Menzel accuses Voss of "Plunging all the worthy poets of old into his witches' cauldron fresh and healthy, whence they come out little Vosses, all marching in buckram," yet a great meed of praise must be awarded to him, for the lucidity and fidelity with which he has transposed Homer and Virgil from the old languages into his own modern tongue.

He continued still struggling with his pecuniary difficulties; one of his boys died, his wife became ill, but he obtained a good situation at Eutin, through the friendship of Count Stolberg. Having completed his translations, he turned his

mind to an original poem, "Louise," which for a long was very popular in Germany. It was very much admired by Schiller, who declares in his "Essay on Naive and Sentimental Poetry," that "it resembles the antique in its purity and simplicity;" yet it has lost all its charms for the taste of the present day. His "Idyls" are much in the same character, and gained also a great reputation for their author.

The translations of Horace, Hesiod, and Theocritus were so good as his first, and did not serve in any way to increase his fame. He obtained the office of Principal of the College at Heidelberg, just founded by the Grand Duke of Baden, and ended his days quietly in that town at the age of seventy years.

Voss's excellence lies in the peculiar faithfulness of his translations, and the perfection to which he brought the German hexameters. His other principal poem, the "Louise," though now thought very little of beyond the Rhine, enjoyed in its time a large reputation.

The Hainbund produced three other remarkable poets of the second order, Stolberg, Hoelty, and Claudius. The first, was the son of the Chamberlain to the Queen of Denmark, and has been rendered chiefly famous by his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. His friends, Voss, Gleim, Jacobi, and others, looked upon this "apostacy" with the utmost horror, and certainly used no very measured terms towards their former associate, when he was about changing his form of religion. His second wife, Sophia, Countess Dinadra, and the Princess Galitzin used a very strong influence on the mind of Stolberg in producing the revolution of belief; but it cannot be said on that account, that he was of weak mind, or not capable of forming a satisfactory judgment on the subject. That he was a true poet, his ballads, still very popular in Germany, attest to the fullest extent. The following will serve as an example.

LAY OF THE SWABIAN KNIGHT TO HIS SON.

Take, my son, thy father's spear,
This weak arm no more can bear;
Take the shield to guard at need,
Mount henceforth my gallant steed.

Fifty years upon my head
Has this iron helmet weighed.
Every year, my sword, my life,
Have I risked in war and strife.

Duke Rudolph, my honoured lord,
Gave this spear, and shield, and sword,
For his cause I still maintained,
And proud Henry's pay disdained.

Staunch in freedom's cause he stood,
Shed for it his noble blood,
And despite full many a wound,
Gallantly he held his ground.

Hasten to the war's alarms,
Emperor Conrad calls to arms;
Son, thine aid I should not seek,
Were this hand less old or weak.

Never draw in vain the brand
For thy dear, thy native land,
Vigilant in watch by night,
And by day the first in fight.

Every peril swift to meet,
 Always seek the conflict's heat,
 Spare the unresisting breast,
 Strike down every haughty crest.

If in vain thy standard wave
 O'er thy faltering troop, then brave,
 Firm as some unshaken tower,
 All the foe's advancing power.

Seven loved sons, brave spirits all,
 Have I seen before me fall,

And thy mother, broken-hearted,
 Faded, pined, and then departed.

Lonely am I now and old,
 But thy shame were hundredfold
 Heavier to this aged breast,
 Than the loss of all the rest.

Dread not death, for die we must,
 In the Almighty place thy trust,
 Fight as fought thy sires of yore,
 And rejoice this heart once more.

Hoelty was a native of Hanover. In his youth, being very studious, he acquired a competent knowledge of the principal European languages, by teaching which he was afterwards able to gain his livelihood. This, alternating with his poetical compositions, rambles in the country, and evenings passed with his friends of the Hainbund, constituted the even tenor of his life. He has left several pleasant poems and songs, generally of a melancholy character. The following, of another description, is still sung in Germany with enthusiasm:—

DRINKING SONG.

A very paradise of bliss
 We owe to father Rhine.
 Sweet I confess a gentle kiss,
 But sweeter rosy wine.
 When I but see the table spread,
 And glasses brightly gleam,
 As lightome as a fawn I tread
 That dances by the stream.

What matters all the world to me
 When bright the bowl is gleaming,
 And the rich juice I love to see
 Ripe at my lip is streaming?
 Then, like the gods, the flask I drain,
 With purple mantling o'er;
 The fire runs swift through every vein;
 I drink and ask for more.

This world were but a vale of woe,
 Of whim and gout and grief,
 If noble Rhine wine did not flow
 A source of sure relief;

That lifts the beggar to the throne,
 Annuls both Heaven and Earth,
 Gives an Elysium of its own
 To all of mortal birth.

'Tis the true panacea, 'tis plain;
 The old man's blood it fires;
 It frights away each ache and pain,
 And hope and youth inspires.
 Long live the fair and blissful land
 That grows the rosy wine,
 And long live he whose skilful hand
 Planted and propp'd the vine.

And every pretty little lass
 Who plucked the grape I ween,
 To her a full and brimming glass
 I dedicate as queen!
 So long live every German bold
 Who still his Rhine wine drinks
 So long as the glass can hold;
 Then down to earth he sinks!

A spitting of blood and consequent consummation carried off this gentle poet in his twenty-eighth year. His verses, which usually appeared in the "Musen Almanach," are light and melodious, have been frequently set to music, and are still great favorites with his countrymen. Claudius, another of the associates, called the "Wandsbecker Messenger," from the village in which he resided, has left poems of the same style and character of those of Hoelty, and may be classed in the same school.

Another member of the Hainbund is still better known in this country than any of the former by the translations of Sir

Walter Scott. Bürger, the incidents of whose life are most romantic description, was in his youth of very dissipated habits until somewhat reclaimed by the influence of his friend Boie, who made him a contributor to the *Musen Almanach*. In this he published a well-known song, "*Herr Bacchus ein braver mann*," (Bacchus is a gallant fellow,) which resounded throughout Germany, and became a favorite of the Göttingen students. His "*Wild Huntsman*" "*Leonore*" may be found in Scott's works, so that it is unnecessary to re-produce them here.

He married a young lady named Dora —, although at the time deeply in love with her sister, a girl of sixteen. This produced the most baneful effects upon the poet's happiness and that of his wife. During ten long years Molly the sister lived in his house, a constant cause of jealousy and misery to Dora, yet she bore it all with the calmest resignation, until consumption relieved her for ever from the troubles of this life. Shortly after her death Bürger married the sister whom he has celebrated in many sonnets and minor poems, but lost her again within a year on giving birth to a son. This event threw him into a dreadful state of despair, which was relieved by a very curious incident. A young Swabian named Eliza, fell in love with him merely from perusing his poetry, and published in a newspaper called the "*Examinateur*" the following lines as a challenge to the man she adored:

Oh! Bürger, Bürger! noble man,
Who pours forth lays as no one can
Save thee, replete with fire
And passion, lend me, to impart
The thoughts that fill my glowing heart.
Thy poet's lyre.

The verses continued in the same strain, and thus concluded:

For if a thousand suitors came
Laden with gold—to press their flame,
And Bürger too were there,
I'd give him modestly my hand,
And gladly change my fatherland
For thee! no matter where.

Then if again inclined to woo,
Seek thee a Swabian maiden true,
And choose me, I implore,
With German soul and Swabian form,
And all the generous warmth of youth,
I'll love thee evermore.

Bürger's answer to this was a long letter, in which he gave a full account of his own peccadilloes, and warned the young lady against deciding to marry him. She, however, was resolute; they were united, and the natural result followed. Eliza began to live in the most extravagant style, beyond the means of her husband, and finally treated him as he had treated his first wife. A separation followed, which along with a

against him by his patron Count Ulten, soon to the grave. His poems, principally consisting of Molly, during his first wife's lifetime and after she had been done into English by various hands, and made known to many of our readers. The following little charming description of rural scenery :—

MY VILLAGE.

The earliest dawn
Of rosy morn,
Awakes us both,
While, nothing loathe,
My steps she leads
Where morning's queen
The flowery meads
And pastures green
With dew is sprinkling,
Where pearls are glittering
And dew-drops twinkling,
And birds are twittering.
The bud uncloses
Its hidden bloom,
And blushing roses
Shed sweet perfume.
They blossom bright, love,
But not more bright
Than thy sweet form, love,
My life, my light !
And now we spread
Our frugal meal,
Where o'er our head
The sunbeams steal
Through leaves embowering
And branches flowering.

Thus in full measure
Still abound
Mirth and pleasure
In joyful sound,
Oh ! blissful lot !
If time be kind
And blight thee not,
But leave my mind
Untainted still
And firm my will,
Nor change the form
And heart so warm,
Then fortune go
To East or West,
Thy gifts bestow
As thou deem'st best
I still shall gaze
From envy clear,
And sing thy praise,
My village dear !

und produced another school of poets, which carry the German taste into an extreme opinion of Voss, Goethe, and Schiller, into whose era arriving, the romantic as opposed to the classical were the two Schlegels, Tieck, de la Motte

Fouqué, Novalis, and Schulze, who revived the taste of Gothic manners, chivalrous poems, and a despising unities in composition. The taste of the old school in architecture, and paintings of the middle ages, was revived. Old cathedrals crumbling to ruins were repaired, and the of Hemmling and Lucas Cranach were drawn forth from obscurity. The two first, William and Frederick Schlegel, more celebrated as philologists and critics than as poets. William wrote at Jena in a periodical called the "Hefte," afterwards lectured at Berlin, accompanied Madame de Staël to Coppet as tutor to her son, and finally ended his career at Vienna. His works on "Dramatic Art and Literature" are well known in this country; not so his translation of Shakespeare, which is the most perfect in German, rendering sense and spirit of our great dramatist in a very accurate manner. He did not finish it completely. Tieck undertook the remainder with an equal degree of success. Frederick Schlegel was intended for a commercial life, married the daughter of the famous philosophic Jew Mendelssohn, became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He fought for the Archduke Charles in his campaign of 1800, and was appointed Secretary of Legation to the Austrian Embassy at Frankfort, and died in 1829. His work "On the Value and Language of the Indians" and his "History of Ancient and Modern Literature" will render him famous to all ages as a critic; but he attempted poems, particularly one called "Lucinde," which were complete failures, from want of force or imagination. He supported, however, very strenuously the school of romance, and wrote down the strictness of classic

The followers of the Romanticists did not long exercise moderation in their principles or ideas. They fell into the most grievous absurdities, producing the most extravagant romances and effusions, which threatened to destroy the poetic feeling in Germany. This was very much owing to the writings of Tieck, who though he did not himself wander far into the regions of wild fancy, yet his influence led others who were not able to restrain their imaginations. He was the son of an honest rope-maker, but from the early perusal of "Götz von Berlichingen" and Schiller's "Robbers" he was raised up his mind to a high pitch of excitement. At the Universities of Halle and Göttingen, he studied very vigorously, translating while at the latter Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *Macbeth*, and writing a variety of novels. He threw himself

osophy of Böhme, Kant, Fichte and Schelling, only to abandon altogether as ridiculous the transcendentalism. He visited London in 1810, with the greatest reverence for every reminiscence of Goethe, and died at Berlin in 1843. His "Volksmärchen" and "Novellen," are his principal claims to fame; they are pretty well known here by Carlyle's

one of those strange minds, who now and then appear on the surface of the earth, and of whom it is very difficult to say whether a strain of madness does not run through the composition. He united an extraordinary readiness and desire to fathom the attributes of the Eternities, the mysteries of religion, a wild species of mysticism, which led him to be nearly idolized by his youthful countrymen, with a fantastic imagination bordering on extravagance. He fell in love with a young lady of thirteen, who died of consumption, and he died himself almost at the same time. Another young lady, his affianced bride, at the age of twenty-eight years. His "Henry von Ofterdingen," and other pieces carry romanticism to a most extraordinary extent.

His "Undine," so familiar with all readers of this country, De la Motte Fouqué, was well acquainted with many of the associates of the Hainbund, and much used to propagate the doctrines of the romantic school. His fame chiefly rests on the fairy prose poem above mentioned, but he has also left many minor pieces of considerable merit. Schülze was of another order of mind; his poems are still very popular. He commenced when he was young with "Psyche," which displays a fertile and lively imagination, but is spoiled by diffuseness and affectation. He then published another poem "Cecilia," which was interrupted by the war of liberation in 1813, when he joined the Prussian army. He composed several martial songs, for his fellow patriots. Amongst them is one very well known, which follows by Mme. Pontés:—

THE BLACK JAGER.

What is gleaming so gaily on bush and on bae,
What is shining in greenwood so bright,
Who comes forth from the wood in such gallant array,
Who are rushing from mountain and height?
Tis the Jagers! on, on in a torrent we flow,
And rush to the combat and pounce on the foe,
To battle, to victory—to triumph we go.

We come from the Hartz and its forests so old,
 Full they tell us, of glittering store ;
 But what do we care or for silver or gold ?
 Give us freedom—we ask for no more !
 To others we leave it—more nobly we feel ;
 We don our bright armour, our cuirass of steel ;
 For us upon earth the sword only has worth,
 And we care for nought save our fatherland's weal !

To drink and to love and be loved has its charms ;
 In the shade it is pleasant to dream ;
 But nobler to rush 'mid the battle's alarms,
 When the sword and the bayonet gleam,
 Love's torch is not brighter than glory's proud hue,
 And where thousands are sleeping, why we may sleep too
 As heroes we'll fall 'neath the sword or the bull,
 And pour forth our heart's blood so gallant and true.

Full oft in the darkness, in forest and glen,
 Or high on the storm-beaten rock,
 We have lingered to track the fierce wolf to his den,
 Nor dreaded the hurricane's shock.
 And now the bright sunshine is streaming above us ;
 We go to defend all we love ! all who love us !
 Be it battle or chase—in the enemy's face—
 To us it is one ; for no peril can move us.

Schülze entered a battalion of Jägers as a volunteer and entered Hamburg with his corps when Davoust entered that town, on the reverse of fortune of the French emperor. When peace ensued he returned to the composition of "Cecilia," a story founded on the introduction of Christianity among the rites and paganism of the Odin Theology. The wife of a Northern Monarch has secretly embraced the new religion. An angel is sent down from heaven to warn her and her twin children, and presents her with a magic ring, on the possession of which depends their safety. A sorceress, representing the ancient superstition, contrives to possess herself of the flower, and the most horrible misfortune overwhelms the unfortunate princess. This plot and the actions of a son of the queen carry the poem through a poetic, but somewhat wearisome cantos, any extract from it would be too lengthy for these pages. Another poem, "Enchanted Rose," for which he gained a prize at Leipzig, is in a lighter and gayer style, but wanders off into the remote regions of fairy land. He died of the same disease as Novalis, and very nearly at the same age.

Mme. Pontés has left out of her record of German literature the most remarkable names of the series, Schiller and Goethe, partly because they have been so ably written upon by other authors before, and also because she seems to intend to devote a separate volume to an examination of their literary works. This will be an arduous task, when we consider

first literary men of our own age have already
performed the same labour. We do not mean either
reason to dwell much on their history, except so
far as it forms a link in the chain of German poets. Their
reputation is principally founded on their dramatic productions,
and their minor pieces have issued from their pens, espe-
cially that of Schiller.

It cannot be said to belong strictly, either to the purely
romantic, but he is decidedly very much in
the classical. He may be called the Sophocles
of his greatest work, the "Faust," must be classed
among the productions of the opposite school. He was born
in 1749, and studied law at Leipsic. He estab-
lished himself at Wetzlar, where he practised, and there the
events of the "Sorrows of Werter," fell under
his hand. They were formed into a species of novel, which
made an immense impression in Germany at the time.
The young Duke of Weimar was called to the
throne shortly after Privy-Councillor, and accom-
panied on a journey into Switzerland. In 1782, he
of noble birth, visited Italy in 1786, and on his
return he resided at Weimar, where Wieland, Schiller,
and other celebrated men, combined to adorn what
was called the Athens of Germany. He made a
journey into Italy in 1789, and then accepted the post
of Director of the Theatre at Weimar. His productions were
not only dramas, poetry or novels, but extended to vari-
ous branches of natural science, the metamorphoses of plants,
colours, and many principles of optics. During
his sojourn at Erfurth in 1807, he shewed great con-
fidence in the poet, who seems not to have entirely forgot-
ten his pension, as he kept himself altogether aloof in
the national struggle against France, a main subject of
contestation against him by his fellow-countrymen. His only
personal link of friendship or family
connection to life, died at Rome in 1830. This had a
fatal effect on him, and he departed in the year 1832 under
years of isolation. His ashes rest near those
of his greatest friends, Charles Augustus, Duke of
Saxe-Weimar, his rival Schiller.

His earliest works were, "Götz von Berlichingen" and
"Werter." They produced an immense influ-

ence on the character of literature at the time, the first leaning it towards extreme romance, and the second to sentimentality. One of Sir Walter Scott's earliest efforts was a translation of the first; it very probably gave rise in his mind to the idea of *Marion and the Lady of the Lake*. The "*Apprentice of Wilhelm Meister*," written some twenty years after, may be regarded as a truer index of the poet's character. It was brought out at a second and sounder period of his life, and marked out with due forethought during a period of ten years. Concerning this work Carlyle has the following remarkable passage.

"It is wonderful to see with what softness the scepticism of Jarno, the commercial spirit of Werner, the reposing poise of manhood of Lothario and the uncle, the unearthly enthusiasm of the harper, the gay animal vivacity of Philina, the noble and ethereal, almost spiritual nature of Mignon, are blended together in this work; how justice is done to each, how each lives freely in his proper element, in his proper form, and how as Wilhelm himself, the mild-hearted, all-hoping, all-believing Wilhelm, struggles forward towards his world, through these curiously completed influences, all this is blended into a multifarious, yet so harmonious whole, as if it were a clear poetic mirror, where man's life and business in the world, his passions and purposes, the highest equally with the lowest, are imaged back to us in beautiful significance."

It is impossible in this limited space to give a complete account of the works of this greatest of the German poets. They have been so often criticized and translated by various hands in this country, that anyone who has any acquaintance with German literature, must have some idea of the immense field of action over which he ranged, and the influence he possessed. He was the spirit of his age; his period of triumph extends from the time of Lessing down to our time; his effect on letters in his own land was somewhat opposed to the free national boldness and independence of Lessing. It is strange that in those of his works, which are the most novel and striking, his *Wilhelm Meister*, *Werter*, *Faust*, and *Fact and Fiction* concerning man, the principal interest is concentrated on facts relating to his own actions, and a certain amount of self-portraiture. *Faust* is undoubtedly his greatest poem, and also the greatest revelation of himself, in which his deepest feelings and views of the world are depicted in various characters. We would reco-

translation to our readers, as one which gives the idea of the original. It has not been hitherto at all appreciated in this country.

and a very strong inclination for supporting the tendencies of his age, and also for regarding as a necessity for observing a strictness of morality in female characters. There are very few of his pieces that account have not an injurious effect upon the youth. By this means he has gained a great ascendancy over the feelings and tastes of the rising generation in Germany. His great excellence consists in the supremacy which he displays, independent of the subject, in representing, adorning and delivering his feelings. Menzel says of him "Goethe is altogether a poetical poet. He is in his works what the English manufactures, extremely simple, neat, convenient, and durable. He has done in German literature what no other did among English artists." It must however be admitted that many of the poet's characters are not of that kind which ought to be made examples worthy of imitation. There are many of them weak and dishonorable, bearing no proportion to the magnificence of composition which is to be found in them. His beauty of language and euphony of sound cannot be surpassed, but when we come to consider his works in the entire, their influence, object and manner seems to be completely unworthy of the form in which they are presented.

Each part is conceived with great spirit and energy, but combines to form a dangerous compound. The cause of his popularity among his fellow-countrymen is to be found in the way in which he has written. He wrote to describe modern society, its external brilliancy, its politeness of fashion, and social refinement. There is no doubt that he was supreme in his period. He is chiefly remarkable for his difference of styles, and the manner in which he succeeded in producing pieces very much resembling those of other authors in different forms of letters and meters. His "Werther" has been regarded as approaching the *Nouvelle Heloise* in visionary sentimentalism; his comedies copy considerably Molière and Beaumarchais; his dramas are formed very much on the model of Shakespeare; his lyrics imitate the old popular songs, and are much indebted to the influence of Herder. In his other works he is original because he holds himself forward as the

model. But he endeavoured also to mix up all the taste of different ages and countries, Grecian, Roman, classical, romantic, Chinese, French, Indian, Christian and Heathen in a heterogeneous whole. This produces such a dashing of elements, that the charm of unity and the force of poetry is lost, and a modern tasteless style, without enthusiasm or feeling has been the consequence.

The drama in Germany had been freed by Lessing from servile imitation, which his predecessors had given to the productions of the French stage. It had been relieved from strict rules of the unities, and allowed to range freely into realms of imagination. The other extreme was very soon afterwards reached; all sorts of extravagancies and absurdities were brought upon the stage, whose dignity was often outraged by scenes of low life, and vulgar representations. In this state of corruption Goethe found it; he undertook to remedy its defects and to exalt the national theatre. His "*Goetz von Berlichingen*," a drama of the 16th century in the time of Maximilian, a picture of true chivalrous manner and nobility, had a strong effect in improving the taste of the age; "*Egmont*" had a like tendency. To bring back the spirit of the poetry from the extravagances of romanticism he composed "*Iphigenie en Taunide*," a tragedy of the purest classical style. Herein consists his great superiority over the compositions of Kotzebue and Schiller, who surpass him in other pieces on modern subjects, such as "*The Death of Rolla*" of the former and the "*Robbers*" of the latter. Goethe's pieces intended for the stage are not in fact of nearly as great an excellence as those which cannot be represented. The bounds which were put to the exercise of his talents in the one case seem to have weighed on and depressed them much below those of independent minds. One of his strangest productions is the "*Naemke's Daughter*," in which the personages are designated by general names such as the king, the father, daughter &c. without any personal appellation. "*Faust*," his masterpiece, may be said to contain within itself every species of poetry, dramatic, lyric, romantic &c.; the variety of its subjects is endless, but its moral is bad, and as has been before said a sneering contempt for female virtue, reigns throughout it. This is the worst evil tendency of Goethe's poems.

Schiller in his youth had been destined for the church, but his ideas were turned from it by some theatrical representations.

which produced a prodigious effect on him. He afterwards attempted the military life and the study of the law with the same effect. The works of Klopstock, Goethe and Lessing, had at this time somewhat purified the taste of Germany in literature. He commenced his career of letters in the University of Stuttgart, where he also took a medical degree and shewed a great taste for the study of psychology. In 1781, he published his "Robbers," the electrical effect of which rung throughout Germany. This is one of the most remarkable dramas in the language. The rapidity of the dialogue, the horror of the scenes, the dreadful character of the hero, raised the excitement of the piece to the highest pitch. But there are many defects in it,—improbable situations, confusion of scenes, extravagant often gross language, and manners of the eighteenth carried into the 16th century. The moral tendency of the piece was so bad that it was forbidden in many of the states in Germany. His "Conspiracy of Fiesco" and "Love and Intrigue" are open to nearly the same objections, and do not possess the same stirring interest as the former tragedy. At Dresden he wrote "Don Carlos," and made the acquaintance of Wieland, Goethe and others at Weimar, where he was appointed professor extraordinary of history. Shortly after appeared his "History of the Insurrection of the Netherlands" and many historical treatises. He married in 1790 a Mlle. de Lengsfeld, whom he had often seen at Rudolstadt, and the same year brought out his "History of the Thirty Years' War," which has more scope, development, description and freedom than his former work. He received pensions from the hereditary prince and from the Prime Minister of Denmark, which enabled him to carry on his literary labors without interruption. The Duke of Weimar also favored and supported him, he commenced the drama of Wallenstein in 1792, and published the magazine, called, "die Floren" "The Hours" in 1795, and a series of epigrammatic distichs in common with Goethe in the "Musen Almanack" of 1797. His constant study and weakness of constitution brought on a disease of the chest which never was entirely cured. This prevented him from following up his writings as he desired. Many princes and states endeavoured to secure his presence, but the Duke of Weimar who obtained for him patents of nobility and lucrative offices fixed him at his capital, where he enjoyed the society of his friend Goethe, and an opportunity of superintending the

theatre there. His last pieces were for the stage, "The Queen of Scots," "Joan of Arc," "William Tell," and "The Bride of Messina." He expired in 1805 in the 46th year of his age of a malignant fever.

Schiller is accused of having given to his plays a romantic coarseness, which does not distinguish between the elegant literature and of common life. But it must be said of him that he represented nothing but great and noble characters; that the dignity of his pieces is well sustained, without the moral tendency of Goethe's writing, or the mysticism of Kotzebue and Werner. Schiller was more popular with the lower classes, Goethe with the higher, because the first delineated the true German character from its originals, the latter derived from an ideal perfection of aristocracy and fashion. The poetry of Schiller is also full of a youthful, energetic spirit, which purified and invigorated the taste of his fellow-countrymen. There are so many, and so good translations from his works, that it would be waste of space to give any of them here. They contain so much of the philosophy of life, that they work upon the consciences of men, opposing every evil and commonplace. His ideal characters are particularly distinguished by their purity, nobleness, and the fire of passion which they contain. Schiller may be called the Euripides of the German drama. He is not so varied, so vast in his conceptions, or so striking in his characters as Goethe; but the generosity and nobleness of his own soul pervades all his productions, and engender an enthusiasm for virtue, liberty, and greatness in his readers and audience.

During nearly a period of fifty years the popularity of the two great dramatists, Goethe and Schiller, was eclipsed by that of a much inferior writer Kotzebue. His merits were at one time most ridiculously exaggerated, and since have been almost justly depreciated. Many of his pieces are certainly free from the charge of frivolity and tediousness, but it must be allowed that they possess several passages of great power and beauty. The greater number of them, "The Two Brothers," "Misanthropy and Repentance," "The Hussites," "The Death of Rolla, or Pizarro," have been translated into English and other languages, so that it is unnecessary to do more than allude to them here. His greatest faults are these, a morbid sensibility and straining after effect, not sufficient attention to the morals, manners, and national characters of his personages.

interest pervades all his pieces, and has made them
 far wherever they have been represented.

He had a very powerful effect upon the drama,
 on lyric poetry in Germany. It tended to pro-
 generate and absurd style of performance, full of
 exciting incidents mixed up with mysterious and
 horrors scarcely fit for the stage. The principal
 style were Müllner, Werner, Grillparzer, and
 first began his career in an extraordinary manner,
 as elder brother for the hand of a young lady,
 still of his own mother. It was not until the brother
 died, that he obtained the accomplishment of
 This however did not give him continued happiness
 He was more inclined to dance, than to listen to
 enjoy his conversation, so that the union turned
 thing but well assorted. In 1812 he brought
 a poem, "Schuld," (*Crime*), in which there is
 of verse and vivid imagery, but the extravagant
 siding fate, or overpowering destiny, something
 "ex Machinâ" of the Greek tragedies, reigns
 the action. The interest of the piece turns on the
 a fearful prophecy, by which the hero kills his
 a torn with remorse destroys himself, which ex-
 coite imitates, producing a horrible fascination on
 the reader. The reputation of this drama was so
 the Empress Elizabeth of Russia had it played
 and presented the author with a diamond ring in
 admiration. Müllner did not long survive the
 domestic happiness; he died rather suddenly in
 19.

Werner and Goethe, no man's plays have been so po-
 nary, as those of Werner. His life was one of
 vicissitudes, beginning by the bed-side of his
 father. He married three wives, the two first of which
 he lost sight of; the third a Polish girl named
 obliged to get a divorce from him on account of
 vice and licentiousness, but strange to say, she
 and husband lived on terms of intimacy with him
 a period afterwards. He also was a companion of
 Schlegel at Coppet, along with Schlegel, Chamisso, &c.
 went to Rome, joined the Roman Catholic Church,
 a clergyman, was made priest at Aschaffenburg, and for

a series of years preached to admiring audiences in Vienna. As an author he has shown great boldness and richness of feeling, strong and abundant fluency of language, kindness of feeling, and appreciation of all that is excellent. He has certainly some confusion of thought, mingling the romantic with the real, a confusion of the offspring of imagination with the facts of everyday life. His drama "Luther," was hailed throughout Germany with a burst of enthusiasm, although the characters are too ideal and fantastic. "Attila" is not so much influenced by mysticism, the personages approach nearer to the actual history. It is founded on the tale of Hildegarde, Attila's last wife, whose father and brothers he had caused to be murdered. He then forced the maiden to become his wife, but the next morning the conqueror was found weltering in his blood, his bride seated beside his bed, bathed in tears, and wrapt in her long veil. The "29th of February," the most striking and popular of Werner's dramas, is constructed out of very simple but horrible materials. The scene is laid in an Alpine cottage between the father, his wife, and his son. The old man had slain his father in his youth, and the curse of Cain followed him. His own son slew his young sister, and fled into foreign service, and now returns to his father's house without being recognised. The father, who has made a habit of murdering strangers under his roof, stabs his son when asleep for some gold he carried about him, and learns from the dying lips the relationship which exists between them. The plot and incidents are of the most distressing character, heightened very much by the situation and mode of life of the personages who enact it.

Another member of the romantic school of a vision, though powerful mind, was Kleist. He began his career in the army, then studied at Frankfort for a professorship, then repaired to Berlin to endeavour to advance himself in life. He met successively with two young ladies, who returned his affection, but his wayward and extravagant procrastination and absurd ideas about domestic happiness, compelled them to break up their engagements with him. He met Wieland's son in Switzerland, through whom he obtained an intimacy with his father, and afterwards with Goethe and Schiller. At Königsberg where he settled for some time he composed several novels and dramas, the "Schroffenstein Family," in which two fathers kill their own children, and a comedy, "The Broken Jug,"

ment of the failure of which at Weimar he challenged Goethe, under whose direction it had been brought out. In 1807 he was arrested by the French at the gates of Berlin as a spy, and taken to Fort de Joux and afterwards to Chalons-sur-Seine. Afterwards settled at Dresden, where he produced his "Kathchen von Heilbunn," and "Prince of Homburg," the latter a drama of the middle ages, the second dating in the 30 years' war. The crowning tragedy of his life arose from his intimacy with a young lady, Henrietta —, who imagined she had some incurable disease, which preyed on her mind. This produced a morbid melancholy, chiming in with the temper of the poet, and ending in the following dreadful scene as related by Mme. de Pontés:—

Kleist was passionately fond of music, and Henrietta had a voice of unusual power and sweetness. One day when she had sung more movingly than usual, Kleist exclaimed: "That is beautiful enough to shoot one's self for." "*Schön zum Todtschiessen.*" She looked at him earnestly, but made no reply. Some little time afterwards she enquired if he remembered a promise he had made to let her have a great service if she desired it? He replied in the affirmative. "Well then," she exclaimed impetuously, "fulfil it now for me; my sufferings render life insupportable. But no, you will not." "There are no more men of honour on earth." "You are mistaken," replied Kleist, "I am a man of honour, and will do as I said."

Everything was arranged between the unhappy pair with a calmness, a deliberation which would make us doubt the fact of the intimacy which darkened the intellects of both, did we not know that these, too, has its method. On the morning of the 20th November, 1811, they set off together from Berlin, without, it seems, attracting any particular attention, and drove for a while on the road to Potsdam. They stopped at a little country inn, where they spent the rest of the day and the following morn in apparent cheerfulness. Towards the afternoon they set out on foot for a walk, as they had, and proceeded towards a wood some little distance from the town. A few hours later a forester heard two shots following each other with strange rapidity. He hastened to the spot whence they came, and found Henrietta lying lifeless beneath an old and blasted tree, her hands clasped on her bosom, whilst Kleist knelt before her—his head had fallen on his shoulder—he had shot himself through the temple. Such was the terrible end of this gifted and ill-fated pair.

Grillparzer has become famous in Germany by his play of "Ahnfrau," or "Ancestress," more wild and extravagant fancy and language than any of Werner's or the "Robbers"

of Schiller. The plot consists in the heroine being condemned to wander over the earth, on account of an early crime by which the last scion of her race is extinct. This occurs by a chief stabbing his own father to the heart, and his sister committing herself then immolating themselves. "Sappho," by the same author, is a poem of considerable lyric beauty, much admired by Lord Byron, when translated into Italian.

Rauppach had endeavoured to produce on the stage a representation of the historical glories of the ancient rulers of Germany. The "Hohenstauffen" relates the principal events in the history of that noble house. The "Nibelungen Hört," is a representation of the principal passages of the celebrated romance of that name. They are however sadly deficient in rapidity, distinctness of character, and harmony of arrangement. He spent the greater part of his life in some of the most remote parts of Russia, and died in 1829. Since that period have arisen numerous dramatic authors, Grabbe, Kellner, Moser, all of whom belong to the romantic school. Their productions, however, are such a mass of "extraordinary situations, exaggerated sentiments, or physiological curiosities," that confusion alone is their distinguishing feature. The romantic school has now run into the wildest extreme, and requires Lessing or Goethe to start up, in order to reduce it to the rules or order of classicality.

There remains to be considered a class of lyric poets of the romantic school, the varied subjects of whose muse were confined to ancient classicality, or modern romanticism. They brought out songs of sentiment, convivial, martial and pastoral, stirring the hearts of the German people, and making their authors almost the idols of the people. This phenomenon notes the rise of the democratic element, not yet brought to its perfection, but ere long calculated to produce its full effect.

Hoelderlin was one of those poets who endeavoured to mingle the spirit of classicality with the fancy of romanticism, and to blend the rules of antiquity with the wild fancy of the middle ages. His life was one of mental misfortune, notwithstanding a great friendship which Schiller conceived for him on account of his amiable manners. He was a tutor in the family of Mme. von Kulb, with whom Schiller had been in the same capacity, and afterwards in that of a wealthy banker at Stuttgart. He was obliged however to leave this place on account of the jealousy of the husband, who was stimulated there

tion of his wife. This event threw a strong shadow over his character, which ended by making him place him under medical restraint. In this manner he lived during six and thirty years, with a few lucid intervals. He died in 1843. He was a great favourite of Schiller, and other contemporaries. The following give a good idea of his style.

E.

On a sacred ground,
And the soul of youth,
Flowers the Ilyssus

And all hearts to truth,
And myrtle bow'rs,
The sounds of joy and

And the rapid hours,
A Paradise on earth;
And its sparkling fountain
In harmony divine,
And allas sacred mountain
The goddess' shrine,
And glided by
So beautiful, so fair.

And to live—to die—
I but met thee there!
And thy song inspired,
And they alone—
And ardour fired,
And minstrel of thine own.
And the glorious strife,
And thy youthful brow,
And a load of life
And a spirit bow!
And ever banished
And lighter clime?

And are they too vanished
And concealed the flight of

Ah! In Athens, like the immortal fire,
Hope and joy still dwell in every breast,
Like the golden fruit, youth's sweet desire
Still was fresh and beautiful and blest.
If amid those proud and happy plains
Destiny had placed thy proud career,—
She was worthy thy inspiring strains,
They are useless, worse than useless, here.
In those better days so bright, so fleet,
We had formed a proud and patriot band,
Not in vain that noble heart had beat
For the freedom of thy native land.
Pause awhile—methinks the hour arrives,
When the ethereal spark may burn anew —
Perish not a single hope survives;
This is not thy sphere, thou brave and true!
Attica! alas! the giant falls,
Where the sons of gods and heroes sleep;
Rent and ruined are the marble halls;
Silence broods there, silence—stern and deep.
Smiling spring descends with balmy gale,
But finds neither flower, nor leaf, nor tree.
Cold and barren is that sacred vale
Where the Ilyssus once flowed bright and free.
Oh! I long to quit this land of gloom
For Alcæus or Anacreon.
Gladly would I sleep within the tomb,
With the holy ones of Marathon.
Be these tears my eyes so often shed
For thy land, oh! sacred Greece! the last.
Fates, in mercy, cut my mingled thread;
For my heart belongeth to the past.

less imaginative, but at the same time, less trans-
parent than the Romancist before mentioned was Cham-
isso by birth, from the plains of Champagne. Two
years were in the Gardes du Corps of Louis XVI.,
and he received a sword from the unfortunate monarch
on the 10th August. The family was obliged to flee
Germany, where young Chamisso pursued his
studies at Pfortzberg, and became more than half a German.
During the war of Prussia against France, but afterwards
in his native country, where he made the acquaintance
of Rahel Levin Wilm, whom he praises very highly, and to whom
he dedicated himself even during her exile at Coppet. His
first poem which brought him into notice, was the strange
story of "Peter Schlemihl; or, the Man who had

lost his Shadow." This has been translated three or four times into English, and into every language in Europe. In 1815 he joined an expedition to the North Pole, which lasted during a good portion of three years, and gave him an opportunity for developing his talent for poetry, up to that time dormant. On his return he married, and shortly afterwards received an indemnity as an old emigrant from the re-ign of the Bourbons, of 100,000 francs. His poems, collected by himself in 1827, caused a considerable sensation in Germany, and earned for him a membership of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Notwithstanding his former emigration he remained in 1830, at the expulsion of the elder Bourbons. Mme. L. gives translations from three of his best pieces, "The Sisters," "Abdallah," and "The Old Washerwoman," the last was the final effort of poetic fire. Written for the sale of it, the proceeds were sufficient to insure her some comfort in her old age. His style is pure and clear, neither partaking of the romantic fancies of Tieck, or the classicalities of Hoel.

Descriptive poetry in German has been the peculiar province of Matthiesson, Salis, and Kosegarten. There is nothing striking or bold in their works; they consist rather of delineations of scenery, natural descriptions, and the emotions and feelings which those are calculated to produce.

The martial and patriotic school is represented by L. and Arndt, whose verses served most powerfully to rouse the Prussian population to resist France, in the war of 1813. The former was stricken down upon the battle field, and had a monument erected to his poetic genius and courage by his fellow-countrymen. The greater number of their poems have been translated into English; the most celebrated, "The Prussian Eagle," and "Where the German fatherland," are too well known to need reproduction here. Mde. Pontés' version of the "Song of the black Jager" is so spirited, that it deserves to be put before our readers.

SONG OF THE BLACK JAGER.

On to the field! spirits of vengeance move us,
On Germans bold and free!
On to the field—our standard waves above us,
On—death or victory!

Small is our band; but strong is our reliance
Upon a righteous Lord.
To every art of Hell we bid defiance;
He is our shield and sword.

No quarter, friends! High wield your
weapons! cheerly!
Death be the invader's doom,

And every drop of blood! oh! sell
There's freedom in the tomb.

Still do we wear the funeral garb of
For our departed fame,
And do ye ask what means the hue we
Vengeance, that is its name.

God to our side—our righteous
victorious,
The star of peace shall shine,
And we will plant the standard of
glorious
Beside our own free Rhine!

The list of Poets and Poetry given here, is by no means complete, especially among the modern and contemporary, whom we do not at present mean to criticize further than this, that idealism, mysticism, and the extreme of the romantic, is their prevailing characteristic. Many of their names are well known, and famous; those of Uhland, Freiligrath, Rückart, Kerner, Geibel, &c., are very popular in the Fatherland. It is very strange, that from the days of the nun Hroswitha, before recorded, until the present time, there has been no striking instance of a female German writer of verses. Many have distinguished themselves in the province of prose fiction, but scarcely any attempted to invoke the muse.

The prevailing feature of German poetry in all ages, has been the romantic. In fact this species of composition, as opposed to the classical, may be said to have originated, like the Gothic architecture, among the Teutonic races, and from them propagated to the rest of Europe. After the Edda, the ballad epics of the Nibelungen, Gudrune, Walter of Aquitaine, &c., directed the taste of the middle ages, towards tales of chivalry, and heroes ancient and modern. Then came the minne-singers, whose lyrics tended towards the same end. The meister-sänger only fill up a hiatus, after which the influence of the Reformation changed for a time, the public taste of the age. Hymns, serious, patriotic, and martial songs, came into vogue, poetry declined into a transition state, to be revived by Opitz, Bodmer, &c. Several schools with various tendencies, were now originated; the Silesian, Königsberg, Nuremberg, and Zurich. Bodmer's admiration for the "Paradise Lost," originated the last, and opened the way to a complete regeneration. Here commences the real era of Modern Poetry, which has been said by Menzel to have gone from the lyric, through the dramatic to the epic. In this, we cannot at all agree; on the contrary, it commenced with a species of epic by Bodmer, imitations of pieces in other languages, Hymns of Gellert, and Idyls of Gessner; through the higher epic of Klopstock to the dramas of Lessing, the romances of Wieland, Herder, &c., to the mixture of all tastes, in our own day. After the revival consequent on the Reformation, imitations of the French masters were considered the most perfect; this may be called the period of Gallomania, which extended to the time of Klopstock. He united a certain taste for following English authors and subjects, along with a mixture of classicality; he thought also, that the highest perfection was in

Whence this awful state of facts arises, is one of those questions about which men cannot agree. Some attribute it to the red tape of the Poor Law Commissioners' office; others will have it that all the evils spring from the grasping avarice of the ex-officio guardians; others proclaim that no matter whence the mischiefs have their origin, all are perpetuated and increased, through the stupidity, stolidity and pennywise schemes of the elected guardians. That all those who may be considered accountable for the evils of our Poor Law system should be somewhat unwilling to accept the responsibility of being the authors of these abuses, is not to be wondered at. Who would acknowledge himself the supporter of a system which results in crowding our streets with prostitutes, the Lock wards of our hospitals with patients, our police offices with rogues, our Convict gaols with prisoners, our colonies with worthless, because idle, and ignorant, and unskilled labour; a system which trains the poor-house-reared child to consider that house as his home, because it destroys energy and self-reliance, by a permitted idleness, producing in time, a torpor of every worthy faculty of mind and body.

But, it is often asked, what can we do with them? To this our answer always is, do not teach them that emigration is the object of life; do not let them fancy that all the people of Ireland, not guardians or poorhouse officials, are born for the sole purpose of going to America—teach them that we must all labor, wherever we may be—in a word, keep them at home and work them.

Mr. Hayes, whose valuable pamphlet we have placed at the head of this paper, is a man evidently able to observe and reason for himself. He is, beyond all doubt, a genuine and thorough Irishman, and being neither a bucolic ex-officio, nor a shipping agent, he has been able to convince himself that emigration is not so good a thing for our labouring population as useful employment at home here in Ireland; and in proving this somewhat unfashionable doctrine he gives to the nationalist and to the capitalist one of the most useful and instructive essays it has been our good fortune to read for many a day.

Mr. Hayes addresses his pamphlet to the Poor Law Guardians of Ireland, and we shall here endeavour to condense his arguments. He laments the decline of the small farm system which once prevailed in this country, and he writes:—

“Nothing, as I apprehend, can be more unreasonable or more

t than to expect to find in a country like ours—differing so markedly from England in essential characteristics—equal results a given system ; and those who advocate the adoption of that inferior English practice, must do so in complete ignorance of the conditions of the two countries, forgetting that what may be beneficial to the one, might prove fatal to the other.

Ireland—a peculiarly manufacturing country with numerous towns and cities, actively engaged in some branch or other of industrial manufactures, capable of absorbing the labour of the immigrants—cannot feel *immediately* the evil results arising from the system “which has peopled cities at the expense of villages.” But can this be said of Ireland? On the contrary, ours is essentially an agricultural country, the rural population, when introduced into the cities and towns, only become a source of trouble, and finally a burthen ; for as we possess no manufactures of any extent and have no prospect of acquiring them, while watched by the jealous eye of England ; so our civic districts can hardly be expected to afford any expansion of their present limited powers of employing labour.

It is a truth that it may be inserted that the more the consolidation of small farms takes place, the worse off the towns become ; for not only will they have to bear a disproportionate share of taxation, but they must also endure a considerable loss of business, since no person can reasonably maintain that the custom of the family of a farmer, occupying a few acres, will be an equivalent to that of fifty families, each holding a few acres farms.

It is also a truth that we cannot be insensible to the fact that the population of Ireland, instead of increasing, is still decreasing, that the deaths and emigration considerably exceed the births, and that the estimated loss of population from 1841 to 1857 is nearly 3,000,000 ; so that our population in place of being over 9,000,000 in 1851, was actually found to be only 6,552,385 ! Is it not then our duty to endeavour by some means to check this immense stream of emigration which drains our country of the best of her population ?

And that in the year 1851, the sum of £21,075 was contributed by twenty-nine Unions of Ireland, for the purpose of sending to the colonies and to the United States of America some 4,386 emigrants ; much more money since or before that year may have been expended to the same object, I am not at present in a position to say ; no doubt a very considerable sum has been sent out of the country in this way, by the several Unions which you represent ; and it seems to me that such means of affording relief to the rate-payers are not redound to the permanent advantage of the country. I believe that, at best, you only resort to such a system as a transient wretched expedient, and that emigration manifestly does not prevent pauperism.”

With the absorption of the small farms came the epoch of mass emigration, or as it used to be called, the Irish odium. Referring to this subject, Mr. Hayes writes :—

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England—a peculiarly manufacturing country with numerous cities and towns, actively engaged in some branch or other of industrial art manufactures, capable of absorbing the labour of the rural immigration—cannot feel *immediately* the evil results arising out of the system “which has peopled cities at the expense of villages.” But can this be said of Ireland? On the contrary, ours being essentially an agricultural country, the rural population, driven into the cities and towns, only become a source of trouble, and eventually a burthen; for as we possess no manufactures of any extent, and have no prospect of acquiring them, while watched by the jealous eye of England; so our civic districts can hardly be expected to afford any expansion of their present limited powers of employing labour.

In truth it may be inserted that the more the consolidation of farms takes place, the worse off the towns become; for not only will they have to bear a disproportionate share of taxation, but they must also endure a considerable loss of business, since no person can reasonably maintain that the custom of the family of a farmer, occupying 500 acres, will be an equivalent to that of fifty families, each holding ten acre farms.

You cannot be insensible to the fact that the population of Ireland, instead of increasing, is still decreasing, that the deaths and emigration considerably exceed the births, and that the estimated total loss of population from 1841 to 1857 is nearly 3,000,000; so that our population in place of being over 9,000,000 in 1851, was actually found to be only 6,552,385! Is it not then our duty to endeavour by some means to check this immense stream of emigration which drains our country of the best of her population?

I find that in the year 1851, the sum of £21,075 was contributed by seventy-nine Unions of Ireland, for the purpose of sending to the colonies and to the United States of America some 4,386 emigrants; how much more money since or before that year may have been devoted to the same object, I am not at present in a position to say; but no doubt a very considerable sum has been sent out of the country in this way, by the several Unions which you represent; and it appears to me that such means of affording relief to the rate-payers does not redound to the permanent advantage of the country. I conceive that, at best, you only resort to such a system as a transient and wretched expedient, and that emigration manifestly does not prevent pauperism.”

With the absorption of the small farms came the epoch of wholesale emigration, or as it used to be called, the Irish Exodus. Referring to this subject, Mr. Hayes writes:—

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Whence this awful state of facts arises, is one of those questions about which men cannot agree. Some attribute it to the red tape of the Poor Law Commissioners' office; others will have it that all the evils spring from the grasping avarice of the ex-officio guardians; others proclaim that no matter whence the mischiefs have their origin, all are perpetuated and increased, through the stupidity, stolidity and pennywise schemes of the elected guardians. That all those who may be considered accountable for the evils of our Poor Law system should be somewhat unwilling to accept the responsibility of being the authors of these abuses, is not to be wondered at. Who would acknowledge himself the supporter of a system which results in crowding our streets with prostitutes, the Lock wards of our hospitals with patients, our police offices with rogues, our Convict gaols with prisoners, our colonies with worthless, because idle, and ignorant, and unskilled labour; a system which trains the poor-house-reared child to consider that house as his home, because it destroys energy and self-reliance, by a permitted idleness, producing in time, a torpor of every worthy faculty of mind and body.

But, it is often asked, what can we do with them? To this our answer always is, do not teach them that emigration is the object of life; do not let them fancy that all the people of Ireland, not guardians or poorhouse officials, are born for the sole purpose of going to America—teach them that we must all labor, wherever we may be—in a word, keep them at home and work them.

Mr. Hayes, whose valuable pamphlet we have placed at the head of this paper, is a man evidently able to observe and reason for himself. He is, beyond all doubt, a genuine and thorough Irishman, and being neither a bucolic ex-officio, nor a shipping agent, he has been able to convince himself that emigration is not so good a thing for our labouring population as useful employment at home here in Ireland; and in proving this somewhat unfashionable doctrine he gives to the nationalist and to the capitalist one of the most useful and instructive essays it has been our good fortune to read for many a day.

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attiring Christian or German incidents and manners, with the garb of Greece and Rome. Ramler formed a transition between the love of French models, and the imitation of Grecian classics. He summoned gods and goddesses to his aid in unravelling the intricacies of modern situations. Wieland was overcome by the "plastic beauty" of Grecian forms, and the purity of her philosophy, and the graces of Athenian manners. This amiable, refined, and witty nature, allowed itself to be decoyed into a heterogeneous species of romanticism, where the epicurean philosophy reigned supreme. Voss had a extravagant idea of the plasticity of the German language, and imagined that it might be made to follow the Greek, syllable for syllable, in metre and verse. This led him to the strangest absurdities of poetry; his translations, curious specimens of labour, are not intelligible, on account of their involved nature. All those various tastes combined together to form the mixed talent of Goethe and Schiller, who rendered themselves superior to all the other poets of their country, by not confining themselves to any particular form of imitating all, and yet being original in their new Romanism. The most recent authors have plunged into an abyss of romanticism, and transcendentalism, combining the philosophy of Böhme, with the extravagance of sentimentalism. Unfortunately, all true simplicity and symmetry, is lost sight of in these wild fancies; nothing but vagueness, unsubstantiality, and visionary beings, reign throughout their airy pages.

We will say a few words about Mme. Pontès' performance. It is a work of considerable merit, and shews a large acquaintance, not only with the numerous authors treated of, but with the various critical works, which have teemed in Germany for a series of years, on this subject. Many of her translations are well worthy of the originals, reproducing faithfully their force and pathos. We do not, however, mean to praise her unreservedly, this would be unworthy and suspicious. She is somewhat given to the romantic in her biographies, the poet's are all lovely, angelic beings; she is not sufficiently severe on many of the authors themselves. Her criticisms are not sufficiently particular, nor are her extracts always long enough to cause the poet's style to be properly understood; with slight defects, we think this book which is written with ease and grace, to be very entertaining and instructive.

THE ADULT AND YOUNG OF THE POOR-HOUSE.

*Land Settlements, versus Emigration and Foreign
and Settlements. Specially addressed to the Poor
guardians of Ireland.* By James Hayes, C.E.
: W. B. Kelly, 1858.

Years ago Sir Walter Scott wrote—"The time will
when the whole land will be hypothecated to the poor,
the strangest and most unexpected of revolutions, the
the country will be substantially in possession of
total of that soil in which participation is now re-
—And now, after this lapse of time, we find that
ce, as in many others, Sir Walter was truly "The
the North." The whole land is "hypothecated
the whole social state of Ireland is altered, and
results of the famine, and under the cruel confis-
e Incumbered Estates' Court, this generation has
the strangest and most unexpected of revolutions,"
the labourers and paupers of the country "in pos-
the whole rental of that soil in which participation
them." In the old days of potatoes and pigs, the
gentleman that paid the rent;" things are now
rate-payer is the pig, who not alone pays the rent
house, but supplies board and clothing into the bargain.
poor of a country have the first claim upon its re-
e will deny; but unfortunately, in Ireland, it is
matter about which there can be no question or
because a man or a woman is a pauper, he or she
uent right to rot out life in idleness, in sloth, and,
vice. One rarely hears the term Workhouse, in
ordinary conversation the Union Mansion is inva-
the Poor-house, and with great propriety; it
house for the poor, a house at which boards meet
e, occasionally job, and sometimes "cook the
chise:" but it is not a house in which steady, use-
tinuous work is made a portion of the every-day
lives of all able-bodied, or healthy inmates; it is
u which self-dependence and self-respect are shown
m honest labor.

Whence this awful state of facts arises, is one of those questions about which men cannot agree. Some attribute the red tape of the Poor Law Commissioners' office, will have it that all the evils spring from the grasping of the ex-officio guardians; others proclaim that no whence the mischiefs have their origin, all are perpetuated, increased, through the stupidity, stolidity and pennywise sense of the elected guardians. That all those who may be considered accountable for the evils of our Poor Law system show somewhat unwilling to accept the responsibility of being authors of these abuses, is not to be wondered at. Who acknowledge himself the supporter of a system which res crowding our streets with prostitutes, the Lock wards of our hospitals with patients, our police offices with rogues, our gaols with prisoners, our colonies with worthless, because and ignorant, and unskilled labour; a system which trains a poor-house-reared child to consider that house as his home, because it destroys energy and self-reliance, by a permitted idleness, producing in time, a torpor of every worthy faculty of mind and body.

But, it is often asked, what can we do with them? This our answer always is, do not teach them that emigration is the object of life; do not let them fancy that all the good of Ireland, not guardians or poorhouse officials, are bound to the sole purpose of going to America—teach them that they must all labor, wherever we may be—in a word, keep them at home and work them.

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—a peculiarly manufacturing country with numerous towns, actively engaged in some branch or other of manufactures, capable of absorbing the labour of the population—cannot feel *immediately* the evil results arising from a system “which has peopled cities at the expense of villages.” Can this be said of Ireland? On the contrary, ours is essentially an agricultural country, the rural population, the cities and towns, only become a source of trouble, and a burthen ; for as we possess no manufactures of any extent, we have no prospect of acquiring them, while watched by the example of England ; so our civic districts can hardly be expected to expand beyond their present limited powers of employing

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Referring to this subject, Mr. Hayes writes :—

we have now arrived at a point when it becomes a serious duty

to discountenance any extensive system of emigration; for emigration, both forced and voluntary, has been too extensive of late years, and has been prejudicial to the true interests of the country.

In the six years from 1851 to 1857, the emigration from the ports amounted to 938,395 persons, giving an average of 156,395 a-year; and if we assume the very moderate average sum of £10 for each emigrant for passage money and expenses, we shall find that less than £5,630,770 have been abstracted from this country in six years—a capital more than equivalent to *one fourth of the amount* produced by the sales in the Incumbered Estates' Court during the entire eight years of its existence; and, according to the calculations of the Commissioner of Valuation, an amount equal to the total expense of reclaiming and bringing into a state of cultivation 3,755,000 acres of the waste land of Ireland, which, in a rural state, and parcelled out into 10 acre allotments, would suffice to maintain in comfort 375,500 families, or about 1,877,500 souls. It certainly does appear singularly anomalous that a country so favoured by nature, both in fertility of soil and in the temper of her climate—that a country possessing such vast resources—should admittedly requiring all the capital and energy of her population to develop them, should be annually casting away such a vast amount of her wealth and industry to enrich other countries to the material injury of herself. There is something monstrous and unnatural in such a state of things, even admitting that emigration, under the present circumstances, is a wholesome and natural result, and this no one can deny; because it is an admitted law of nature, that capital, labour, or it be monetary, mental, or corporeal, will always find room for itself, and people who emigrate *voluntarily* only obey this law in taking their capital to the best market. Yet no country can be reasonably supposed to be necessitated to resort to a system of encouraging the emigration of the people until the soil has reached its maximum state of cultivation, and found insufficient for the support of her inhabitants: for, undoubtedly, land differs essentially from other elements of production in the economic sense, being limited in quantity and productiveness, but assuredly this is not the condition of Ireland, although we are familiar with the fact that extraordinary efforts have been made of late years to suppress emigration, and to drive into *foreign* lands that able and industrious labour which is everywhere the real source of wealth, and which is more especially needed for the cultivation and improvement of *own* native land; and we are forced to enquire why it is so, amidst the many philanthropic schemes which have been proposed from time to time, by able and patriotic men, no practical effect has ever been devised with the view to encourage the people to settle upon the waste lands of this country, rather than suffer them to settle upon settlements upon the wild lands of a foreign country, and to the fearful disadvantages.*

* See in IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XIV., a paper by the late John O'Connell, entitled "Emigration, Emigrant Ships."—ED.

Now, it is a well-known fact that almost every county in Ireland contains some thousands of acres of land, which lie at present waste and unproductive—useless, as well to the proprietors as to the country. According to a competent authority, Sir Richard J. Griffith, better known as Mr. Griffith, Commissioner of Valuation (who for the last half century has occupied a distinguished position in the Civil Service of Ireland), there are altogether 6,290,000 acres of land in Ireland, out of which 1,425,000 acres it is estimated, might be advantageously reclaimed, so as to produce both cereal and green crops; and 2,330,000 acres more might be drained for meadow, and pasture for sheep; and doubtless, if owned and occupied by an industrious class of small farmers, much even of the latter could be made available for cultivation. Let us assume, however, that there are in round numbers 3,500,000 acres of unoccupied waste land, which admit of being rendered productive. Here then we have—in a country where land is the raw material for which competition has actually extended to such a dreadful pitch, that fearful crimes are perpetrated in consequence, and thousands of people, unable to get land, are obliged to seek refuge either in the poor-house, or on board the emigrant ship—here we have an unoccupied territory, which if reclaimed would be capable of sustaining in comfort a population of more than 1,500,000. It is not then surprising that the Devon Commissioners, in reference to this part of their inquiry, should remark, “when the immense importance of bringing into a productive state 6,000,000 acres, now lying waste, is considered, it cannot but be a subject of regret and of surprise that no greater progress in this undertaking has as yet been made.” Even so it is; and yet for all that it has been gravely argued that Ireland is overpopulated, and that nothing can so materially benefit the country as the consolidation of farms and the emigration of the people. * * *

It is a remarkable fact that the question of the reclamation of waste lands had been attentively considered in the old parliament of Ireland, at a time—and this is peculiarly notable—when the country was comparatively thinly populated, and when it might be supposed the same necessity did not exist as in the present day to render this a matter of so much consequence to the legislature; yet we find that the Irish Parliament had, for many years, been called upon to entertain this question, and so important was it deemed at that period that several bills were passed on this subject. The first measure of the kind, “an act to encourage the improvement of barren and waste lands and bogs, and planting of timber, trees, and orchards,” was passed in 1731, and from that time down to 1793 there was a constant succession of bills, introduced by members of the Irish House of Commons, having reference to this matter; some by eminent statesmen, such as Fortescue, Flood, Grattan, and Hobart. Did the limit of this pamphlet admit, I should here refer more at length to the details of some of those measures; however, I must content myself by referring the reader to the Irish statutes themselves. Neither can the fact be altogether disregarded, that under the authority of the British Government, a commission was appointed, so far back as 1809, to report upon the practicability of reclaiming the waste lands of Ireland. Several eminent scientific men were engaged upon this inquiry, amongst them the present Chairman of the Board of Works

and Commissioner of Valuation. The important results of the labours are to be found in the Bog Commissioners' Reports, which are interesting, and in many respects, valuable work for future reference. However, beyond the mere reporting to parliament, it does not appear, as regards the reclamation of waste lands, that even a single acre was done from that day to this—the usual termination of the Commissions relating to Ireland.

It is not necessary, however, that I should here enter into minute details to show the practicability of cultivating these lands. For happily theoretic speculation has long since given way to successful practical experience, and I shall quote from the evidence in the Land Commission Reports, before mentioned, to show that even as a mere speculation, with the sole view of increasing the landlord's rental, the reclamation of waste lands has, in almost every instance, been attended with peculiar success. "It is in fact," said the Commissioners, "that by an expense of somewhat more than £1 per acre, land, in the County Sligo, has been reclaimed and is now worth a rent of £1 10s. an acre;" and in the County Westmeath, that, according to the proprietor, Mr. Fetherston H. was fit for nothing but snipe shooting, has been reclaimed and is now worth £1 an acre, at an expense of £6. In Clare and Galway, the reclaiming and cropping cost from £9 5s. to £10 2s. per acre, and the first year's crop realised from £8 10s. to £11 6s. 8d. per acre. In Queen's County, where Mr. Stewart Trench carried out his operations in reclaiming mountain wastes, in some instances at elevations of 1,000 feet above the level of the sea, land, in the unreclaimed state was not worth 2s. 6d. per acre, reclaimed it was worth £2 per acre; the cost of reclaiming and cropping of which amounted to more than £8 per acre, while the value of the produce was £12 10s. per acre, thereby fully clearing all expenses of reclamation the first year. Again on the estate of Sir Charles Stewart in the County Donegal, where small allotments of unreclaimed land were made to tenants on leases of twenty-one years, with the term varying from three to seven years, conditional upon reclamation of one acre each year, building farm-house and offices, and making fences, all in accordance with certain prescribed regulations, the tenants were found to have cleared all expenses in three years, and to have made a net profit of £1 12s. 9d. per acre, even under circumstances which, in many respects, would appear unfavourable.

I might add numerous instances of successful reclamation of waste lands in Ireland of late years, but it is needless to account for the few persons in the present day will doubt the practicability of such undertakings. One thing, however, must be said, that in the greater part, these reclamations have been carried on by the tenant, or by improving tenants aided by encouraging landlords; instances there have been throughout the country, where the tenant, of the poorest class, with no other capital to commence with, but his own labour, for the consideration of getting a patch of land free, for a term of three years, would effectually reclaim it, and then, at the expiration of the term, would undertake to let it on contract; from whence it must be inferred, that, even under the most discouraging and least remunerative circumstances that could be devised, the reclamation of waste lands is not only practicable, but profitable.

imagined, some profit can be gained by such an undertaking. No doubt the share of profit coming to the unfortunate labourer, in this case, must be small indeed, and this consideration leads to the conclusion, that the Irish peasant will undergo the severest toil where any fair prospect of reward is offered. Now the result of these inquiries prove that we have in Ireland over 3,500,000 acres of waste and unprofitable land, and that the reclamation of this immense waste can be effected at a cost of about £10,000,000, and that this land when reclaimed would be capable of supporting a population of 2,000,000. Here is a large basis for philanthropic patriotism to work upon. If we take the authority of Colonel Robinson, the manager of the Waste Lands' Improvement Society of Ireland, in his evidence before the Land Commission, when he said: "we find that a man can reclaim one acre himself annually, and when he has several children he can reclaim from one and a-half to two acres annually. An industrious tenant, possessed of £20 capital, taking a ten acre mountain farm of reclaimable land, can, with his family, reclaim the whole in seven years." And another equally reliable authority, Mr. Trench, when asked, before the same Commission, whether he considered that the reclamation of waste lands would pay capitalists, said: "were each tenant only given a house or hovel to live in for a few years, lime, for two or three acres, some guano or other portable manure to assist in raising a present provision of potatoes, and were care taken at first not to press him with too heavy a rent, I am convinced, in a few years, any industrious man would rapidly become comparatively comfortable in his circumstances, and an estate so managed would amply repay the care and capital bestowed upon it."

The Devon Commission also reported, in reference to the reclamation of waste lands, "that a great public benefit would be attained, in increased employment for labourers, in the progressive extension of productive land, and in the opportunity thereby afforded for the location of industrious families."

Having thus shewn what could be done in the way of reclamation, Mr. Hayes then proceeds to develop his scheme, and states the cost of reclaiming land in Ireland, and compares that cost with the expense of reclamation in Canada. He writes:—

I have said that the waste lands of a country, of right, belong to the state, but as this principle is not recognised in the case of the waste lands of Ireland, I propose that they should be converted into estates for the poor by a simple process, whereby the Poor Law Commissioners of Ireland will become the agents or purchasers in trust for the benefit of the people, who shall become actual occupiers and owners of the land under certain terms and conditions. At present under the Act 11 and 12 Vic., cap 25, the Poor Law Commissioners, on receipt of a memorial from a majority of a Board of Guardians, are empowered to hire or purchase a quantity of land, not exceeding twenty-five statute acres, for the instruction of children in workhouses in an improved system of agriculture, and the majority of the Unions in Ireland have availed themselves of this

privilege, and if permitted, no doubt would gladly extend the application of the principle. I mention this circumstance merely to show that there is no new principle involved in the purchase of waste lands for the benefit of the Unions, by the Poor Law Commissioners. I do not contend for an extension of this principle, whereby a disproportionate burden will accrue to the rate-payers of Ireland by the imposition of a large class of persons, who are on the point of being burthened upon the Unions, into a class of small farmers and cottagers contributing to the welfare of the country.

Without entering into minute details it may suffice to state the principal outlines of a measure, which I submit would be the object here proposed, thus :

1. Poor Law Commissioners to be Commissioners of Waste Lands.
2. Waste lands to be treated as encumbered property, and made saleable by legislative enactment.
3. Commissioners to be empowered to raise money by mortgage for the purchase of waste lands.
4. The requisition of a majority of any Board or Board of Guardians shall be sufficient legal authority to oblige Commissioners to treat for the purchase of waste lands.
5. Boards of Guardians of several Unions may unite to form a board or committee of management of the waste lands.
6. Boards of management to appoint surveyors and agents to superintend the construction of roads, bridges, canals, and the laying out of allotments, and the direction and proper disposal of reclaiming operations to be carried on hereafter by settlers.
7. Pauper labour, where practicable, to be applied to the construction of works deemed necessary for facilitating settlement.
8. Allotments to be made in convenient sections as regards communication with public roads ; and no holding to be of less than 5 statute acres, nor to exceed 30 statute acres.
9. Applicants for waste land allotments to be first recommended by the representatives of electoral divisions where applicants reside ; having obtained which recommendation, applicants to make a formal requisition to be laid before the Board of Management.
10. Qualifications of applicants—to be defined strictly, and to be that who have followed agricultural pursuits as a means of livelihood for eighteen years of age, and not to be actual paupers receiving relief.
11. Applicants for allotments, although they may at the time of making application be in the occupation of land, shall not be holders of land elsewhere when entering upon the occupation of waste land allotments.
12. Settlers on waste lands to build a house of a certain value, to reclaim one acre of land yearly, and to reside permanently on the allotments, and to be subject for a certain period to the orders of officers appointed by the Board of Management.
13. Allotments to be sold according to a valuation made by the Board of Management, and which shall have been made previous to occupation, and which shall be sufficient to cover all expenses of original purchase with interest, and of operations, and of management, evenly apportioned in ten yearly instalments, which, when completed, shall entitle the

to receive a deed of conveyance, executed by the Commissioners, and this deed shall have the force of a complete parliamentary title to his lot.

14. Board of Management to be empowered to aid settlers with building materials and seeds by way of loans.

15. Settlers shall receive contract card, promising deed of conveyance of allotment on conditions and terms therein specified, on the back of which card all payments on account of land and of loans shall be duly marked.

16. Settlers not to subdivide or dispose of allotments while any claim shall be pending, without sanction of Board of Management, under penalty of forfeiture of title.

Such are the imperfect outlines of a measure which, I believe, might effect the proposed object—without involving any infringement upon the rights of individuals—without introducing a principle that is not to be found already in operation either at home or in our colonies—which might, without any inconvenience, be engrafted on the present Poor Law Act; and which, I have no doubt, would have the effect of creating a large class of industrious small farmers enjoying a moderate share of prosperity, of fostering habits of order and self-reliance amongst the people, of decreasing crime and pauperism, and, therefore, of adding to the peace, security, and welfare of the country. Of course much consideration should necessarily be given to the details of such a measure, to render it effective; but, I am fully convinced that never before was there a more opportune time, or a more urgent necessity, calling upon us to attempt some measure of this kind.

It is true that a measure of the nature proposed cannot be realised without encountering the violent landlord opposition, usual in the case of every project for the benefit of the people. This, of course, we must make up our minds to meet as best we may; for it is a lamentable fact, that this powerful class invariably act as if the interests of the people were inimical to their own; ever forgetful of the obvious truth, that no country can prosper where the masses are steeped in poverty and wretchedness. Then, the hostility of others must be anticipated too, because of the novelty of the scheme, and the utter impossibility of perpetrating thereby anything in the shape of a job. But I have little doubt that all such narrow and selfish prejudices, if resolutely encountered, can be easily disarmed or overthrown.

The experience acquired by the last few years only goes to prove the utter failure of emigration as a means of improving this country; for the masses of the people are as wretched now as ever. The young, enterprising, and industrious, the able-bodied and intelligent are leaving us; whilst the old, infirm, poor, and helpless stay behind. Population is still decreasing, small farms are rapidly disappearing, and with them an industrious population. Consolidation follows, sheep and cattle take the place of men, whilst no adequate progress is developing the industrial resources of the country is apparent.

Independent of the consideration of the immense loss of its able and industrious population, it must be taken into account also, that Ireland suffers a tremendous drain of capital by emigration. I estimate at no less a sum than £600,000 is annually abstracted out of this country by this process alone.

As I have, in a preceding part, entered into the question of the actual cost (derived from various sources) of reclaiming Irish lands under a variety of conditions, so I propose to investigate, by way of comparison, the means and amount of capital (labour and stock) required to bring into a rude state of cultivation similar quantities of wild lands of America.

It is well known that wild lands are of two kinds, "w" "bush land," and "prairie land." The latter is principally had in the western States; and all the government lands there are sold for *cash*, at the rate of one dollar, twenty-five cents to one dollar and fifty cents, per acre, or from 5s. to 6s. (sterling) per acre, in sections of 640 acres, and half and quarter sections, the least obtainable being 160 acres. Therefore, it will be seen that to get government land in the states, a man will necessarily have some capital in hand; for be it understood, this is not a cash transaction. There is, however, a species of "men"—speculators and land companies, large capitalists—who buy up the government lands. These afterwards dispose of them to settlers at increased rates; varying from five dollars or thirty shillings per acre, according to location, and on credit terms, ranging from four to five years, with interest. But the conditions which the land jobbers generally enforce, as to fencing and bringing the land into a state of cultivation a certain stipulated quantity of land, is such that a settler obtaining land, even in this manner, must possess a small capital to begin with, and the amount of capital required is proportionate to the price he has to pay, and the extent of the land.

Supposing, however, that a man were able to get a prairie about forty acres; this would be a very small lot, and, speaking generally, small lots fetch higher rates than large ones; but I assume that he is enabled to get such a lot; for instance, in the State of Illinois, say at ten dollars an acre, and five years to pay for it. In the first place before he could receive his conveyance deed of conveyance, there would be two years' interest to be paid at three per cent., making about 5*l.* sterling. He has also to provide some sort of habitation for himself, and from the fact that land is rather expensive in the prairie, this will absorb a considerable portion of the settler's ready money. Then he is obliged to break up the land in at least *one-tenth* of the lands purchased; this will require an additional cash outlay; and assuming that he can hire or obtain the necessary means of breaking up the prairie, the cost of bringing the land of this kind into a rude state of cultivation will be about 3*l.* or 3*l.* an acre, exclusive of purchase money. These estimates show that it is idle for a settler to embark in such an undertaking with less capital than 40*l.* at the very lowest.

Let us now take the other class of wild land. I shall now give as an illustration the most favourably circumstanced case of "bush land" in upper Canada.

In a remote, wild country in Canada West, called the North-West, there is now a vast territory in process of free settlement, and efforts are being made by government agents to attract settlers to this region; in fact, at present, this district absorbs the

migration to Canada, and the chief reason for this may be on account of the favourable and easily complied with government regulations, which merely stipulate that one should build a house of certain dimensions, clear a certain number of acres, and personally occupy the land. Any person over 21 years of age can have a hundred acres of this wild land for nothing, subject only to the above conditions.

These are not only liberal on the part of the government, but also very favourable to the rapid developement and future prospective settlement. However, let it not be supposed that even a man without capital can possibly avail himself of the opportunity of obtaining a free grant of land. The government agents will insist that a man taking up a location here should possess something like 30*l.* to begin with, so that a poor person without the necessary capital, on arriving at the land, could not be in a position to put in a claim for a free al-

lot and bringing into a state of cultivation an acre of land in Canada, is no trifling work. It has been estimated, that a first-rate axe-man can fell and chop the trees, on an average, in about nine days; but it must be remarked that a man, "unacquainted with the use of the axe, would take about three weeks in clearing an acre, as an old pioneer, in these regions, could clear ten acres, so that, in reality, the above estimate is for skilled labour. Let us, however, suppose that nine times the ordinary wages of a lumbering district, are employed in the operation; the next business is to pile up the logs, so that they may be all burned at once; this will require ten men and ten oxen. The next operation is to set the whole on fire, which is not so easy a matter as might be supposed. To remove the half burnt logs remain to encumber the ground, and that which is burned to ashes, requires considerable attention; and to be reformed effectually it will be necessary to employ four teams of oxen in order to draw the unburnt and incurable piles to be burned over again, or if not to remove them by the way. This finishes the business of clearing an acre of land, the severest work a man can be employed at; but let it be remembered that an *acre of soil* is thereby brought into a state of arable cultivation. It must be borne in mind, that all the stumps and roots still remain, and that consequently, a considerable portion of the ground is thereby unavailable for cultivation; to this must be added the irregularities of surface, representing creeks and swamps, and stagnant surface water, which interfere with cultivation and are only removed by drainage. All this portion of the area, which is waste, may be estimated at about thirty per cent. of the whole. For the first five years must be considered waste and

From thenceforth until the stumps and roots are decayed, which probably will not be for a generation, there is a permanent waste of fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of the land, at all times presenting obstacles and impediments to the plough and harrow. So that my estimate, although liberal, of an *acre of cleared ground*, does not in reality

afford an absolute available surface for cultivation of more woods, thirty-two perches, exclusive of that to be occupied by

The fence is also to be noted as an element of cost, inasmuch as where trespass is to be guarded against, it is actually in itself secondary only to clearing. But as it is not a general practice to enclose so small an area as an acre, and as the numbers of rails requisite for fencing will be proportionately greater where a given area is subdivided, than where the whole is in one enclosure, it will not be correct to base our calculations upon so small a sub-area as that of an acre. We shall therefore take a larger range, and estimate the expense per acre. Now 4704 rails will fence twenty acres, so that this would be at the rate of 235 rails per acre; the cost of building up of which into a fence may be taken as the work of four men. This will close the undertaking.

Now if we sum up the actual money cost of this entire project of reclamation, exclusive of any other charge (such as, for the cost of a log house, &c.), and take the current rate of wages of one dollar, and the hire of oxen at two dollars per day, it is found that the clearing of an acre of "bush land" in Canada costs on an average about £6 12s.; * and be it remembered that this will be minus one rood, eight perches of land available for cultivation. I have before shown that prairie land, every perch of which is available for a corn (Indian) crop, will only cost from £1 to £2. The cost of reclaiming our own "waste lands" ranges from £1 to £2 sterling. In the first case the sum mentioned will be the total cost, the land being a free grant; whereas in the second case, purchase money must be added, which will leave the cost from £5 per acre; and in the case of the Irish waste lands taken at the valuation of the crown lands of Kingwilliamstown as approximately correct data, the actual reclamation and purchase would cost £5 10s. to £7 per acre. Or if we struck an average accorded to the still lower calculation, the respective values might stand thus:

Classification of Lands.	Cost of reclamation.	Purchase in fee	Average per Acre
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£
1. Canadian Bush Land	6 0 0	0 0 0	6
2. United States Prairie Land	2 10 0	2 0 0	4
3. Irish Waste Land	6 0 0	0 10 0	6

It is known, that much of the waste lands of Ireland have been successfully brought into a state of cultivation by enterprising private lords and public companies, whose operations are recorded. There is another class of persons, however, of whose operations and

* There are some land companies in Canada, I believe, who take to "fell" the trees on land purchased of them at about half the amount; this is, however, anything but "clearing," and an expensive mode after all than the one I have dealt with.

ation of waste land, we have no precise information following simple facts. A poor labourer, obtaining a patch of waste land for a few years, not exceeding three years, and exertion and industry by the consciousness of being able to reap the fruits of his hard toil, succeeds in effecting a patch of such land, without any other capital than his own industry and enterprize, was, in this instance, small. Still the inference cannot be overlooked, that under such circumstances, would invariably seek and avail of the contract for another allotment, under pre-terms; and the probability is that the *modus operandi* as a tenant was less expensive than that of the landlord. I witnessed, in the south of Ireland, a very sharp competition among a class of poor labourers, for a patch of cut away bog proprietor advertised to be reclaimed, on the conditions of a freehold. The successful candidate, forced by the terms, agreed to give up a certain portion reclaimed at the end of the year, on the understanding of getting a preference to another allotment on the completion of his first contract. These are probably not unfrequent throughout the country; and, I think, can be more conclusive as to the practicability of reclaiming waste land than this. Can it then be doubted, that a man obtained a few acres of waste land, and had the opportunity of buying it out at its unreclaimed value on easy credit, would he not look upon himself as a proud and happy fellow?

I must strongly recommend this pamphlet to all our readers: it is a matter of the deepest importance, and is made valuable by the student of economic science by some very carefully selected facts. Sir Robert Kane shewed long ago, in times when there was a public spirit in Ireland, and before the prevailing and know-nothing national idiotcy had come to prevail, that the general industrial resources of the country were overlooked. I think that the book made men think: here is a little essay which shows how men act, and act through that greatest of all evils—their breeches' pockets. That which Mr. Kane has done, O'Connell worked for, wrote for, and which it has been urged upon the nation by statesmen, economists, and by men of science, from the time of Samuel Madden* to our own; and what was thus

the Irish peasantry could be induced to act on the co-operative principle adopted by the German settlers in the United States, it would greatly facilitate the work of reclamation and enable them to economise labour and means. But I may have more to say in reference to this branch of the subject on some future occasion. I have seen a copy of "Rev. Samuel Madden" in IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. IX.; and "The Survey of Ireland," which is also by Sir William Petty, in No. VI.—ED.

urged for Ireland is precisely that which the sharpest clear-headed man of this age, the Emperor of the world, is about to accomplish in his own State, the reclamation of the waste lands of France.

In the commencement of this paper we referred to the wretched system prevailing in the Irish Poor-house, which sends out upon the world periodically, hordes of untrained, and debased "home-heathens." If we reprint Swift's *Proposal for Rendering Poor Children Useful Instead of Burdensome*; if we were to present it to every elected and to every ex-officio Guardian in Ireland, if we were to dwell in conversation with the Poor Law Commissioners, upon the delicacy of flavor of "a young girl of fifteen;" if we were to say to the Southern Guardians, "supposing that 1000 families in this country might be constant customers for infants' flesh, besides others who might have it at merry-meetings, particularly at wedding and christenings, I compute that Dublin would take off about 20,000 carcasses; and the rest of the kingdom would probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper, the rest of the thousands"—we should be considered mad—and yet, the Poor Law Guardians will not fatten their young for the table, although they will not sell their bodies for food, eaten, yet they rear them under a system which sends them forth upon the world ready for sale, in soul and body, to the tempter; they send them forth without one principle of morality without one thought to restrain them, they are truly

"The dauntless infants never scared by God, each is that woful

"Child of misery baptized in tears."

This subject of the management of poor-house-reared children has now become of vast and pressing importance. To increase the cost of our hospitals, they fill our gaols, and punish them estimates under the head of "Justice." The estimate is vastly increased; whilst owing to them crime does not decrease as it should, and criminal reformation is hopeless amongst those reared in the poor-houses.

"I could," said a poor-house Chaplain to us a few days since, "recommend nearly all the girls in this house under sixteen years of age. After that age, they are moved to the adults, and they are lost." "Our boys," said the same of a poor-house to us, "are good boys until they are adults, and then they go wrong." "The worst boys

fe," said the school master of a large Convict the poor-house boys: they are addicted to every conceive, and they have no idea of religion. ever been taught to depend on themselves, they inducement to work, and they know only two, that of the poor-house and that of the gaol." The opinions all go to prove, and to prove most the ordinary work-house is not more fitted than gaol for the management and care of juveniles; so, and prove beyond all question, that a poor-boy or girl should never be permitted to enter until he or she shall have tried honest work in without; and this result can only be secured by establishments for the reception and training of pauper in special staffs, and not under the sole control of the Poor Law Commissioners.

The following will be, perhaps, best elucidated by the following scheme which has been approved by very many persons of ability and experience, and the framer of this scheme is eminently qualified to make it perfect and elaborate. So, (we are writing early in June), Mr. Macartney, of the most important committee of inquiry, the results of which will bear directly upon this scheme, and will be, if we are fully in support of the views herein expressed. The scheme is as follows:—

The Juvenile Reformatory Bill for Ireland, now before the House of Commons is (perhaps necessarily) limited in its operations as to leave a large portion of juvenile delinquency untouched.

In England where the Reformatory Acts have a far more extensive area to work upon, it has been found necessary to supplement such acts with an Industrial Schools' Act, and the Poor Law Commission.

In Ireland for similar reasons to those which made it impossible to confine the area of the Reformatory Bill, Industrial Schools are inapplicable.

It is therefore desirable to take some other means of dealing with juvenile crime in Ireland.

The best means to effect this appears to be to improve the training of the "juvenile paupers," who are for the most part of the class from which young criminals emanate.

6.—That in order to succeed in such improvement necessary to completely sever the connection with paupers, and the work-houses in which they are confined.

7.—That there is a section in the 11th and 12th of Cap 25, giving the necessary power to combine with the purpose of forming District Pauper Schools for juveniles 15 years of age, but that it is at present almost inoperative.

8.—That there are good grounds for supposing that consideration being extended to this subject a full benefit would be given to the moral and economical advantage that would accrue through the operation of this section.

9.—That in England the salaries of the school-mistresses, and one half of those of the medical officers are paid from the consolidated fund, amounting to not more than £100,000 per annum.

10.—That in addition to this grant in aid of the medical officers in England, there are very large grants from the council of education given to aid Reformatory and Industrial Schools under the head of capitation fees, rent of premises, purchasing of tools, pupil teachers' allowances, &c., and an allowance of seven shillings per head is paid out of the consolidated fund for the support of juveniles in reformatories.

11.—That all prisoners convicted by jury in England are maintained at the cost of the state.

12.—That the grants required in aid of the proposed Reformatory Bill for Ireland, will be small in consequence of the limited area of operation.

13.—That it is on the above grounds fair to suppose that Ireland should receive from the consolidated fund the same of the salaries of the instructors of the Juvenile Pauper Schools together with such educational grants and assistance as is received by Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and that the pauper schools are the substitute.

14.—That if this support be given by the state it will be proved to the boards of guardians, that under good management and government inspection the best moral and educational results will follow the establishment of these schools.

15.—That a part of such good management will be the

ing of the young paupers, it is evident that in ad-
duction of expenditure, a demand for their labour
sequence of its being skilled.

many of our colonies are arrested in progress for
r, and are advancing money from colonial funds to
ation, and it is reasonable to suppose therefore
labour in the unions will induce the colonists to
ages from time to time to the young inmates.

requires no argument or explanation to prove
e, and we shall not, until we shall have the report of
y's committee before us, offer any observations in

There are, however, facts and figures in our pos-
sible to prove not alone the soundness of the
likewise to prove the right of the country to claim
olidated fund the amount necessary to give it full

however, state that the Guardians of the South
n have indirectly given their support to this system
d, of separating the young paupers from the old ;
have agreed to send, and have sent, sixty or
e girls from the Poor-house to a large house
convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Baggot-street,
re paid for at the same rate as a pauper costs in
ouse, the sisters taking the whole management, in
the house of reception for these girls an Auxiliary

sisters thus consented to take the charge of these
ade only two stipulations. One, that Catholics
e sent ; the other, that they should not be obliged
girl known to have ever been a prostitute. But here
se of the Guardians failed, and instead of holding
els a transmission to the Baggot-street house as a
ood conduct, they actually refused to send any but
ot class ; and, accordingly, the establishment was
about as bad a lot as it was ever our misfortune
They were ignorant and untaught ; they had no
ency or self-respect ; they had nearly all been
e Poor-house, and, as a matter of course, feared
nor man ; many of them had been in gaol three
for work-house offences ; and yet, by judicious
management, and through the agency of that
ing, INDIVIDUALIZATION, these poor creatures are

now in a fair way of becoming useful, honest, hard-working women.*

It has by some persons been objected that this in Baggot-street is an encouragement to Popery; and many persons, guardians too, who would rather keep girls in the Union House, with all its horrid sin, and tation of soul and body, than send them to Baggot-street.

This, to English readers, will appear strange. Let us however, remember that the vast majority of the people of Ireland are Catholic; let them, remembering this, read the following report of a Meeting, taken from a *Constitutional* Dublin paper, *Saunders's News-Letter*, of Friday, June 1858, and they will be, perhaps, able to comprehend the hatred of Popery animus to which we have referred:-

DUBLIN PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION

"A meeting of this body was held last evening in the room, No. 83, Middle Abbey-street, for the purpose of adopting a resolution against the bill brought into the House of Commons by Sir George Sergeant Deasy and Mr. Bagwell, on the question of Reformatory Schools.

"The Rev. S. G. Potter in the Chair.

"Mr. John Martin, T.C., moved the adoption of the following petition, which was seconded by Mr. W. R. Furber, and was unanimously adopted:—'That your petitioners have with considerable alarm, a bill brought into your house by the learned members for the County of Clare and the Borough of Clonmel, (Mr. Sergeant Deasy and Mr. Bagwell), entitled "a Bill to Promote and Regulate Reformatory Schools for Juvenile Offenders in Ireland." That your petitioners are fully convinced that should the said bill be passed in the House of Commons, the "Reformatory Schools" contemplated by its provisions would become mere depots of proselytism to the Roman Catholic Church."

* The sister who had the chief care of these girls was called "Received" by the order, but not "Professed," that is, she had not taken the final vows. About the middle of June she was to take these vows, and was, as is the custom, going into "Retreat" a week. The day before the Retreat commenced the girls remarked that she looked very anxious, and they asked her why she was so sad. She replied that she should not see them during the next few days, and feared that in her absence they might give the other girls trouble. They all replied, "Oh! never fear; we'll be good for a week,"—and they kept their words most faithfully.

gion, and nurseries for propagating the peculiar that system—doctrines which your petitioners believe to be opposed to the well being of the—subversive of true loyalty to the British crown, to the souls of men. That your petitioners most submit to your honorable house that the clauses whereby it is sought to invest grand juries and with legal power to present a sum or sums of to raise the same off counties and boroughs in the maintenance and support of said schools, principles of injustice and iniquity calculated to create and dissatisfaction in the minds of the Protestants generally, inasmuch as crime of every description law, as well amongst the juvenile as the adult attaches itself to the Roman Catholic creed, and it appears unjust and impolitic to invest the said and town councils with power by law to levy a the Protestants of the country, for the purposes by the said bill. That, independently of the amount of crime perpetrated by Roman Catholics ants, independently of the injustice of coercing to pay for the spread of evil arising from an and disloyal system against which they protest, your object to the provisions of the said bill on the it is contrary to the dictates of pure and undefiled and opposed to the spirit of the British constitution. State to grant one single penny towards the and support, in any form, of a system of religion, highest in the realm to be anti-Scriptural and its nature; and therefore your petitioners most that your honorable house may be pleased to said bill, and refuse to grant any sum or sums of y alleged education or reformatory purpose what- where the former is based upon principles derived rd of God, and the latter sought to be effected by cent with the principles of Christianity, as estab- and your petitioners will ever pray. by authority, in name and on behalf of the

MUEL GEORGE POTTER, Ck., Chairman.
 e usual preliminaries the proceedings terminated,
 on was ordered to be transmitted to Mr. Grogan,
 sentation to the house."

Now, here we have a rampant, virulent, conservative Councillor, and a clergyman of the Established Church, the most absurd fanaticism, and the most sublimated bigotry. They say nothing at all about the Reformatory Prison, say nothing about the necessity for Reformatories, object that Protestants should be taxed to reform juvenile criminals. They forget, however, that Catholics would be taxed to support these Catholic juvenile poor-house first, then in the gaol, then through the gaol, and from the gaol, in its associations, up to, to, the convict prison. In all these epochs of life of crime they must be supported as Catholics, taught as Catholics, trained as Catholics, so that, viewed in any light, Martin and his Reverend friend may please, the Reformatory Schools' Bill of Sergeant Deasy and of Mr. Bagwell make Protestants pay more towards Popery, but not more than they pay now, and have paid for years.

We do not consider this paper as either an essay or aquisition; our only object in its whole course was to put a matter for thought to those who feel an interest in the subject. It does not?—in THE ADULT AND YOUNG OF THE POOR.

THE CHARGE AND ITS REFUTATION.

PAPER SECOND.

Second Reports of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund. Presented by command of Her Majesty.

Report to Lord St. Leonards on the Management of the Patriotic Fund and on the Second Report of the Royal Commissioners. By the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen. Dublin: James Duffy, Wellington-quay, Publisher to his Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

Report of the Most Reverend Dr. Cullen, on the Dangers to the Health of the Children of Catholic Soldiers exposed in the Barracks and other Military Schools. James Duffy, Wellington-quay, Publisher to his Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

In the present paper we examined the charges preferred by the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin with reference to the management of the Patriotic fund. In the present paper we deal with the second report of the Commissioners, not only as a reply to His Grace's accusations. We object in a spirit of fair play. We have laid before the public the grounds upon which the Archbishop considered it expedient in making a very serious charge against a body of men whose charge which if true is calculated to check the public benevolence in the direction of similar charities, and which might destroy confidence in the integrity of the public in their management may be intrusted, and which might be too strongly reprobated. Is it not meet then that we now present our readers with the Commissioners' "verified," in the words of the Report, "by the evidence in the appendix," will enable them to form an opinion of the whole case? Would it not be most unjust to make an accusation and withhold the defence, to exhibit the charge and suppress its refutation? We shall therefore refer to the evidence of this commission, the period of which the Report was first made, and then we shall consider the refutation of the Report of February last, verified by the evidence in the appendix.

by a just sense of the sacred rights of those who

fall in their country's service, many of our fellow soldiers with generous benevolence to contribute succouring, educating and relieving those who by their husbands and parents in battle or by death service are unable to maintain or to support themselves in order to give greater efficacy and support to these benevolent intentions, it was deemed expedient that "public means should be taken for the safe keeping and beneficial application of several sums subscribed or which may hereafter be subscribed for the aforesaid purposes: and also for the purpose of procuring such prompt and authentic information as may be necessary to aid the just and faithful distribution of the said sums of money when so received." A Royal Commission was considered best adapted for the attainment of these objects, and accordingly a Royal Commission was issued. The following is an extract as containing the names of the commissioners, their power, and limiting their authority, will be sufficient for our present purpose:—

"Now know ye, that we, having taken into our consideration the premises, and being earnestly desirous, in lasting memory to have faithfully fallen in our service, to encourage the love and benevolence of our loving subjects, which may hereafter be directed towards the widows and orphans of the soldiers, sailors, and marines of our forces, who may now or hereafter be serving in our armies and fleets, or in services connected with our public duties, and for other the several purposes herein before mentioned, and reposing great trust and confidence in your wisdom, discretion, and integrity, have authorized and appointed you, the said Duke of Newcastle, the said Duke of Wellington, the said Lord Seymour, the said Earl of Derby, the said Earl of Devonshire, the said Earl of Shaftesbury, the said Earl of Hardwicke, the said Earl of Chichester, the said Earl Nelson, the said Earl of Albemarle, the said Viscount Palmerston, the said Viscount Combermere, the said Viscount Hardinge, the said Baron Rokeby, the said Baron de Grey, the said Baron Pammure, the said Baron Seaton, the said Baron Leonard, the said Baron Raglan, the said Sidney Herbert, the said James Lindsay, the said Sir James Robert George Graham, the said Henry Thomas Lowrey Corry, the said Edward Bouverie Fortescue, the said Robert Vernon Smith, the said Sir John Somerset Parnham, the said Sir Robert Throckmorton, the said Sir William Pitt Rivers, the said Sir Thomas Byam Martin, the said Sir John Lubbock, the said Sir Hew Dalrymple Ross, the said Lord Mayor of London, the said Joseph Hume, the said Thomas Baring, the said John Gellibrand Hubbard, the said John Wilson Croker, the said Samuel Morton Peto, the said Edward Burke Roche,

full and diligent inquiry into the best mode of aiding and benevolence of our loving subjects, and of ascertaining means by which the gifts, subscriptions and contributions of our subjects can be best applied, according to the generous intentions of the donor thereof, and from time to time to apply the same to our Commissioners, or any three or more of you, shall be competent, either for the immediate relief of such special cases or for any of the purposes aforesaid, to increase or make additions to any of our royal, or other charitable institutions already founded for similar purposes within our dominions. And further to apply, or to order and direct the application of all such moneys in such manner as to you our Commissioners, or any three or more of you, shall seem fit in the premises, that you do in all things secure the most impartial and equitable distribution of all such sums as may hereafter and from time to time be received under or by virtue of this Our Royal Com-

mission. It is objected that greater regard was not had to the proportion of those who were likely to be applicants for relief, so that a similar proportion might have entered the composition of the body intrusted with its disbursement. Fishbourne in his "memorandum" admits that the army is composed of Roman Catholics. It is then that one third of the applicants for relief were Catholics. The Rev. Mr. Hort says that at one period the commission had under its sole charge 1,040 individuals, widows and children, of which number 628 were Roman Catholics. This would give a larger proportion; but assuming Capt. Hort's estimate as correct it would strike us that the commission ought to have had a fuller representation than that by which the claims of Catholic widows and children were to be decided upon. It does seem to us that of forty commissioners only two were Catholics. Had their majesty's advisers discovered a single other Catholic man fit to be associated with the Protestant members of the commission. Is it possible that we have sunk so low as to be unable to furnish as our representatives in carrying out noble charity, only Sir R. Throckmorton, Bart., and Mr. Esq? Could there not be found one more, or something likely to alarm weak nerves in the mystic? The only solution of the difficulty we can offer is that the commission formed a quorum. A quorum could hold a meeting, vote, protest, report, &c. This would not do, so, at the appearance of the thing, two Catholics were put on.

Now it appears to us to be a point of the most importance that in any body on which powers affecting Catholics are conferred, and which in the course of its existence have to deal with subjects peculiarly in their nature connected with Catholic doctrine and resulting from Catholicism, the Catholic body should possess such an influence as to draw a proper attention to the wants and wishes of their members, and a thorough investigation of any grievances which they may complain, so that the former may not be oppressed by the convenient technicalities and the latter repressed by a silent sneer.

Never perhaps was it more necessary to have a proper influence in a body than it was in that which distributed the Patriotic Fund. Had there been a fair number of Catholics included in that commission much of the ill feeling which has arisen from the acts of that body are regarded would have been avoided, and the circumstances in which it originated would in all probability never have occurred. Without any impeachment of the respectability of those gentlemen who formed that commission, we do say that they know nothing about the Catholics, and therefore of course cannot be expected to be able to form an opinion on the necessity of pursuing one course rather than another, or adopting one view of a case in preference to another. For instance in the matter of education, we cannot conceive why it is that Catholics object to military service, and other topics of a similar character are also the subject of complaint; hence the necessity of having a sufficient number of Catholics associated in carrying out any work in which co-religionists are interested.

But as it is too late to mend the matter, we shall leave the Commissioners as they are—"Nothing extenuate, and nothing set down aught in malice."

The appointment of Captain Fishbourne as one of the secretaries, might also reasonably be complained of. If a body constituted similarly to the Patriotic fund, the duties of the work of the body, devolves upon the secretaries; they receive communications and send replies, grant or refuse applications, authorize payments to certain parties, and discharge the most important functions. Now, it appears to us that a less obnoxious person might have been chosen than Captain Fishbourne. Every one knows that his father was a traitor of Carlow, that he was removed from the list of the consequence of a petition got up by the Roman Catholics.

ymen of that town, on what grounds it is needless to
ire. Everyone does not know but it is a fact, that Fish-
ne subscribes to the "Irish Church Missions Society."
le are generally rather anxious to ensure the success of
undertaking which they are so much interested as to give
money. Is it probable then that a person desirous for
ccess of a society, which has for its object the extirpation
Romanism," would afford every facility to parents desir-
f removing children from the schools under the direction
t Society, and placing them in establishments in which are
t those principles, which it is his desire to eradicate?
is tells us "that the sons inherited the quarrels and
ships of their fathers, and were bound to carry on hostility
the original cause of offence was wiped out." If to the
al cause of dispute were added any personal impulse as a
ation of war by the nation of the offended against that
offenders, with what vindictiveness would not the former
the enemy. Now this is just the position of Fishbourne;
hereditary grudge is added the inducement of the
nary Society. We cannot now help these things, but our
s will see what was the result. The duties of the Com-
mers were very various, their power extensive. The
for the attainment of which they were associated, was
ly limit to their authority. We need not enter into an
is of what, under the warrent they were bound to do; it
ressed with sufficient clearness in the above quoted ex-

The only point to which we shall at present direct our
s' attention, is the clause by which the Commissioners
quired to report to her Majesty "all and every of the
l proceedings of yourselves had by virtue of these pre-
' The clause is in the following words:—

nd our further will and pleasure is, that you or any three or
f you, when and so often as need or occasion shall require, so
this our Commission shall continue in force, do report to us
ing, under your hands and seals respectively, all and every of
eral proceedings of yourselves had by virtue of these presents,
r with such other matters, if any, as may be deserving of
yal consideration, touching or concerning the premises."

r they have complied with this part of their
we know not, but if the report which the public was per-
to see be the report which was presented to her

Majesty, we must say that we do not think every "are faithfully related, and we fear that the officers and gentlemen who signed that report, had very little to say for truth. If the appendix be, as it is said to be, a part of the Report, then the Report proves "Dr. Cullen's" charge, if the appendix is not intended to verify the Report, as far as relates to "Dr. Cullen's" charge of falsehood, for every material assertion, in Dr. Cullen's statements, contained in the report, is verified by the appendix. This, it will be our business to prove; but before taking up the Charge and its Refutation, must be permitted to refer to a conversation which took place to have taken place in the House of Lords, in a motion by the Duke of Norfolk, for the production of a report in reference to the management of the Patriotic Association. The Duke moved an address to her majesty, for—
 correspondence relating to the case of Mrs. Ross, and her children. 2. A copy of the minute, with date when adopted, (this is the form signed by Mrs. Ross, acknowledging that she knew the teaching of the Hanoverian to be Protestant.) 3. A copy of a minute, by which provisions were made to meet the case of those Roman Catholic mothers, who objected to sending their children to Protestant schools. The next, which we give in full, contains the gist of the motion:—

"4 Return of all publications or recommendations of the commissioners for the admission or transfer of children of dissatisfied officers and privates to any schools or asylums, or of such children under charge of any persons other than the officers, with date when such application was received, and the person who made it, together with the names, regiments, and persuasions of the surviving mothers; and stating the decisions of the commissioners, or their committee, or resolutions, with date thereof; and date at which each child was admitted or transferred to any such school or asylum, or place, and the name of such temporary guardian, and the religious teaching of the institution, school or asylum, or the religion professed by the guardian."

This was a fair challenge; it amounted to the question whether we had what to my mind seems reasonable ground to suppose that this great National fund, this noble charity, intended for the benefit of all, has been perverted to the destruction

under that impression I have made certain statements, these statements you in your report deny. I now call upon you to produce your proofs. Archbishop Cullen labours under a similar impression; I may say a large portion of the Roman Catholic subjects of this empire feel very grave doubts as to the impartial administration of this fund. Produce these correspondences, remove the misapprehensions under which a large portion of the public labours, and thus re-establish that confidence in the integrity of your conduct, upon which the efficiency of your body, and that of other bodies to whom the management of similar charities may hereafter be entrusted, mainly depend." Was there anything exacting in that demand, anything unreasonable in thus affording an opportunity to the Commissioners of freeing themselves from the foul imputations under which they lay, and still continue to lie? Had it not been done, what an outcry would there not have been raised; and when the demand is made let us see how it is met. It is really sickening, nor can we understand how men with a spark of honesty, not to speak of honour, can go on canting in such an absurd and humbugging manner, about "public object," "a public object." Is it not a public object well deserving attention to rescue from odium honored names? Is it not well to prove that a public body, against which charges of misappropriation have been brought, supported by evidence sufficiently strong to call for enquiry, is free from all taint of corruption? Had a charge of a similar character been brought against a commercial firm, even by persons who had no direct present interest in the concern, would not these charges be thoroughly sifted, every means adopted to prove the accusation false, and if the accused were innocent, no efforts spared to drag the slanderer to justice. So do not the Commissioners act: crouching behind the barriers of form and public advantage, they seek to escape from the just animadversion which their conduct has deserved. But let them not hope thus to hide their shame; time will show forth, more and more each day, the wrong they have done, and will bring with it their punishment: for time is an avenger. Lord Derby is reported to have said, that it was not fair to ask the government to lay on the table at great expense, five or six bulky volumes, in regard to what had not occurred in a government office. Our answer is: the Duke's motion was for an address to her Majesty, praying that she would order a report upon the subjects mentioned, to be laid on the table. The expense of such a report would

be defrayed out of the Patriotic fund, and would do to the country. But even did it, we can assure Earl that there never was better money expended than the sum which might be requisite to allay the public suspicion and remove the public distrust; always supposing the commissioners to be guiltless; if they be not, it is better to leave matters to stand. With regard to Lord St. Leonard's statement, I shall merely say, that his observations only prove to us a great deal about a matter in regard to which he was not informed. The most interesting feature of the discussion was the tone that was adopted by Lord St. Leonard; he gave his sentiments in full:—

“Lord Camoys had thought it possible that in the cases there might have been some mistakes made in sending Catholic children to Protestant schools; but he never thought that the accusations made against the commissioners had been sent with a view to proselytism. He felt bound to state that the accusations made against the commissioners had been *completely and satisfactorily answered*—(hear, hear)—and that the accusations of proselytism might rather have come from the other side (hear, hear). It appeared that in one of the cases the child told the mother that the child would be brought up as a Protestant in the school she wished it to be sent to, and that she, notwithstanding, persisted in her desire.”

With what pleasure the lords heard this statement, we can only guess by the applause with which it was received. Hereditary legislators must have sneered at the liberality of self-sufficient ignorance. We shall not dwell on these observations: there are some persons beneath the surface of pity and forgive them. Let us however see whether we be able to furnish a more plausible, because the more true, why the fourth return was refused, and this will bring us to the subject—“The Charge and its Refutation.” It will be in the recollection of our readers that in the former part of the subject we informed them how exactly matters stood. Lord St. Leonard published his letter to Lord St. Leonard. We have briefly stated the two questions between the parties. The others: with regard to matters of detail we have not the course of this paper take notice of them, but we have given undue prominence has been given to them, as in the case when the material charges cannot be met. A great deal of capital has been sought to be raised in the case of Hort's case, but the venom of that sting has been destroyed by the straightforward manner in which Lord St. Leonard has acknowledged his mistake. Had the Commi-

e's fairness, it is not a report like the present we
 igned to read. It is a remarkable feature in this
 when the Commissioners undertake anything they
 succeed ; if they answer a charge they refute it,
 Archbishop reiterates his accusation, it appears to
 ioners that "his attempts to substantiate the
 altogether failed." This reminds us of that in-
 od of playing "pitch and toss" which a smart
 red to introduce, and by which had he succeeded
 g his system, he would have amassed immense
 as this, "heads I win, tails you lose."

reat questions are, first, "Was there proselytism,
 a line of conduct pursued as would lead an un-
 nson to entertain a suspicion of attempts at pro-

Was the residue fund disposed of in a way of which
 ld approve?"

charge is, "that Catholic clergymen in Dublin
 he managers of the fund in favor of the wid-
 ohans of soldiers killed in the Crimea ; yet as
 ld learn, not one shilling was then obtained by
 ation." The Report answers, "there have been
 applications from Dublin and both have
 ." If this statement be as true as the one by
 me charge is answered by Fishbourne we can
 e its value. In the "memorandum" he says :
 applications on behalf of widows have been it is
 y Roman Catholic clergymen, and have invariably
 same attention as those made by others (in proof
 beg to refer to the letter of Canon Grimley which
 to remain unanswered from the 25th of March, to
 April, the interval being consumed in doing the
 st which he had protested and when an answer
 was couched in most insolent language.) These ap-
 e filed in the office, and if any proof were wanted
 rtiality of the distribution it would be found in
 it is entirely out of the power of the executive
 o distinguish Protestants from Roman Catholics
 eligion be supposed from the position of the gen-
 ating the widow's applications ; but no record of
 ion in religion or country is kept in the office."
 lications be filed surely they are a record. Besides
 ne religion not distinctly mentioned, according to

the third resolution of the sub-committee on "payments" the application should be accompanied by a certificate of marriage with the person on whose death a claim is made, and the baptismal certificate of the child or children on whose behalf application may be made. Now these are a pretty sure guide of the religion in which the child was brought up.

However in the case of the Kirleys the religion was Protestant.

The charge that "a parson was always employed to obtain the relief under the commission" has been met in the Report. The Report says in effect, this is a universal declaration, and we can find a single instance in which it was not admitted. We shall be in a position to contradict Dr. Cullen. We go farther than that, for there are many cases in which the staff officer of pensioners gave this relief, so that sometimes that parsons had anything to do with it. Commissioners go farther still and say that no parson was employed to disburse monies in Dublin. In the next paragraph they admit that Hort did act for them for six weeks, but however we would not mind because it was in the course of their duties. But if afterwards, and when they were doing their work, we find their secretary in frequent communication with "Parson," one of the "Irish Church Missions Society," and the disbursement of monies, and some of these letters have a confidential character that though referred to there is no contradiction in the appendix, we confess we feel some hesitation in placing that reliance upon the report which a public document should command. We may as well at once dispose of the charge that "no parson or Protestant clergymen was employed by the Patriotic Fund to disburse monies. Payments by the Fund commenced, and have been as early as practical in Ireland uninterruptedly and in Ireland exclusively by their staff officers. There may be a quibble on the point about the disbursement of monies. But we consider that it is quite immaterial whether the money has been authorised, give money to applicants on their own behalf for their benefit, and this the commissioners cannot deny. That if we show that a parson was authorised to disburse money of the Patriotic Fund to any purpose having any one of the objects for which the Royal Commission was issued, we will have made out a contradiction to the statements made in Fishbourne's "memorandum" a

the second report. We find the following passage in
 et from a letter from Rev. Wm. Hare, dated Dublin,
 1856-7 (Sec.) (By the way we did not before ob-
 tain "12th July." Ominous, very. We shall find by-
 her letter dated "5th Nov.") but to proceed.
 found in my neighbourhood a person named Miss
 who is disposed to take charge of these two children
 (Arnott) and of any other whom we may wish to
 (er.) * * * *

another child to be *disposed of*, (is he a sack-em up?)
 also requested to ask whether you will *authorize* me
 the same house with Maryanne Norris her little
 child of about *six years of age*, (mark this.* * *)
 pherd's terms are for two children £14 a-year each.
 believe more than you usually give, (he knows all
 but if you cannot deviate from your rule I will
 if required, to procure £2 a-year for each. For
 Shepherd would require £14 a-year for the two first,
 the third; should there be four children she will
 all at the same rate, viz. £12 a-year, (noble-hearted
 the number enabling her to make this reduction.
 of you to let me know as soon as you conveniently
 or you approve of this plan as I must without much
 to some definite understanding with Miss Shepherd
 ect." Apart from the peculiar phraseology of this
 the startling information it contains that "two"
 st," and the extraordinary sliding scale of prices, are
 viz.—for two children £14 a-year each, for three £14
 first (that is £7 each and £12 for the third, but if
 our her superabundant generosity, totally regardless
 will take them all for £12 a-year, that is £3 a-head.
 apart, here is a letter containing very important in-
 with regard to this point which we are now considering.
 you will authorize me to place little Norris in the
 with his sister," (the age of the child we shall touch
 .) There is no person who reading that sentence
 ce from it any other conclusion than that Hare had
 r doing something else, and if that conclusion did
 present itself to the mind on reading this passage
 ion of the letter would place the matter beyond all
 I must come to some definite understanding," &c.
 early the expressions of a person considering him-
 nt of another—is that agency denied? far from it?

But it is not an agency alone that is claimed by the equal power would seem to be his, for in the context of the extract we find he speaks of himself and Fishbourne assuming thereby a coordinate jurisdiction with them in the distribution of the monies of the Patriotic Fund, the appointment of the schools in which the children are educated. Is the assumption of equality repudiated of the kind ; it is admitted by the authority given to the child in the school ; the recommendations are accepted in a letter from Fishbourne addressed in a manner implying the sanction of the leading men in the House of Commons have the case considered, a very intimate acquaintance, " My Dear Sir." Verily the Proselytizers are in favour, to none are such terms addressed. Hare addressed Fishbourne " My Dear Sir" and Fishbourne returns the compliment, to others only the cold official " Sir," but not even the formality of official correspondence can repress the overflowing sympathy with which the " subscriber" regards the " Apostles of Education in Ireland." A similar familiarity is expressed by Holden, one of the " Coombe lads." Now let us see how the request is treated.

" 15th J

" My Dear Sir,

" I do not think there can be any difficulty in making the two Norrises, and the child Arnott, and a fourth child, Shepherd, at £12 a year, each ; so, if you will kindly make the arrangement accordingly, I dare say there will not be any difficulty in finding the fourth ; but I think Miss Shepherd will take her chance of this, as you can place a fourth the month of the year. Will you kindly request the Rathmines or Portobello Committee to send in their account up to the date on which you have the children.

" Believe me, my dear Sir,

" Very truly yours,

E. GARDINER FISHER

Is that repudiating the agency put forward by the Board ? I think not, and further it not only adopts his act but gives him letters of marque to go cruising about picking up any child he can lay hands on, and encouraging him in his avocations by the intimation " that there will not be any great difficulty in finding what is really extraordinary is that an authority is given to place this unfortunate child in the school " the moment it is found. There is no necessity to " apply to the staff officers" for permission enough " to forward the application to the commission for permission" to place the child in the school. Oh ! no

absolutely a sum allocated for the education of an individual who is *yet to be* discovered, who might never be found, and the finding of whom is left to the "Parson." Fishbourne knew his man; a fourth *was* found.

This Hare thought himself *facile princeps*, for he complains as though his dignity were insulted and his rights called in question by Mrs. Norris's conduct: he complains she never told him about the memorial. Again this Hare was employed to "question" Mrs. Norris in reference to her "memorial." The note of Mr. Ball, one of the commissioners, is submitted to Parson Hare, but the letter of Fishbourne enclosing the note and the memorial is of too "private and confidential" a character to be produced. Yet Fishbourne with unblushing front lies to John Ball, and lies to the public when he says "the memorial was sent to Mrs. Norris," it was sent to the Parson, who was instructed to threaten the poor woman with poverty and misery in every shape and thus induce her to withdraw that memorial which if acted upon would deprive the proselytising prowlers of their prey. But perhaps this Hare is not a parson at all, and in that way the secretary has been able with a clear conscience to declare that no parson &c. This supposition however is negatived by the fact that he is one of the persons selected to act on the staff of the Viceregal Chaplains; he is also we believe Garrison Chaplain, so that we must suppose him a parson, and if he be, then although it may not be strictly true that "a parson was always employed," still it is entirely false that "no parson was employed," &c. We have no hesitation in branding the report which says, "that we have systematically employed staff officers of the army and not persons of the Established Church, or ministers of any other religious denomination, to disburse our allowances in Dublin," as a gross fabrication totally devoid of foundation and in opposition to fact. We need not characterize those who signed it. We should have mentioned the name of Preston but we find the declaration is confined to Dublin, and besides the case of Hare is so glaring that further examples would be useless, because any persons who having so employed such a man could deny the employment would be capable of proselytizing a child and then saying they did not. An attempt has been made to separate the commissioners from their agents, and it has been said that a body of Englishmen care so little about any form of worship that they would not give themselves the bother of proselytising.

That may be true, or it may not, we have no way of knowing; the report adopting the conduct of the agent assigned by a number of persons and they are just as responsible for the cases of proselytism, if such have occurred, as the men who were the active agents in the children. We think that in this instance we are not that they have *not* refuted Dr. Cullen's charges.

With regard to the nuns of Mercy and of St. Clare proposed to take children at a small expense, and to send to their proposals—but no orphans.

The Report, says the Commissioners, agreed to the amount asked for the education of children, *above* the usual amount (there was no difficulty in placing little Norris in the orphan-herd's, though he was only six). Two mothers obtained the sanction of the Committee to place their children in the establishments, but they subsequently changed (?) (one of these was Mrs. Norris, the other, Mrs. M'Donnell). The history of the former is known, of the latter we know more than that her application was permitted to her (*eleven months*). Fishbourne's reply is good, disavowing any knowledge of the religious orders of the Sisters of the church; "just that sort of knowledge which we should have expected to find in one of the members of the 'Irish Mission Society.'" He calls the Sisters of Mercy the Sisters of St. Clare, and speaks of placing children in St. Clare's or Harold's Cross. His denial is just the same as that given by the Report as one would expect, knowing that the one hand drew up both charges.

The fourth charge which touches the allocation of children, omitted, we shall omit it for the present, but, should it become necessary, shall revert to it.

We shall take up the cases of Mrs. Kirley and Mrs. Kirley. First of Mrs. Kirley. Briefly the charge is; that in procuring the matter, that the children have been placed in the hands of a Catholic priest. The Report says:—"The substance of his complaint in respect to Mrs. Kirley, is, that being the widow of a Catholic soldier her three children have been sent to a Dublin agent to a Protestant school."

Our answer is, "That we have acted in this case in accordance with the rule, founded on a legal decision of the Court of Queen's Bench. The decision referred to is the case of *Alicia Race*. The nature of the general rule may be we do not know,

that if, from the principles laid down in the judgment of Campbell, the Commissioners can extract any pretext for sending Catholic children to a Protestant school, we beg pardon; were it so, there might be some high principle and good feeling which real Catholics are known to possess, would have revolted at a flagrant breach of good faith—to a proselytising without any consultation with the relatives of the children. These are delusions, reasoning a farce.

It is known that the question of religious teaching did not come to the subject at all, that the judge refused to interfere, and deplored the compulsory character of the law, which left him no alternative. The question really was, whether the mother should have the custody of the child, and the reason that can be assigned to defeat that right is the right of the person claiming the custody. In the case of Tylney Long Pole sought the custody of his children, his claim was resisted on the ground of his bad habit and the evil practices with which he had sought to corrupt his children. But the judge admitted there was no objection to the character of Mrs. Race, and the decision was, that the custody should be given up to her. Now how did these Commissioners act? Either they, themselves, or some one acting by them, settled a small sum of money on the mother, made her a ward of Court, and so retained possession of the child, so that they are armed at all points. If the child be Protestant, it is the decision of the law court. If the child be Catholic, it is the decision of the law court. If the religion be doubtful, and its Catholic mother desire the custody of it—then appeal to Equity.

It is quite clear that the right of the mother to be the nurse and nurturer of her child is an old doctrine of the constitution, but if it be not of a still earlier date, is the principle that the child should be brought up in the religion of its parents. Previous to the Reformation these two principles were not distinguished, because there being no difference of religion, there could be no question of educating the child in a religion different from that of the parents. Since the Reformation, however, when a question has arisen upon this subject, it has been brought before a court of law, in a manner that in which the Race case was submitted to the court, the decision has been, unless under peculiar

circumstances, the same. But Courts of Equity, law, with an equitable jurisdiction, have generally principle, that the child should be reared in the father.

In the case of "*Stourton v Stourton*" reported in a Law journal, the judge expressed himself very strongly. Although obliged to decide against the claims, and properly, for the Testamentary Guardian who was allowed to the child, took no concern about the matter until the child was nine years of age; then he suddenly wakes up the child a Protestant. He appeals to the Lord Justice of one of them in his judgment says, "If no wish were by, or to be assumed on the part of the father and were made (within a reasonable time) to this Court the child would be brought up in his father's faith."

In another case in which the father and mother were Protestants, the mother became a Roman Catholic in the lifetime of the father, who knew that she went to Rome and brought her children with her, and he himself went to Rome times with her and two of their children to the church. He had never been received into the Roman Catholic Church, but died, at a distance from any priest, rather suddenly, without the attendance of the rector of the parish. It is reported in the North, Reported, 11th Jurist. The judge stated his opinion in that case to be, "that when the father has not left any expressed any direction or instruction as to the religion of his children are to be educated, it is to be presumed that his wishes were that they should be educated in his own religion. This was a strong case; the father had countenanced the conversion of his wife and the practice of his children were brought up *Protestants*."

In this country the case of "*Brown*" is very strong at the same point. Brown, the father, was a Roman Catholic, but married a Protestant, having it was alleged promised the children to be reared Protestants. She died, and allowed the children to frequent the house of an aunt who was Protestant. He died, appointing two Roman Catholics as guardians, and the aunt claimed the children. The guardians resisted, and the Master of the Rolls decided that the children should be brought up Catholics, having a Catholic governess, and with the aunt, but should every Saturday go to one of the churches, stay over Sunday and return on Monday, and the guardians might see to the attendance of the children at their religious observances.

ing everything, admitting that Race was given up and in a religion different from that of her father, but could this supply for sending children to a religion doctrines hostile to those in which they had certain knowledge of the "Dublin agent" instructed? I earnestly request the attention of our readers to what regard to Mrs. Kirley's children and particularly to carry with them the dates. Dates like facts are facts, they cannot be got rid of, and it does surprise us that Fishbourne mutilated at all he did not do so in a proper manner. All the declarations of impartiality are the simple evidence of dates.—In the letter of the 17th March, 1857, (appendix 25) it is as follows. Margaret Jane 10 years old, and John 8 years old. Children of Margaret Kirley, No 426 at Fishbourne. *Protestant.* The first thing to be objected to is the date, 17th March, secondly the statement of Fishbourne states "no record of such distinction of religion or country is kept in the office." Yet the fact he gives, upon which we may form a judgment, is a distinction markedly made, Protestant, and in the fact the captain may distinguish between filing and not keeping a record of it, we do not know, but he is lying or giving the lie to his assertion. The Committee had no means by which to distinguish between Protestant and Roman Catholic.

For of Major Harris, *three* children are referred to, but not mentioned in the descriptive particulars. It is which the major had was to get something done as putting them to school. He says that they were sent to him, but by whom he does not mention. On the 18th March, (that is by return of post,) a letter to the major by Fishbourne. With what promptness are answered when there is question of a Catholic child, but when it is sought to give information of particular facts of importance in a case, the information is withheld by being told that all his statements are false. A month after the receipt of his communication is the nature of this letter from Fishbourne, and our readers to mark the dates. Harris's letter of the 18th and answered immediately. The reply that they have no school in Ireland, directs the expense

of their transmission to the office in London. "The boy might be sent to the Rev. A. Preston, near Naas, who has already some boys of ours. The writer been any one else but a member of the "Missions Society," we would have thought that, in the character of Preston, supposing his school to be a Protestant school, and misled by the mis-description given, by whose authority does not appear, he had committed the child to the care of Preston. But having to do with a member of that notorious body, we incline to think that a knowledge of Preston's tendencies which led him to send the boy to Kilmeague. As our readers may know nothing of Preston we shall give them a little about him. This person was very successful in setting up good Protestants." on a certain estate, the rents which were not thereby increased, having previously effected the ejectment of a considerable number of Catholic holdings and whose interests the landlord had to look after with true apostolic zeal, marched at the head of the Orangemen of Kilmeague in military array into the town with a pistol in his hand. Lest this might be doubted, we give an extract from the Report of a Committee, 20th August, 1835.

Extract from Minutes of Evidence of Dr. Robert Mulvey.

"Question 8337—You have given us an account of the force; pray, who was at its head? One party of Orangemen came from Kilmeague in the County Kildare; a Protestant man was at their head.

"Question 8338—It was not a Crucifix, I believe, but a pistol.

"Question 8339—Were shots discharged by these fellows? There were some shots fired during the election by the

Such is the teacher those men select for the young of the land. What happy days will there be in this country if the pupils of this zealous instructor, impregnated with the doctrines he has laboured to instill, come amongst the people to whom their lot in life is cast. How many a return of gratitude will there be? Yet to such a man is committed the education of those whose father fought bravely and loyally for his Queen and country. Where are his "sacred rights," which the country has recognised, and the recognition of which is justly considered deserving of her Royal sanction?

of Queen's Bench, by a distortion of principles of reasoning, is interposed between the dead and his living offspring, making the bounty of his torment and his loss.

With one child, Preston sought for, and obtained three. More generous than Miss Shepherd he gave them for "a few shillings a-year." We should not forget that Harris writes to Fishbourne under date 23rd of the month. One of these is answered on the 24th, the next on the 25th of the same month. The latter of Fishbourne's letters authorises the sending of the children to Canon Grimley who was then acting as chaplain to the soldiers stationed at the Royal Barracks, knowing that he had been a Catholic, knowing that his wife and children were regarded as Catholics, and treated as such, and knowing that the children were about being sent to a Catholic, protests against "any attempt to promote the children." The canon refers to a Protestant of Dundalk, in proof of the Catholicity of poor Kirley. This would naturally create surprise in the mind of the off hand had described them as *Protestant* on the authority of the person who brought them, whose name Major does not mention, and would excite a desire to know the matter, or at least to lay the statement before the people who were appointed to "secure such prompt and accurate information" as "may prevent the wrong application or otherwise" of this fund. Now we know, readers, the mother is a lunatic, committed as dangerous. The request of Major Harris who had waited on the Commission for that purpose.

What should be done? send forward the note as it was done. And what course should the Commissioners have taken? to us it would appear that they should have examined the matter fully. They should have called in the officer in command of Kirley's regiment, or some of the officers as knew him; they should have inquired what he had professed, what religion his wife professed, what religion the children were brought up. These are things it was competent for the Commissioners to have done more than they were bound to do. Now let us see what was done:—Major Harris sends Canon Grimley's letter to Fishbourne, in compliance with his promise to that

Rev. gentleman. But in the letter he sent, along enclosure, he states, "it is *the* wish still, that the should be brought up in the Protestant faith." "T whose wish?—Preston's, Harris's, Fishbourne's, &c."

Whether Fishbourne ever communicated with the sioners at all, we very much doubt; but the answer was, "that the Court of Queen's Bench having decided the surviving parent should determine the religion of and as the mother of the children in question must, during two years she has been receiving relief, and while have brought them up in some religious faith, the Court have no alternative but to consider that as the faith which (were she now sane), would wish that they should be in."

A very proper letter truly, and quite disregardful Harris's description of them as Protestants. The then was, to whom should they apply for information what should be done with the children in the meanwhile would strike one that the letter of Fishbourne should have been at once communicated to Canon Grimley, in order that he might show what religion they had been reared in, and such communication was made *at all*. The next thing to have been to enquire at the place at which Mrs. Kirley, during the greater portion of the two years, during which she was receiving relief, and, while still sane, what religious teaching and her children had professed, and what religious practices she had observed. As her residence had been, for a considerable time, at various periods, the Penitentiary at Grange Road would expect to find Major Harris or some person on his behalf, enquiring at the prison about this poor woman. Accordingly we do find the Major visiting the Governor of the prison, informing him that he called to ascertain, if possible, the religion of the children of the woman Kirley, and was anxious to do something for them on the part of the Poor Law Fund Committee. The governor complied with his request in order that there might be no mistake as to verbal statement, and no misrepresentation of what he said, he directed Mr. the chief clerk, to refer to the registries, which he directed traced Kirley and her children back in the *Beggar's* for three or four committals, and in each of these was described as "Roman Catholics." On making this discovery the Major at once sent a telegram to Fishbourne,

him of the mistake he had made in describing the children as *Protestant*, and requesting the arrangement with Mr. Preston might be altered, and the children sent to Roman Catholic schools. He may have done so, but we can find no trace of the letter, for the next letter we have in the Appendix, is the 8th of April, detailing what had occurred in the interval, namely, the sending of the children to Preston of the pistol, and with him we believe they still remain. Now Harris knew on the 27th (if Fishbourne did not also know it on the same day), that the Kirleys had been entered as Catholics, yet he sent them to Kilmeague on the 31st. As some question has arisen about the object of Harris's visit to the Penitentiary, and some remarks have been made about it in Mr. Ball's letter, we think it right to give Harris's answer. He writes :

"Dublin, March 28th, 1858.

"Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, together with a copy of Mr. Ball's protest against the judgment of the Royal Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, as laid down in their second report to Her Majesty the Queen ; and, in obedience to your desire, I beg now to offer the following observations regarding the case of the widow and three children of the late John Kirley, 4th Dragoon Guards, and the conclusions drawn by Mr. Ball with respect to myself. It is well known to you, Sir, that staff officers do not decide on what is to be done with orphan children ; that they make their reports to the honorary secretary, through whom they receive instructions. Mr. Ball complains that, on the 17th of March, 1857, I presented Kirley's children as Protestant. My reply is—I was governed by the repeated testimony of Mrs. Kirley's own mother (a Roman Catholic), her step-father, and a long list of half brothers and sisters (not children, but grown-up men and women), and also of the little orphans themselves, with all of whom I was in almost daily personal communication from the time of Mrs. Kirley's committal. (See the subsequent certificates of Margaret Colvin and Margaret Kirley at pages 55 and 59 of the report). This ample proof was abundantly corroborated by Mrs. Kirley's rambling "remarks," alluded to by Mr. Synnott, in his letter to Mr. Grimley, 4th November, 1857, though subsequently set aside, many days afterwards, by Dr. Banon's disqualifying certificate. I do not see, in my letter of the 27th March, anything that should have led to an opposite conclusion from that which I adopted on such substantial grounds. Mrs. Kirley is here to express her own sentiments of religion, past and present ; Mr. Canon Grimley, in whose parish she resides, is, and has been all along, as well aware of the fact as I am. With regard to the letter of Mr. Synnott, which appears in the Appendix II. of Doctor Cullen's letter to Lord St. Leonards, it is calculated to mislead and do mischief. Mr. Synnott was justified in stating that the object of my visit to the prison was to ascertain the religion of Kirley's children ; that fact was

previously settled in my mind by better evidence than me; my real object was to learn whether Mrs. Kirley in a fit state to undertake that responsibility, with children's removal to school, which others, for a time to engage in, and which she subsequently acknowledged in terms of much gratitude. Mr. Ball, too, is himself he says, I traced back the name of Mrs. Kirley and the Beggars' Registry for three or four separate names of Kirley appears but once, and the children were her upon that occasion. She was entered as a Roman true, but as she was received into prison as a danger perhaps Mr. Ball can explain upon what fair authority entered. These observations apply equally to the letter Mr. Thomas White, the Roman Catholic chaplain, in Appendix of Dr. Cullen's letter. In conclusion, I take to observe that my conduct and my motives may be misrepresented by others, but the approbation of my conduct remains undisturbed in this matter; and I even flatter the belief that the thirty-five Royal Commissioners who the Report in question, will not, under all the circumstances, relinquish the opinions they have subscribed to more those expressed alone by Mr. Ball, and that they will be deserving of protection against an ill-placed, and be shown, an equally ill-sustained charge of proselytism participating in any of the religious abuses so freely applied to Mr. Ball and others of his party.—I have the honour to be most obedient servant,

R. R. HARRIS, Major and Staff Officer
W. H. Mugford, Esq, 19, New-street, Spring Garden

There is a fish, so ingenious in its method of evasion, that when apprehensive of danger it darkens the inky fluid the water near the place where it resides, escapes the attack of the pursuer: thus does the

"Mr. Ball complains that on the 17th March, 1857, Kirley's children as Protestant. My reply is, I was given repeated testimony of Mrs. Kirley's own mother, (a Roman her stepfather, and a long list of half-brothers and sisters, children but grown-up men and women), and also of the themselves, with all of whom I was in almost daily communication from the time of Mrs. Kirley's committal (to March, 1857). This ample proof was abundantly confirmed Mrs. Kirley's rambling "remarks," alluded to by Mr. letter to Mr. Grimley, 4th Nov., 1857, though subsequently many days afterwards, by Dr. Banon's disqualifying certificate.

What is the meaning of that sentence? Have officers combined to indite sentences, difficult to understand and impossible to explain? Is this obscurity

their deficient education, or of their desire to envelope their meaning in a mist of words to the exclusion of all sound sense? When Ormsby wants to get a statement verified, he procures testimony to whatever is true in it. When Harris wants to lead the public to suppose that he really believed what he wrote on the 17th March, he entangles himself in such a mass of words, the meaning of which he clearly does not comprehend, that those who are interested in his welfare, can with difficulty, extricate him from the confusion he himself has created. If it be true that language is intended to conceal what one means, then has Harris given a very strong instance of its adaptability, to mystify. But as grammarians consider language to be the medium of conveying to others the ideas which operate upon our own minds, we are inclined to think that this confusion arises from a desire to escape from the penalty his misconduct has deserved. The "ample proof" was "abundantly corroborated." What is this "ample proof?" is it that the grandmother who has not the means of supporting them, is willing that they should go (to school)? First, we find Mr. Kirley in the receipt of 8s. 6d. per week, which is the allowance granted according to the scale to Widows of Privates with *four* children; Mrs. Kirley had but *three*. But surely after Major Harris got Mrs. Kirley confined as a "dangerous lunatic," in consequence of her intemperate habits, he did not continue the allowance to her, which he knew would be useless, and surely for some time previous to her committal, he, knowing the character of the woman, ought not to have given her money intended for the support of her children, which he well knew would go in drink. Now, if he gave 4s. 6d. a-week, 4s. being the allowance for widows without children, to the "natural guardian," and informed her that the Kirleys could be kept at a day school, the Commissioners defraying the weekly expense, he would have acted rightly. Had he done this, we are at a loss to know how she could have said she was unable to support them; however, when she expressed her willingness, that they should go to school, did it necessarily follow that that meant a proselytising school? The Major talks of step-sisters and brothers. We would not give much for their testimony. Mrs. Kirley had been married in 1844, and from that time to 1857, any evidence there is, goes to prove her a professing and practical Catholic; these step-relatives did not see much of her during that period, she was with her husband in various parts of the United Kingdom. But if the proof were "ample," it did not

require "corroboration," for "ample," means "sufficient is enough—more than enough is too much; what proves too much, proves nothing; but corroborating ample proof," by "rambling remarks, setting aside the whole of it by the subsequent leaves us completely in the dark. Is it the ample the corroboration, or both, that is set aside by the If the ample proof was so influenced, the children been sent to a Catholic school. If the ample proof corroboration, and that corroboration were set aside by cate, then the children, like criminals, should have benefit of the doubt, and been sent to Catholic schools.

If anything would furnish a proof of the necessity of being strictly to truth in dealing even with "Papers" afforded in the present instance, in which the first is to be supported by many more. We may as well say "ample proof." The Major refers to two documents in appendix. The children were sent away on the 31st on the 20th of April, he sends Fishbourne a declaration by the grandmother, giving up the children to the 26th March. Why was not that declaration sent before, when Harris sent Grimley's letter, or when Fishbourne, on the 28th March, that "The grandmother, when they appear to be residing, should produce certificates of religious instruction they were under?" The only answer can be given is, that it had no existence at the time it was written on the receipt of Canon Grimley's letter. On 19th April, to silence all questionings and authenticate authority to Harris for sending the children to Protestantism on 31st March. The second document is that of the grandmother of the children, dated 13th November. There might be any doubt about the authenticity of the signature. The Major sends in to Ormsby for a loan of one of his attesting staff sergeants, to witness, in conjunction with a staff sergeant, the handwriting of the deponent. With that, he gets all the Colvins to certify, 13 days after the occurrence, that she was perfectly calm, cool, and collected at the time when she did an act which they did not see her do! "Not see her do! how do you know?" Easily answered: they had seen her sign, their certificate would have the same date as her declaration, and witnessed by two staff sergeants. Now, her declaration is the 13th November, and the certificate 26th November; she might have been

on the 18th, and perfectly sane on the 26th. The fact is, the children have been kidnapped, and these documents are got up or show. We would not be astonished to find each of these people declaring they never signed such documents at all—

"I do not see in my letter of the 27th March, anything that should have led to an opposite conclusion from that which adopted on such substantial grounds." Nor can we, for we have not been blessed with the sight of it; we did think there had been some manipulation of the evidence, some "*suppressionis veri*," if not "*suggestio falsi*," but this confirms us, for when their own accomplice refers to a document, which has not been published, as calculated to justify himself, we may be tolerably certain, that the suppression was the result of those across the channel, fearing that in his justification lay their own condemnation. But we are glad to know that as all the parts of letters have not been produced, so neither have all the letters, and this is much the more respectable way to go about the matter, much better tell the public at once, that they will get no satisfaction, than while pretending to satisfy them, really to deceive them. Yet all these letters in their entirety were circulated amongst the Commissioners. We are surprised that they would have allowed the suppression of a single sentence; we are surprised to find that Prince Albert signed the report, in the manufacturing of which such tinkering is manifest. We wonder his artistic eye did not detect the violation of every rule which govern a production like this; we wonder he did not feel that his own character, private and public, as a man and as a Prince, was at stake, that the dignity of his Queen and his wife is insulted, by the attempt to palm off fables as facts. If the Prince Consort had read that report, its appendix and the charges of the Archbishop, which he signed it, we feel assured that he would not have signed it.

We regret that he did not read it before he gave the sanction of his illustrious name. We cannot trust ourselves to speak upon the blameable confidence which was reposed in the framers of that report. Up to this, at all events, it is shewn pretty clearly that Fishbourne is the Royal Commissioner, for we have not throughout the whole of the appendix met with the name of Lefroy. After that mesmerizing sentence, the Major proceeds in these words:—

Mr. Synnot was not justified in stating that the object of my visit to the prison was to ascertain the religion of Kirley's children; that fact was previously settled in my mind by better evidence than

he could give me; my real object was to learn whether she was herself in a fit state to undertake that responsibility of removing her children to school, which others, for various reasons, were obliged to engage in, and which she subsequently acknowledged in terms of much gratitude."

It is quite clear to us, but only after an attention to this specimen, that Harris had two objects, a pretended one and a real one. The pretended one he told Mr. Sydney, a poor simple governor unversed in military diplomacy, and all the Major said, got down Mr Warren to look into the registries, and gave himself a deal of unnecessary trouble, while the Major's *real* object was something else, as he told us. "Mr. Ball, too is himself in error when he tells us back the name of Mrs Kirley in the beggars' register, or four separate committals. The *name* of *Kirley* was entered *once* and the children were absent from her. She was not, as a Roman Catholic it is true, but as she was in prison as a dangerous lunatic, perhaps Mr. Ball was satisfied upon what fair authority she was so entered."

Perhaps the Major thinks himself very clever in his bit of special pleading. An omission on the part of the Major caught at with that eagerness with which drowning men usually represented as catching at straws, but which is though specifically lighter than water and thus able to float on the surface, yields to the pressure of the agonised man, and both sink, so the Major's fact as a fact might be true, but the moment he seeks to rest his presumption upon it, that moment its strength fails and does him no good. Major. It is quite true that the Major did not mention Mrs Kirley at all. Mr. Warren the Chief Clerk did not mention Mrs Kirley at all. Major was quite satisfied. "The *name* of *Kirley* was entered *once*." Is this we ask worthy "an officer and a gentleman?" Surely you know it is not for a name we are seeking, we cannot have a religion, you know the line "whats in a name?" Mrs Kirley a Catholic in the penitentiary would be a great deal though entered as "Margaret M'Cormick" or "Catherine M'Cormick." Look to the appendix 44; you will find a return of the times Mrs Kirley was in prison from the 7th March 1856 to the 19th December 1856, and each time she had two of her children with her. The rest of the letter is occupied with some other matter. Returning from the little episode we shall resume our narrative. On the 19th April Canon Grimley, not having received any communication conveying the views of the Commissioners

submitted to their consideration, writes again. His case was presented by Harris to Fishbourne accompanied by a declaration of the suspicious date, and a letter of support. The former is the declaration of the grand-jury. As the natural guardian of &c. I hereby declare to bring them up in the Protestant faith, and empower Major Harris to deal with them according to his declaration is only a declaration of a present intention to bring them up for the future Protestants. Had Protestants such a declaration would have been unnecessary. It would seem as though the very proofs adduced would combine to condemn them, and then the date, kept back? We are surrounded by mystery, we cannot find the key. The letter is from Holden, beginning by containing a statement that the children had been in the school, and winding up with a slap at "Popery." In Mr. Holden's letter to Canon Grimley we treated of in our last number, and there recorded our opinion of its character. On the present occasion to say that that letter was without any instruction from Fishbourne, at least we cannot say so, but it is the letter of the Commissioners, and not censured the writer of it.

Some letters about allowance, by which it would appear that Mr. Harris wished to give Mrs. Kirley the full allowance as usual, and her children with her, while Fishbourne consents to give only 5s. and a suit of clothes. Superintendent C. F. Holden states that Margaret Jane Kirley attended the Combe School from 6th November 1856, to March 10th 1857, yet she was a Protestant almost the whole month of December. From September 3rd. to March 1857, she being at the same time committed with her mother to the Penitentiary, four periods of fourteen days and one of seven

as Mrs. Kirley's own declaration that she was always a Protestant, and that her three children were also Protestants. She says "she was *born* a Protestant." Her father and mother were both Catholics, as appears by an extract from the marriage registers, kept in the Catholic Cathedral, Longford, and on page 102 of the Archbishop's pamphlet, and

from the Registry kept in St. Mel's Catholic Cathedral, that John McCormick and Margaret Reynolds were mar-

ried according to the rite of the Catholic Church, on the 10th of October, 1820.

Witnesses, { TERENCE REYNOLDS.
MICHAEL REYNOLDS.

GREGORY Y
Roman Catholic A

Longford, 22nd December, 1857.

Mrs Kirley was married according to the Catholic Church in the same church as appears by the registry, an extract of which is furnished in the same page.

"It appears from the Registry kept in St. Mel's Cathedral, Longford, that Private John Kirley, of the 4th Dragoon Guards, Orderly in the Military Hospital, Longford, was married according to the rite of the Catholic Church, to Margaret Kirley, on the 10th day of September, 1844.

Witnesses, { JAMES KELLY, of the Band
4th Dragoon Guards.
CATHERINE MOORE.

GREGORY Y
Roman Catholic A

Longford, 3rd December, 1857."

Mrs. Kirley declared herself a Catholic when living in Island Street. Margaret Jane said she had received the Sacraments of the Catholic Church. These two facts are deposed to by Mary Lalor, a copy of whose deposition sworn before Alderman Farrell will be found on page 107, of the pamphlet.

"I, Mary Lalor, of Eccelin Lane, do solemnly and sincerely declare that I am very intimately acquainted with Mrs. Kirley, late Private Kirley, of the 4th Dragoons; that she lived in the same house in Island Street; that I heard her declare that she was a Roman Catholic; that, on one occasion, when I asked her children were attending the Protestant school on the 10th of September, 1844, she answered that it was only for the bread they went, not with her will; that from the time of her marriage she was always a Roman Catholic. I knew Margaret Jane Kirley, of Mrs. Kirley. I heard Margaret Jane say, that when she was in the Military Hospital, she received the Sacraments from the Catholic Priest. I solemnly declare, that I always looked upon Mrs. Kirley and her children as Roman Catholics."

Declared before F. Farrell, Esq., justice of county Longford, 18th March, 1858.

Mrs. Kirley's mother says that Mrs. Kirley changed her religion before her marriage. Three of her children were brought up in the Catholic Church as proved by extracts from the registry given at p. 103, and were put to the Convent school at Island Street.

"John Kirley, son of John and Margaret Kirley (formerly of the 4th Dragoon Guards, Orderly in the Military Hospital, Longford, was married according to the rite of the Catholic Church, to Margaret Kirley, on the 10th day of September, 1844.

on the 10th day of April, 1847, and baptized on, of April, 1847, in St. Barnabas's Catholic Church by me,

JOHN J. MULLIGAN.

MARK GILLIGAN.

12th December, 1857."

ey, daughter of John and Margaret Kirley (formerly as born on the 30th day of April, 1849, and baptized of June, 1849, in St. Wilfrid's Catholic Church, ester, by me,

LAW. TOOLE.

EDWARD CLARKE.

JANE SMITH."

irley, son of John and Margaret Kirley (formerly as born on the 16th day of April, 1851, and baptized ay of May, 1851, in St. Peter's Catholic Church, y me,

BERNARD IVERS,
Missionary Apostolic.

WILLIAM KELLY.

ELLEN GAVAN.

22nd December, 1857."

"St. Malachi's,
"October 26, 1857.

ARCHBISHOP,

your Grace's kind letter, which I received this moray that Margaret, Patrick, and Alice Kirley attended ring the months of June, July, and August, 1854, oldier, brought them himself, and was most anxious instructed in the Catholic religion.

(Signed) "SR. M. DE SALES VIGNE."

ed to the children going to the Coombe School it oof that they were Catholics. For Catholics that ners of a similar character were established; to of their faith is the sole object of these institutions. nent is offered to these poor children, nay we at violence is sometimes resorted to for the purg possession of them.

adicted in her statement that statement is certi- Colvins, the value of such verification we leave estimate.

ertificate from Mistress Mills, saying that Mrs. ended a Sunday school between 1837, and 1840. rial; the next, a letter from Mr. Kingston, we

Ashfield, Harold
Decem

My Lord,

I trust the circumstances of the case will excuse the in writing to you. Having seen in the "Freeman" the 24th ult., extracts from a letter addressed by the R Archbishop of Dublin to your Lordship, in which me of the Widow Kirley, she being a parishioner of mine enquire from her the truth of the allegations of Arch respecting her. I send you a brief summary of the s to me by Mrs. Kirley in presence of her own mother: did not express dissent, rather appeared to concur in by her daughter. The Widow Kirley said she is, been, a Protestant, and never professed herself a Ro She told me she was living in Dundalk when the new her husband's death. On being then asked by the g gave her the information, what she intended to do she is good, and He will provide for me and my children: leaves me my health and my senses I have no fear, and up my children as I was brought up myself in the Pro With that determination she left Dundalk and came in the suburbs of which she lived, and sent her children schools. They were attending the Protestant Ragged Coombe when she first manifested an aberration of went to the school one day to bring home her child proceeding with them home when she was taken up who charged her as being under the influence of liq her children were committed to Grangeerman Per there entered, (as appears by the registry,) Roman C of such entry she declares she knew nothing, nor by w she was so entered. (Query—By whose authority w made?) She also says that when taken to mass she re knelt down in her seat with her back to the altar, and officer of the prison say, "that woman is a Pro Catholic would do what she has now done." She refuse going to mass, for she was told, (but by whom recollect,) "that if she did not she would be fed on b and would not be allowed to see her children." Be was not pecuniary distress which caused her to be comm for when taken up she had on her person £2 2s. 6d. be pers. Her subsequent committals to Grangeerman Pe occasioned by manifestations of insanity, until at l placed in the lunatic department. When, in the provi her senses were restored to her she had her children Protestant care and instruction. She further told weeks ago the Rev. Mr. Grimley, Roman Catholic p her and required her to sign a paper, promising her sign the paper he would take good care of her and her refused and did not sign, nor did she know what was in another occasion the Rev. Mr. Kenedy, Roman C importuned her to sign a paper, and made her a sin but she absolutely refused. She also told me that d

husband one of her children, with the knowledge and of her husband, was baptized by a Protestant clergyman. It is quite apparent what a slender foundation Archbishop Sumner laid for his mighty fabric in connection with the Widow's children. If your Lordship considers the facts I have stated of any value in the consideration of the case you will be at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

I am, &c.

Thomas Kingston,

Vicar of St. James', Dublin.

climax to the long series of misrepresentation, violence and falsehood, which characterize the case. It says, it was hardly necessary to furnish a document if four attributes are combined. Notwithstanding, a document composed of such ingredients in the letter to Mr. Kingston. Whether this letter be the invention of a "debased," or the production of a mind debased, we have no use to consider; enough for us that it is false in all particulars, and foully false as to that portion of it which is sought to sully the good name of an upright, honest, and useful official, by insinuating that in the discharge of his office, he would allow himself to be made the agent or of any party, (Query by whose authority?). Mr. Kingston. These are *your* words. Had they proceeded from the poor lunatic, we would have passed them over and even coming from you they are not worth much notice if they are referred to, to be contradicted. Had you spoken of a gentleman, not to speak of those of a Christian, whose characters can ever be separated, you would not think it a fair statement of a person who had been in confinement a "dangerous lunatic" of maligning the motives and conduct of a gentleman who fills an important office and discharges its onerous duties with zeal and efficiency. Now consider the letter in detail, "she never professed herself a Roman Catholic," we proved false by Harriet Martineau. "The grandmother of the children informs me that she was a Roman Catholic, and Margaret Kirley was a Protestant. But as it is contrary to custom for persons of different religion, the latter *changed* her mode of the ceremony."—Extract from Harris's *March*, 1857. "She was taken up by a police-officer and charged her as being under the influence of liquor. Her children were committed to Grange-gorman Penitentiary. There is no date given, so we cannot positively

deny the statement. It is, however, highly improbable that her children would be committed along with the mother, being charged as drunk. When the report appeared, it was struck by Kingston's allegations and Dr. Gray, of the Board of Superintendence of the Penitentiary, called the attention of Mr. Synnott, the governor, to the "fact" as stated. The following is Mr. Synnott's reply :—

"Grangegorman Prison,
"31st March, 1851."

"DEAR DR. GRAY,

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the letter written in your official capacity, as a member of the Board of Superintendence of the City of Dublin Prisons, you forwarded to me on last night, with the Second Report of the Royal Commissioners of the Poor Fund; and as you directed, I have read over, with particular attention, the passages marked by you 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, in the Appendix, page 62 in that document. Permit me here to thank you, Governor of this institution, for giving the opportunity to me, to say the least of it, gross misstatements made by Margaret Kirley, lately a prisoner in that establishment."

"The Appendix above referred to is a letter from Mr. Kingston, Vicar of St. James's, addressed to the Right Reverend Lord St. Leonards, in the first passage of which it is stated that 'Mrs. Kirley and her children were committed to Grangegorman Prison, and there entered (as appears by the register) as Catholics, but of such entry she declares she knew nothing, and whose directions she was so entered.'

"(Query.—By whose authority was such entry made.)

"Answer.—By the authority of Margaret Kirley to the effect that she was a Catholic, who, as you desire to know his name and character, is a highly respectable and respected officer, who, for twenty years, has filled the office without the slightest stain or imputation cast upon him in any respect, and I may further add, that he is a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and is a member of the office, too, has a distinct recollection of this woman entering the books of this prison as a Roman Catholic; and, as you seem to think it may be hereafter, the statements made by the officers can be verified on oath.

"Second.—She also says that when taken to Mass she was having knelt down in her seat with her back to the altar, and heard an official of the prison say: 'That woman is a Protestant, and for no Catholic would do what she has done.'

"Answer.—None of the officers have the slightest recollection of this circumstance occurring, nor do I believe a word of it. The prisoners are regularly marched to their respective places by the officers in charge of their class, and when they enter the church or chapel, they take their places next to each other. It would, indeed, be an unseemly affair to see one of them turn her face to the prisoners and her back to the altar.

"Third.—She was afraid to refuse going to Mass,

whom she does not recollect) that if she did not, she
on bread and water, and would not be allowed to see

The officers of the prison have been assembled and
upon this point, and all utterly deny their knowledge of
er. On the contrary, they all, both Protestants and
y that when the chapel bell rung, she went like the
ers to Mass. Her incarceration was generally fourteen
e; and she could, upon any of these occasions, have
ed with respect to religion in any way she pleased. Her
he was committed for vagrancy, were always left with
the children of all vagrants, both Protestants and

—‘Be it observed, it was not pecuniary distress which
be committed to prison, for when taken up she had on
2s. 6d., besides some copper.’

—The prison officers, whose duty it was to search this
y nothing of the affair, nor is there any record in the
simply untrue.

Her subsequent committals to Grangegorman prison
ed by manifestations of insanity, until at length she
the lunatic department.

—This statement is also untrue; she never was commit-
prison for anything but vagrancy, except on the last
rch, 1857,) when she was committed as a ‘dangerous
as I understood from Major Harris, at his request, he
d upon Police Commissioner Colonel Browne for that
intemperate tendencies, as I also understood from that
ing the occasion of her lunacy.

ision, allow me to state that I trust this letter will
mind that there has been no violation of duty on the
fficers of this prison. If, however, on the other hand,
erwise, and deem an investigation necessary, I assure
ers will not shrink from it, but rather court the most
uiury into their conduct, having no fear of the result.

ou require any further information on this unpleasant
all be most cheerfully afforded by,

“Dear Dr. Gray,

“Your's very truly,

“THOMAS L. SYNNOTT,

“Governor.

Esq.,
etc., etc,
Freeman's Journal.”

Copy of Mrs. Rawlins' Answer.

“Grangegorman Penitentiary,

“March 31, 1858.

to your favour of yesterday, I beg to acquaint you that
morning examined the deputy-matron, and every sub-
e prison, on the subject of the following extract from

the Report of the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund, afraid to refuse going to Mass, for she was told (but she does not recollect) that if she did not, she would be starved and water, and would not be allowed to see her children.

"I have read this extract to the matrons assembled to the decided reply of each was, that no such threat had been used by them to Mrs. Kirley nor to any other prisoner. I have heard of any such threat, or I should have felt it my duty to have brought it at once before the Board of Superintendence. Certainly I never myself used any language to a prisoner that could be so construed.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant

"MARIAN RAWLINSON

"To Dr. Gray, etc., etc."

The charge against the Rev. Messieurs Kennedy and Kirley is positively denied by both these gentlemen. As Mrs. Kirley being baptised by a Protestant clergyman we have no doubt we know nothing. If it be the child born at Leitrim, it was there baptised a Catholic, for there was no Catholic chapel in the district.

We shall close Mrs. Kirley's case by inserting an extract from the Archbishop's second letter, in answer to the letter on the subject of the rights of Catholic soldiers. It will serve in this place as it will serve as a comment on the case, and as we have been considering, and an introduction to the one we are now about to enter upon.

"It is fresh in the minds of every one that for the past century of Catholic soldiers and sailors were not held sacred in fighting with undaunted courage for their country, it was their duty to practise their religion during life, and they were to die at the hour of death without any spiritual assistance. Hundreds of Irish Catholics have shed their blood for their country in England in every quarter of the globe, but nothing was done to provide for the salvation of their immortal souls. The hospitals are now greatly improved, but many grounds of complaint remain, and a great deal is to be done before the Catholics can be said to be on a footing of equality with his Protestant fellow-countryman. There are no regular Catholic chaplains; no Catholic churches in the barracks; no military schools or orphanages, to which the children can be safely sent; and Catholic sailors whilst fighting the battles of the empire, are still left without any provision whatsoever. Your Lordship will easily understand that such a state of things must be to Catholics, who believe in but one true faith, and know that they are obliged to follow the teaching of that faith, in order to secure the salvation of their immortal souls. Men not having any definite system of religion, not attaching much importance to any creed, or to religious

vances, may be indifferent as to the education of their children, and think it no grievance to be left without any religious worship. Of course their indifference in regard to the education of their children will be increased if they believe that they can be saved in the profession of any religion, or that one religion is as good for them as another. Such men may be considered as expressing no wish regarding the religion of their children. But the case is different with Catholics: their opinions are decided, and they must always feel the greatest anxiety, if their children be exposed to lose the true faith, or to be separated from that Church out of whose pale there is no salvation.

But returning to the present question, as her gracious Majesty declares that Catholic soldiers have sacred rights, we may ask what these rights are. I submit that one of the most sacred of them is that a Catholic soldier falling in battle should have it in his power to secure to his children the faith in which they were baptized, and in which he wished them to be brought up, and without which he believed they could not be saved. He should be enabled to die in the conviction that the country to which he has given his life will receive his children, and guard for them as jealously as he should have done, the only inheritance he has to leave them. If a Catholic soldier expiring on the field were to take by the hand an officer whose life he had saved at the cost of his own, and conjure him to see that his orphan children should be educated in the faith of their father, I think too highly of human nature to believe that the sternest Protestant living would not in such a case preserve those children from contact with any influence that might change or weaken their religion. Is the case different, when he bequeaths them, not to this or that officer, but to his country and his sovereign? But let us suppose our dying soldier unable to speak: if the captain, for whose life he has thus given his own, and whom we still assume to be a Protestant of no doubtful hue, well knows the humble hero to have been as loyal to the Catholic faith as he had been true to his colours, well knows him to have incurred cruel penalties for the sake of educating his children in that faith; what views, my Lord, may I be allowed to ask, would he take of the rights, the "sacred rights," of his dying soldier? Would he say: "My poor friend has given his life in my defence: his wish throughout life was to preserve his faith and hand it down to his children: death, incurred in my service, has stopped his utterance before he could give expression to his wish: and I am therefore at liberty to contemn and to defeat it?" Could he lay his hand upon his heart and say this, it would be an argument that the curse of Nabuchodonosor had fallen upon him—that in very deed the heart of a man had been taken from him, and that he had received the heart of a beast. Again, my Lord, substitute the country for the captain, and are the rights and duties different?

Without entering into further discussion, I may take it as admitted that the Commissioners representing the country are guardians of the "sacred rights" of Catholics who have fallen in battle; that one of the most sacred of those rights is the education of Catholic

orphans according to the wishes of their parent ; that t
sioners, thus standing in the place of a parent, are bound
every particular towards the orphans as their natural f
have done ; and that their duty so to act is the same, wh
from express direction or from necessary implication.
rights we treat of be to sacred, no oppressive rule of la
all, no arbitrary regulations of individuals, should tur
consolations of charity from the death-bed of the Cath
and from the cradle of his orphan. The same justice,
his informal will as regular and powerful an instrument
your Lordship ever drew or certified should interfere to
sacred rights from confiscation by rules, minutes, or reg
the Catholic soldier say to you: I have married a t
dissipated wife: her desire of indulging in spirituous
induce her to sell to the highest bidder the faith of her
money to enable her to indulge her wicked propensities
of intemperance may lead her to the workhouse, the pr
lunatic asylum. I got my children baptized in the Cath
while I could I gave them Catholic education: will my
tinue to do so after my death in her service? it is my
is my sacred right. Shall my right be defeated in con
the lunacy or intemperance of my wife? shall my childr
in the hands of a Protestant minister, to be educated i
contrary to my own? Or suppose he should say: I hav
wife; *she is an ignorant, uneducated woman, and evinces g
tion regarding the care of her children*—(Second Repor
will you see that the children I leave to my country shall
as Catholics—it is my wish—is it not my right?—

Will you answer: It is in truth your right, but the deci
Race's case stands in your way—and then there is a m
Commissioners that cannot be gotten over: in some way
which can be properly explained no doubt, when your v
to apply for relief, she will meet with a Protestant clerg
first instance (Appendix to Report No. 49, 52, etc. ;))
weak by nature or weakened by poverty; he will acqui
ascendency, dominion: she will transfer your children i
to him, and that will bring them within the rule of the
the Queen's Bench. Your rights are undoubted, but al
are against you; the law indeed will be respected—no
will be done; but the rule in Alicia Race's case, and the
the Commissioners—these are inflexible. Die in peac
children must be Protestants. If they be in India they
signed to a Protestant orphanage; if at home, they will
the Duke of York's school, or the Hibernian school, wh
is of frequent occurrence, or sent to some other schoo
according to Captain Fishbourne, the "teaching is Prot
the choice of a school for them will be left to a Protestan
who will hand them over to the sister of a Protestant s
and keep them under his own immediate superintendence
to Report, No. 49.) My Lord, was it upon this underst
we gave our money and our blood? We did not weigh

hair balance, or measure the other in a graduated glass; and we did not expect that we should have reason to complain, or that in case such reason should exist, our complaints would be met with special pleading and the manipulation of evidence."

We shall now consider the case of Mrs. Norris. A Catholic herself, the widow of a Catholic soldier, her children were seized upon by a parson, placed at an asylum devoted to Protestant purposes, when rescued by the mother were retaken by the parson, committed to the care of a Protestant school-mistress under the control and supervision of this parson, every effort which the wretched mother made to regain her daughter, (happily the son is safe,) defeated by forms not used in cases of application by Catholics for admission to Protestant Schools until worn, out by anxiety of mind operating on a weakened frame, and that again re-acting on her mental faculties, she yielded her daughter to the staff-officer to be sent to Hampstead. The decision in the Court of Queen's Bench has nothing to do with this case, for all the iniquity we shall presently detail, was perpetrated before that decision was made. Looking at this case in an ordinary point of view, it seems to us not probable that a Catholic would select a Protestant School in preference to one of her own persuasion for the education of her children supposing no inducement to be held out to her to do so, and no impediments thrown in the way of her pursuing that course which appears to us the natural one for her to pursue. We say it is not probable that she would have acted as she is represented to have done supposing that she got fair play. Now the question before the public is, did she get fair play. We have no hesitation in saying she did not. It is not from extrinsic documents, nor from private information, that we have come to that opinion, but simply upon the facts set out in the Report and the appendix. From the meagre details furnished in the appendix, we glean the following facts, which we shall relate before entering into an examination of the documents which are published in the appendix as forming the correspondence upon this case. Incidentally we may mention that the first application of Mrs. Norris to the Commissioners for a recognition of her claim is not included, so that we are left completely in the dark as to the period at which she first applied to be put on the pension list of the Patriotic Fund. It is to be regretted that something more than extracts of those interesting letters from Mr. Hare have not been produced; information too full could not be

given on matters of such grave importance, involving do, questions of the deepest interest as well to the traitors as to the recipients of the nation's bounty. documents, however, we collect the following history. On the 12th July, 1856-7, Mr. Hare informs Captain that he placed the little daughter of Mrs. Norris at an orphanage. The mother took her home, but Mr. Hare afterwards placed her with a Miss Shepherd, and asked her to place the little boy, who was about six years of age, with his sister. This permission Captain Fishbourne at once gave. On the 1st August, 1856, Mrs. Norris put her memorial in petition, certified by Canon Grimley, requesting that the daughter sent to St. Clare's orphanage. That petition was forwarded to Mr. John Ball, a Member of Parliament, and secretary for the Colonies, and one of the Royal Commissioners. Mr. Ball being on the Continent, did not get the petition until his return in September. He at once sent it to Captain Fishbourne. This memorial was sent to Parson Mugford. The letter accompanying that memorial is not published, but it seems to occur here, for there are two letters from Parson Mugford, dated 19th and 25th September, and no letter from Fishbourne. Mr. Ball not receiving any reply to his note, and having been in Ireland, on the subject, wrote again on 19th November, calling Fishbourne's attention to the fact that his answer had been received by Mrs. Norris. To that Mrs. Norris replies, stating that the memorial had been received by Mrs. Norris. The first reply that Mrs. Norris received from the office was a note dated "5th November," signed "Mugford." On the 13th of that month, Mrs. Norris petitioned to have her child sent to Harold's Cross, being certified by Alderman Reynolds. To that petition the reply that her petition should have been forwarded to the Staff-Officer of Pensioners. She does so, and the Staff-Officer writes that she wants to have her child sent to the street Convent. Presentation papers had been applied for by Captain Fishbourne, and when he got them, he wrote to the Staff-Officer of Pensioners, and when he got them, he wrote to the Staff-Officer of Pensioners. Meantime whilst all these proceedings were going forward, Mrs. Norris had got married, but unfortunately her choice had then living a prior claimant on her husband's and his affections. In pursuance of one of the resolutions of the Committee, made in contemplation of a second memorial, the part of those in receipt of relief from the fund was to be her pension. But on the production of the letter

is an answer on the 2nd February, ordering the mother to be sent up to London and the expenses paid, and money given to the mother to pay her passage. These things were done, the child is in Hampstead, in the grave.

The state of things presented by the appendix. Now what the report says. The italics are our own, and for the purpose of arresting the reader's attention to a particular point which, out of the appendix, we are to radiate. The report says—"It there (in the appendix) appears that Mrs. Norris *had placed* her daughter in charge of the managers of the General Orphan Asylum, from which place she was removed by her *hose earnest request*, to the Rev. William Hare, a Quaker, she, together with her brother, was then under the care of Miss Shepherd a Protestant." Now what is verified by the appendix. In the letter dated 12th July, we find the following:—

Dublin 12th July, 1856-7.

Some ago placed two orphan children of Crimean soldiers, Mrs. Norris and Agnes Arnott, under the care of the guardians of the General Orphan Asylum Richmond Street, Portobello, by whom I was then in charge to a woman named Mrs. Collins, living in Dublin, there being no institution for the reception of orphans. Mrs. Norris, thinking that her child was not properly cared for, and especially that her education was neglected, removed her from Mrs. Collins without consulting any one, and on the 12th July, 1856, she was removed to the care of Miss Shepherd. I did not by any means approve of this summary proceeding, but on inquiry I found the poor woman was in a state of mind and of complaint, as, in point of fact, her child had never attended any day-school since she had been with Mrs. Collins, and on her request.

and in my own neighbourhood a person named Miss Shepherd was disposed to take charge of these two children, and of any

the locality is healthy, being out of the town ; and the child be under my own immediate superintendence. *If you think the above arrangement being made, I will have it carried out immediately.*"

Apart from the palpable contradiction given by the statements in the report, it would strike as rather odd that a Catholic should seek out and *earn* a Protestant minister to place her children at a school, their being numbers of priests in Dublin with opportunities of placing children at schools. But patent from Hare's letter that he placed the child at home, and he does not say when more precisely than "sometime ago." The mother's name is not mentioned, assenting, her authority is not referred to, and the action which we find that mother doing, is taking away the child from the woman to whom she had been confided, of which the mother would not approve, but which showed clearly her disapproval of the steps that had been taken. As to her placing the child with Miss Shepherd, that is clearly false. Hare father recommended Miss Shepherd, and in his letter he says that the mother asked him or authorised him to place the children with Miss Shepherd. Why it is that the mother should be so much interested about these children being placed with Miss Shepherd, that they should be brought within the influence of Miss Shepherd's pious ministration as to agree to make a difference between the fund allowance and Miss Shepherd's demand by a private subscription, we are really at a loss to see. Had a priest so acted with regard to Protestants we should be inclined to suspect that he desired to convert the selytes of them, but as Hare was acting for the Poor Law of which the moneys were always disbursed, "with perfect justice and complete impartiality," we cannot attribute any such purpose. We shall leave it to our readers to form their own judgment. The next sentence in the report follows :—

"Early in September of the same year, a paper dated 1847, signed by Mrs. Norris, Mark, requesting to have her child placed at St. Clare's Orphan House Harold's Cross, was received. *This request was not then acted on, as Mrs. Norris had placed her child under the care above stated, and as she expressed any wish for her child's removal although informed that had been made in her name.*"

We see plainly what Fishbourne is driving at, but

to explain letters which are not printed in the veridix; by a reference to that letter of Hare, it will be at the application to have the children placed with a friend, is dated *12th July, 1856-7*, the answer granting the application, is dated *15th July, 1856*. How Fishbourne can these dates are "in the interim," as regards the period between the *5th November*, we know not; the only explanation we can account for these errors is, that now as we will out, suppress it though we may. But let us see the petition of Mrs Norris was allowed to remain open from the 8th September, to the 5th November? The application is answered in due course of post, but is not certified by a Catholic priest, and forwarded to one of the Commissioners, is quite unattended to, and is then not noticed until the Commissioner writes to the petitioner when his note is answered with a lie; this would seem to confirm the assertion with regard to the unvarying attention given to the applications of Catholics have received, when they apply to a Commissioner, because he is a Catholic, snubbed by the others.

If a gentleman request a domestic servant to do something which apart from such request he is bound to do, that is, to neglect that request, and when again spoken to, says he cannot do what he was asked, but something else, and in consequence of this, he ought not to be retained in any service. Such is the case with the Roman Catholic. We wonder is lying consistent with the character of an "officer and a gentleman." But Fishbourne knew that he was safe from censure. There were not three Roman Catholics on the Commission. It is then clear that it is not true that "Mrs. Norris had, in the interim, placed her name to the memorial." With regard to her not expressing a wish to have the memorial removed, &c., we think it is pretty plain, that she was notwithstanding the insinuation that is thrown out as to the interference on the part of Canon Grimley, the fact that he used her name without her sanction. Such conduct is strictly in accordance with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, who teach that lying, cheating, robbery, murder, &c., are the principal dogmas of the Catholic Church, and the chief practices of its members. The imputation of lying, &c., and could emanate only from a jaundiced mind, and is everything around, with the hue of its own discolouring. There is no mention made of the part which Mr. Fishbourne took in this matter, no mention of sending the memorial

and the Commissioners' letter to Parson Hare "questioning" her, or of the falsehood which the "questioning" her, or of the falsehood which the when he says "not receiving any answer to this applied asked to have her little girl placed with Miss Shepherd. Hare only knew of the memorial on the 10th of September. He has the face to make the above, statement. He knew the girl was at Miss Shepherd's in July. There are great many forms to be gone through, when the girl is sent to a Catholic school. She must apply to the Commissioners. Hare got his request at once. We think we cannot do more than here to give the language of the Archbishop in the portion of this distressing case:—

"I now apply myself to the remainder of the case, of which is affected by the suspicion attaching to its contents. When Mr. Hare is the applicant, things run smoothly. When Mrs. Norris is applicant, the rules of the Commissioners, committees, clerk of the committee, come stern and complicated in the inverse ratio of the strength of the widow. The clerk of the committee, Mr. Mugford, directs her "if she wishes to remove her child," to apply to the staff officer, who will write to Captain Fishbourne, with reference to the decision of the Committee. In her bewilderment, from a reluctance to be "questioned" and "pressed," she applies to Mr. Mugford himself, evidently interpreting his letter as a refusal. Mr. Mugford, however, adheres to the rule, and directs her once more to communicate with the staff officer. She does so accordingly, and upon the occasion of the communication, her request is, that her children be sent to the Sisters of Mercy in Baggot-street. Lest any doubt should remain in the matter, the poor woman is again subjected to the "questioning." She persists in her choice of the Baggot-street orphanage. Captain Fishbourne's letter (Ap. to report, No. 60) appears to have been mysterious in it, stating as it does, that the child Mary was under seven years of age, whereas she was more than seven years of age. Speaking of a memorial of Mrs. Norris to have her child placed with Miss Shepherd's, of the existence of which memorial there is no evidence whatever.

Meanwhile, the Sisters of Mercy having failed through no fault of their own to forward the mysterious presentation forms, it was necessary to send a second letter to them before the memorial was granted, and a second letter is dispatched in two days. The memorial wishes of the applicant had been extracted by another letter of the "question." The presentation forms at length a presentation itself is actually made out, when Mrs. Norris disappears. What influences besides those of weariness and disappoi-

* Maryanne Norris was baptized on the 18th July, 1848, by the Rev. Canon Carbery; so that she was nine months old when Captain Fishbourne states that she was

her, we have no means of discovering. A formerly in-
that agency, or by what official, she was induced to change
d my question remains to be answered still, though the
rows great light on the matter. The Hampstead school
r to her by intuition, nor is her violent and decided
rpose referable to vacillation or caprice: for it is one
er between two Catholic schools in Dublin, and another
se a Protestant school in England, of which she herself
o knowledge.

ie sequel. It did not occur to Captain Fishbourne to
new memorial to Canon Grimley, who certified her first
with a view to his "questioning" and "pressing" her, so
r whether the memorial which bore her signature had
sly read and explained to her. But perhaps it is allowed
er for a month or so? Far from it. At all events, we
suppose that Mr. Mugford is desired to inform her that
ion is irregular, that it should have been forwarded
staff officer, and that the Committee are as decided not
r rule in this instance as they were in the instance of her
l, and third application. By no means. "*Facta est
ibus non tibi.*" The rule was inflexible when the child
nt to a Catholic school, but it does not hold where the
fers to a Protestant school. Captain Fishbourne (Ap-
wards the letter himself to Major Ormsby, stating that
tion had been already obtained (why was it not already
but that as the child was not as yet an inmate of the in-
s Committee would give her mother an opportunity of
hool for her. May we not doubt whether the Committee
nsulted on the matter? At the same time he encloses a
gement to be signed by Mrs. Norris, binding her to
last engagement, on the distinct understanding that the
he Hampstead school was purely Protestant. Captain
and Major Ormsby claim great credit for having infor-
Norris that the Hampstead institution was Protestant.
n does not need to be an abstract of official virtue, in or-
in to a woman who does not know how to read, a docu-

The case is near its end. On the 30th January 1856 (Ap. 68) forwards to London the last application with engagement; and on the 2nd February the request is in effect (Ap. 69). The memorial for presentation to a Catholic school is under consideration for five months; it is defeated by the official duty almost without example, or by the stringency that seem to exist only for the Catholic; whereas the request for admission to a Protestant school is granted after judgment of easy and unembarrassed routine from date of the application, probably within a much shorter term from the day when received by Captain Fishbourne."

So ends Mrs. Norris. She is dead—and what comes, as assuredly it will, when Hare and Fishbourne stand before their God, the truth will then appear. The report "verified by the appendix," will avail. In the following cases are mentioned:—

"At great risk of wearying your Lordship, I am bringing forward some other cases which are incidentally mentioned in the Report. I allude to the cases of Bridget Ryan, and Anne Kyle. I shall take them in their order. The first mention made of the first two occurs in the letter of the Report of the 25th September, 1856, Appendix 53 to Section 2, which Mr. Hare states: "I have this day made application to Mr. Ormsby for payment for the first quarter for Bridget Arnott, and Anne Kyle, under the care of Miss Shepley Cross, and for William Norris, in charge of Mrs. Maguire's district." The names Bridget Ryan and Anne Kyle indicate a Catholic parentage, and it remains to be explained how they came into Mr. Hare's hands. As to Anne, thus casually mentioned, I find that her father, although a Protestant, wished to have his child baptized and brought up as a Catholic, in fact the child was baptized in the Catholic Church (Doc. No. 22). It also appears that Arnott after his death continued in the determination to educate his child a Catholic. When leaving for the East, he confided his orphan to a Protestant, who is also a Catholic now in Dublin, with strict injunctions to be educated in the Catholic faith. I have been able to ascertain from Mrs. Gregory herself that, under the pressure of want and in support of her charge, she was induced to relinquish her Protestantism. Now Mrs. Gregory was neither the natural nor the legal guardian of the child, and she was not recognized, whereas the child was denied recognition on the ground that he was a Protestant. To proceed, however; Mrs. Gregory touched by her breach of faith with the deceased, and for her broken obligations still with God, is anxious to repair the evil done, and Mrs. Minchin, the maternal aunt of the orphan, has had the child removed to a Catholic school, and her application for admission. What becomes of the Queen's Bench decision? The Protestant mother of the child wished to have her reared a Catholic; her Catholic mother got her baptized a Catholic; her mother

, of the 62nd regiment. Her name occurs in the Appendix Report, from which it appears that she applied to have placed with the Sisters of Mercy, Baggot-street. Major letter, notifying the application to Captain Fishbourne, is dated 16, 1856, and the application was acceded to, as I find, in about *eleven months* after the date of its presentation. I presume, will be explained; and minutes, and resolution forms, and rules, and references back to proper authorities, will account for it to the minds of the Commissioners' officials upon trial before them. I may be permitted to doubt of the result when they are tried before the country, especially when this delay is contrary to the rapidity of the decisions of Captain Fishbourne, Kirleys and the Norrises were to be sent to Protestant schools. Major Harris brings the case of the Kirleys under the notice of the Commission on the 17th March, and the answer is dated the 18th. Major Ormsby writes again on the 23rd March, and the reply is dated

Mrs. Norris's case, when her child was to be sent to a school, was disposed of with equal haste. Major Ormsby writes to Captain Fishbourne on the 30th January that Mrs. Norris place her child in Hampstead school; and on the 2nd February Captain orders the child to be sent to London, and all the expenses of the mother and the child to be defrayed. There was no objection; but when a poor Catholic widow applies to have her child placed in a Catholic school, she is compelled to wait *eleven months* longer."

as to the allocation of the surplus fund. We are told that these several sums have been all allocated to the Protestant schools, either Protestant in their teaching, or in which the mixed education is followed. We would much prefer the former as being the more honest; the latter is like that which tastes like honey but operates as a poison, or like the hyacinth which grows on the banks of the Dead Sea, which is pleasing to the eye, but turns to ashes on the fire.

that "indifference to all religion is a fearful state, but it is better than Popery." When, however, the Archbishop objected to the allotment of so much money he was bound to give a reason, and what better reason could he give than deducible from experience? The manner in which the schools under similar patronage were conducted, the effect of their arrangements upon the religious faith of the Corporation of the scholars, the character of the class books, the tendency of the teaching therein contained, to elevate one party at the expense of the other—the neglect to admit Catholic officers and superiors in proportion to the number of Catholic boys, these are the means by which he must form his judgment, these the grounds on which to base his objections. Now the only means of doing that was by examining the management of the military schools at present existing in Ireland, also that of the district schools in England, and by laying before the public the result of that examination, enable them to form of the justifiableness of his Grace's opposition. This was what his Grace complains of the management of this school it is to enable us to form an opinion as to what was by what is. The Commissioners with great skill and considerable judgment have endeavoured to withdraw the attention of the public from these complaints, by asserting that they have nothing to do with the accusations preferred by his Grace against the Commissioners. We think it has a great deal to do, and therefore we shall give some of his Grace's remarks on the Hibernian school:—

"You are aware that in the Phoenix Park, in the vicinity of the city, we have a large institution, called the Hibernian School, established for the education of the children of Irish soldiers. We have from a published Parliamentary Report, that when it was visited by the Commissioners of the Endowed Schools, * there were in the house 230 Protestants of the Established Church, 127 Catholic, and 127 Presbyterians, thus closely observing a bye-rule of the managers that only one-third of the boys should be Catholic.

This small proportion of Catholic to Protestant boys, in a country like this, is worthy of observation. It cannot be explained by the fewness of Catholics in the army, for it must be admitted that there are far more Irish Catholic than Irish Protestant soldiers in Majesty's service; nor can it be alleged that the Catholic soldiers are not as good a claim as his Protestant comrades to have his education provided for by the state, for no one will venture to assert that

* See Report of said Commission, vol. iii., p

tain Protestant ascendancy even among those who fight side against every enemy, and are ready to shed their blood in profusion for their country; and to proclaim, if not in deed, that the children of a Catholic soldier who fought for his sovereign, have not the same rights as those of her in arms. Whatever the object of the regulation just to may be, it is a snare and a temptation for poor Catholic who, in their anxiety to provide for their children, are to enter them as Protestants in the school, when they are the few places allotted to Catholics are occupied, but that places for Protestants are vacant.

There are other and stronger grounds for complaint. Whilst a third of the boys is Catholic, justice and equity would induce to expect that a similar proportion should be preserved in the appointment of superiors and masters. Now, what is the case? Out of government, the commandant, the major, in fine, all the about twenty in number, are Protestant, with the single exception of one serjeant. The professors or masters, and the Chelors, fourteen in number, are all Protestant. The books, too, the school have been compiled in great part by a Protestant. Thus, Catholics are excluded from the slightest interference in the management of the institution; and the only privilege that is bestowed on them in regard to it, is the honour of contributing their share of £8,000 per annum, paid to the school out of the public treasury. Catholics pay their share of the annual grant; send their sons and brothers and relatives to fight for their country; Catholic blood was shed in torrents at Alma; Catholic soldiers were among the first and the bravest in the field where the English flag was unfurled; but they seem to be considered unfit to take any part in the direction of an institution established by themselves and the public for the education of their

race then proceeds to relate the effect of the influence exerted by these masters over the Catholic children. It has been observed that these conversions are the result of conviction - would

"Passing all such unhappy and deplorable cases over, shall merely refer to a fact which occurred last month, which can be stated in very few words, though it is of importance, as it illustrates the working of the mixed system and the condition of poor Catholic children in the Hib. The case is simply this, that as many as five Catholic boys, John Molloy, John Guckins, Thomas Dowling, Charles and Patrick M'Coy, publicly declared their determination to renounce the faith of their fathers, and to embrace some of the innumerable denominations of Protestantism: we have not been able to learn, and very probably the children themselves do not know. The three first boys, being years of age, were allowed by the authorities to carry out their intentions immediately. The two last, being a few months younger, were told that they could not change their religion until they have reached fourteen, when, they were informed, that in some form or another would be ready to receive them. The Catholic chaplain very properly refused to allow them to remain among his little flock after their public declaration, and wished to cut themselves off from the Catholic Church, they too have already accomplished their wishes."

With regard to the Union Schools, we shall give you the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Bagshaw:—

"The Oratory, Brompton, London,
December 18, 1857

MY DEAR LORD,

As I am told that your Grace wishes for particulars of the practical working of the District Schools, established in 7 and 8 Victoria, with respect to the education of Catholic children, I take the liberty of sending you the following statement of the state of things at the North Surrey District School, so far as it has come under my observation.

I went there to visit several children of Catholic parents, who were in the workhouse of Chelsea, which I attend. I presented letters from the parents to the superintendent, requesting him to prevent the children from attending any prayers, services, or instructions of those of the Roman Catholic religion, and to allow me to visit them as often as possible for the purpose of religious instruction. My answer was brought me by the chaplain, who informed me that he might see the children; but upon my further request that they might not be allowed to attend any of the Protestant religious instructions, he said that he considered he was put there to look after them, that as the children formed one community, he had a duty to do to all without distinction, and that he considered any separation of the children very injurious, as tending to make them have doubts about religion, seeing the difference of teaching.

I pointed out to him the act, whereby it is provided that no orders, or regulations of the said Commissioners, nor any made by such District Board, shall oblige any inmate of a school or asylum to attend any religious service which

mode contrary to the religious principles of such inmate, authorize the education of any child in any religious creed that professed by the parents or surviving parent of such child, which such parents or surviving parent may object, or, of an orphan or deserted child, to which his next of kin is entitled.—7 and 8 Vict., cap. 101, §. 43.

When he laid a marked stress on the word "oblige," and by stating that he was acting under the authority of the school Board, and could make no change without their order, the superintendent also said that no exception could be made if he been referred to the board, but promised to lay the case on at their next meeting. The following week he gave me an opinion, which was, that he was not to force any child to go to school. I asked if any notice would be taken of the objection of the parents to their receiving Protestant education. He said the board had given him no further instructions; that it was very difficult and inconvenient to be constantly separating the children from their classes; that he had no one appointed him to do so at such times, and that he could not do so himself.

As far as the negotiation upon this point has as yet produced result being that they are still daily attending *Protestant teaching* Protestant instruction, and having *Protestant prejudices* instilled into them; and this is in spite of protests and remonstrances, which it has cost much time and trouble to make necessary formalities. It is evident, therefore, what will be the result of those children whose parents have no one to show them the way and to assist them in doing so.

It was evident when I came to see the children. One who was at school five years, who had formerly gone to a Catholic school whose father believed him still a Catholic, had been turned into a bitter Protestant. Another, whom I had received into the school with his mother, before going into the workhouse, according to her account, was most anxious to be a Catholic, and would not speak to me. Some of the children, who the first time were civil enough, when I went again, would not speak to me or answer my questions.

As regards protecting the children from Protestant teaching: the facilities afforded for Catholic instruction.

The opinion of the board upon this point was also given me by the superintendent. It was, that I might see the children from half-past five o'clock on Saturdays, and only then. It was in vain that I said that I could not go at that time, and that another person succeeded me, also objected to the hour as most inconvenient. The board have refused to alter it. It must be observed that the day is the half-holiday, and the children, I was told, are often taken out on this day. One lesson a-week, and the children are obnoxious by being taken out of their playtime, and the hour when the priest might often be prevented from coming to the board consider a sufficient allowance of Catholic instruction for Catholic children, and is all the opportunity we as yet have of interacting the overwhelming influence of Protestantism which they are surrounded. Whether their catechisms and books will do any good to the children, I cannot say.

This, my dear Lord, is all that we have as yet been under the existing law, and even this little has been various vain attempts for years past, and with much negotiation.

I remain, my dear Lord,
Yours most faithfully and respectfully

EDWARD C.
Of the

The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, etc., etc.

P.S.—It is to be added, that I have learned regarding schools, that some of the elder children, besides being unruly themselves, have begun to disturb the instruction of the Priest who succeeded me gives to one child who remains obedient, and to dissuade her in every way from paying them. This shows still more what sort of chance children have in such institutions.

Surely such will not be the school which is "a visible and permanent memorial of the nation which has provided the means for its foundation." Some benighted Protestant unversed in the tactics prefer to see the rising generation indifferent to than adhering to Popery. We regret to say such upon which these new schools are to be founded. I pointed to report upon this subject, examined many Protestant clergymen, &c., but did not think it ask the opinion of any Catholic priest or layman. It is, that we read the following, as the result of the deliberations of the Sub-Committee:—

"Your Committee also feel confident, that if the regulations on the subject of religious teaching which have been enacted by the Vic. cap. 101, for district or Union schools, be adopted in spirit and principle for the schools now contemplated by the Commissioners, no real difficulty can arise from those differences of religious belief which the Commissioners, will, no doubt, feel, and which should be scrupulously respected.

Your Committee therefore recommend that the proposed Executive Committee, to found one school for 300 district children, and one for 100 sons of soldiers, sailors, and marines, be approved by the Commissioners."

Assuming for the present, that the management of the schools was perfectly impartial; that teachers, inspectors, and trustees were appointed in proportion to the respective numbers of the two religions; that safeguards against any undue influence being exercised by the professors of one religion, on the other, were provided; and that everything which could be done, to obviate any difficulties which might arise from differences of religious belief; yet we do

allocation of so large a sum to these institutions, is not in accordance with that "even-handed justice," to administer which the Commissioners were associated, and for the administration of which the Commissioners now claim our grateful applause ; for the proportion which Fishbourne asserts to be the true one, but which is not so, is that which will guide the Commissioners in the apportionment of places. That will give to Catholics in the girls' school fifty places, and in the boys' school eighteen, making together sixty-eight places, which, supposing none but Irish Catholics were to apply, would leave a large number unprovided for in an educational point of view. There are 668 children of Irish soldiers ; of that number at least one half, or 334, are Catholics ; deducting then the 68 from 334, and there will remain 266. This will show the injustice of the arrangement, even taking the most favourable view of it.

But when we find that in those schools, in accordance with the regulations of which the new schools are to be governed, Proselytism of the grossest and most nefarious character, is openly and avowedly perpetrated ; when we see the rules laid down by Parliament, with the intention of obviating interference with religious opinions, perverted to the attainment of that very purpose they were framed to prevent ; when we observe the representations of the Catholic clergyman treated with such official nonchalance, and despite his remonstrances, the day appointed for him to instruct the members of his creed, that particular one in the seven, which is most inconvenient to him and most distasteful, for the reason furnished in Bagshawe's letter to his pupils ; when we find these things done by persons who have no wish to proselytize, no inducement to do so, and who decide those matters in pure ignorance of what they are doing, and on the supposition that any and every suggestion made by a Catholic priest, is only a new phase of the papal aggression, some new plots of the Jesuits against the Queen's crown and dignity, which they as loyal men are bound to protect ; when such a course is pursued by such persons, and when it results as Mr. Bagshawe has related, with what apprehension must we not regard the adoption of a principle and of rules, which when conducted even by men such as we have above referred to, have been productive of such disadvantage to the Catholics, by a body, many of whose members are enlisted in the glorious cause of Popish annihilation, whose subordinate officials have shewn such an antagon-

ism to Catholics, and whose secretary is so deep in the developement of Scriptural religion in the Even were we perfectly assured that the principle Union Schools would be carried out in its pure we object, and justly, to that system being a scheme of education in the benefits of which Catholics allowed to participate.

The voluntary system, the maintenance of which to religious duties, is so highly commended, by Protestants but the introduction of which, in the pecuniary arrangements of the Protestant Church, is so severely reprobated, is the most destructive. Could such a system be carried out it could any improvement be expected unless certain days were appointed for certain exercises, and he expected that boys will be good and faithful Christians if they be brought to practise the duties of Christianity from young. Train up a child in the way in which he should go, and when he is old he will not depart therefrom. Is it to be conceived that great trouble and pains will be taken with the health, great care taken with the cultivation of the body, the soul, that better part of man, that undying principle, that will be allowed to be an unweeded garden, to grow no seed, and things rank and gross in nature shall come up merely. Can these things be possible? We had better fear it is so; for in a rigmarole which presumes an answer to the Archbishop's letter on the Hibernian School which bore convincing testimony that the lignaceous trunk of all the "trees in the parade," one of which the writer was to be, had concentrated in the respondent's head, the consideration of every other quality, the whole work of the day was mapped out, from the rising in the morning to the resting at night, yet *not one minute of the day is devoted* to acknowledge His supreme dominion and our dependence; to thank Him for past favours and beg for His aid and protection. This is the military school to which the Hibernian School was considered irrelevant. It is quite true that the establishment of the Hibernian School is not attributable to the Commissioners, but when we learn that they have established schools of a certain character, and found that that character, at present existing, work with regard to the same, Now these were to be military schools—military schools—modeled after the district schools. It is to be pre-

will be hybrids—something having some of the qualities of the Hibernian School and of the District Schools. Was it not right and proper, and nothing but what was the bounden duty of the Archbishop, to expose the evils which have arisen, and to urge Catholic parents not to trust their children in the walls? The result of establishing these new schools, the basis announced, will be, that unscrupulous parents will sacrifice their children, and really conscientious parents will be precluded from all the advantages to which their children are fully entitled. The Report says that a sum of money reserved for those who do not send their children to either of the new schools. Now there are many Orphanages in this country, but we would participate in the St. Vincent's Orphanage, for boys, which has gained notoriety from the fact that it harbours the poor and vicious. As the *Commissioners* have been all through, but for Fishbourne's interference, most anxious to do so in the most impartial manner, we would really recommend the purchase in that St. Vincent's Orphanage—we will contribute with very little—say twenty-five places, and let them be paid for, £1,000 for that purpose, as they have in the case of the London College, and they will secure for the children a most valuable and religious and moral training, and will thereby make amends for all the injuries and insults which have been done to the Catholics of the Empire, by the intolerant and bigoted of their subordinates.

Now we have proved that in every material point, the "appendix" of Dr. Cullen's statements, and contradicts the evidence having shown what is to be expected from schools established on such auspices, from the manner in which schools established on those auspices are conducted, we shall now proceed to show that, and then conclude with the closing remarks of the Archbishop.

The question is particularly addressed to Lord St. Leonards. The person convey by deed a large sum of money, say £100,000, to trustees in trust to distribute the amount as directed in the deed, "in the most impartial manner." A bill is filed to declare the trusts of the deed, and a reference made thereon. The master "reports" that some of the claimants a perpetuity in the larger portion, and to the others, only a life interest in the smaller portion. Would any Lord Chancellor that ever lived dare to confirm that report? If he did, he

should not hold his office for one hour. Yet the Commissioners have done in the allocation, and Leonards has confirmed by signing their report.

We shall now furnish the conclusion of the pamphlet, and in leaving this subject shall mention a more able document than his Grace's second letter, rarely, if ever, read.

"Probably the many defects and contradictions in the which your Lordship has made yourself responsible, matter of surprise, when you shall have been made aware of the religious tendencies of some of the gentlemen on whom you have been led to rely.

From many statements in the Appendix to the Second Report it is easy to infer that a close connexion exists between the officials of the Commissioners and the agents of proselytism. Major Harris corresponds with M. A. Holden, of the school at the Coombe, in this city, who, replying, writes "Dear Sir" (Appendix No. 35), and does not think it necessary to abstain from insulting language against Catholics, even in official communication. Captain Fishbourne sufficiently indicates the same direction, by the selection he makes of school children of a Catholic soldier, and by his connexion with a gentleman to whom their education is confided. In the Second Report of the Society for Irish Church Missions, of May 1846, page 4, we find the name of Captain Fishbourne among the members. Now what is the object and character of this Society, sanctioned by the name of the honorary secretary of the Commissioners? It is constituted for the purpose of what are called "missions to the Roman Catholics." It has its staff of missionaries, clerical; it holds controversial classes, and establishes schools for the exclusive benefit of Catholics. The principles of the teaching appear to be that the Pope is Antichrist, that the Pope is the man of sin—that Catholics are idolaters—that Catholics are taught to lie—that Catholics are taught to steal—that Catholics are taught to break faith. The grossness of its language, of the Blessed Sacrament, and of Her whom all generations call blessed, is such, that I cannot do more than allude to its defilement. Handbills containing these doctrines are thrust into our hands, or slipped under our doors; our churches are visited by the agents of the Society, who consider it an exploit to read from the prayer books of the worshippers; our own hands are always afforded us sanctuary from the missionaries. Captain Fishbourne is responsible for every sentiment to which he lends his name, and if he do not believe all this of Catholics, his responsibility is heavier yet as a bearer of false testimony. Yet the Catholic community does hold him responsible for the disgraceful placards that flare upon the walls in the streets of the society; for its handbills that are fluttered in our faces; for the advertisements that figure in the newspapers, exhausting

of indecency to create new varieties of insult. We must hold him responsible for them. Yet, in the whole range of Protestant officials, civil and military, one could not be found outside of this society to fill a position of such exceeding trust and honour as that now occupied by Captain Fishbourne.

Could we conceive a Catholic society at all resembling the society of which your secretary is a member; could we represent it to ourselves teaching the Protestant people of England to believe that her gracious Majesty as head of the Established Church, is the realization of types of abomination in the prophet Daniel and the Apocalypse; did it teach that Protestants esteem it no sin to lie, to steal, to worship idols; did it, in handbills and placards, apply to your religion and to its cherished and peculiar doctrines the foulest epithets the language can supply; did it speak from the platform or the pulpit in a similar strain; did the emissaries of this Catholic society dog your heels, ambush in your path, thrust papers into your hand, follow the Archbishop of Canterbury into his house, nay pursue him to the cathedral and insult his episcopal chair, as Captain Fishbourne's society has repeatedly done in Catholic churches in Ireland; I ask you, my Lord, would a member of that society be considered a proper secretary for a Commission such as yours, would the Protestant people of England put faith in its administration by him, and would they suffer the scandal to endure for an hour?

I have now done with the report. I have impeached it in its statements and its arguments. I have given a probable explanation of the cause of its defects and contradictions. If the Commissioners allow things to remain as they now are, if they refuse all endowments to Catholic institutions, if they refuse to give full and accurate returns of the children under their care, such as were required by the Duke of Norfolk, it must be admitted that they have not acted with the *utmost impartiality*, as they were required to do by her Majesty, and the doubts regarding their proceedings will be confirmed, and public suspicion increased. It concerns the honour of this great empire, and above all, it concerns the interest of the military service, that the fullest light should be thrown upon this controversy, and that proofs of the most perfect impartiality should be given. The Irish love the military service, and very much of its glory is due to them; but they love their religion more, as centuries of persecution testify. The Catholic soldier will not fail to inquire: "Is our's the service of a gracious Queen and of a grateful country? or is it a kind of Moloch to which we must sacrifice the souls of our children? Must the very bounty of my country," will he say, "become my torment and my loss? Shall it be, that almost before my remains are cold, the minister of a hostile religion will be allowed to buy up my children from their mother, and teach them that their father was a perjuror, a thief, and a liar by profession? Must the weakness, the poverty, the vice, or the ignorance of my widow be watched and turned to account? Will her eagerness, perhaps, to contract new obligations, and relieve herself from the charge of my orphans, be improved to the advantage of the soul-merchant? and should my children escape the dangers that beset their infancy, is the spirit of our military schools to be maintained so adverse to Catholic faith that their ultimate safety is hardly possible?" Trust me, my Lord, it will not do to meet all this with the ease in the Queen's Bench.

The Catholic soldier will plead the original compact country and himself—that compact, than which there is no holier between man and man—that compact, in virtue of which the father of a family gives up his country for whom the father of a family gives up his country exactly such a mother to his children as he should have had. The law of this compact, my Lord, is the offspring neither of statute nor of custom. It was not enacted by the Queen, although embodied in her Commission; it was passed without the authority of parliament. "*Est hæc non scripta sed nata non docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus; quod accepimus, accepimus, legimus; verum etiam ex ipsa natura hausimus, expressimus.*"

My Lord, notwithstanding the hands and seals that are on the Report before me, I refuse to hold the Commission principally your Lordship, responsible for all that it contains. An aggregate of honour for which those signatures stand, and learning represented by one of them, give an air of parliamentary appearance at the foot of such a document. I do not suggest an explanation, unless, perhaps, easy faith and confidence may account for its adoption. But I hold the Majesty's Commissioners as forward as others in the world to rectify error and amend. Catholics seek no triumph—their position is limited to safety; they ask nothing better than to be left with according to military honour and commercial honesty, the honour of army contractors, nor the honesty of the Bank. Undo the injurious ligatures that ignorant or malicious men have knotted upon this or that member of the body politic, and the charity of the nation to flow through all her arteries will fit to gorge one by the depletion of another. If an impartial view of the surplus funds be decided on, if the children of Catholics now detained in Protestant schools be placed under Catholic instruction, the information asked for by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire be granted, if it be made plain to the comprehension of a soldier, that he has rights in fact as well as upon paper, that a man, lay or clerical, shall be suffered to encroach upon no man's rights, then will the bad effects of this Report be corrected, less that be done promptly, broadly, and intelligibly, as may be said, that never did there issue from any department a paper more hurtful to the best interests of the country than this military service, than the document upon which it has been issued to address your Lordship."

Comment on the above passage would be useless, as it is now done. We have shewn the injustice done to the Catholics in placing their representatives in such a small minority, and have stated the result of having such a Secretary in office, in which we have referred. We have only to add, that the existence of any necessity for complaints, but we have more the disingenuous and untruthful manner in which the complaints have been met. But that disingenuousness has been its own punishment, as by means of those who have been which necessity compelled them to produce, we have been able to detect the absence of those they have suppressed.

-A LETTER TO THE EDITOR ON THE
LEGAL APPOINTMENTS IN IRELAND.

Four Courts' Library, June 24th, 1858.

FRIEND,

I have often talked over that faculty of the
mind, which very frequently makes the poet appear
great. Of modern poets, Goethe, perhaps, develops
this faculty. How the soul of the reader
was, before the flashes of that intellect, which,
ago, in his quiet home at Weimar, could thus
the Derby appointments in Ireland—

“ Das Unbeschreibliche
Hier ist gethan ! ”

Nothing be more perfect? at Last the Indescrib-
lized, or, has Realized Itself.

The day on which Lord Eglinton quitted the jetty
town, at the close of his former viceroyalty, to that
which brought him to our shore, the people of Ireland
trickle in the Conservative and Orange newspapers,
the words of those in office, and emphatic descriptions
of wonderful things to be accomplished as soon as
the regeneration of genius, ability, learning, eloquence,
the Protestantism, a Tory administration, should
again obtained its proper position—office, and

we should behold learning on the Bench ; then we
were overwhelmed and astonished by eloquence at the
we should be dazzled by the splendour of a vice-re-
giment, if not surpassing, that of St. James's—
treasures, family jewels, which it would be sacrilege
Carlisle's Drawing Rooms, lovely women, the
lang, coming up from their country places, where
vegetated during the usurpation of the Whigs!
we dreamed of a life of joy, and thought of the
in store for Ireland, and extatic stuff gowns—
read Tennyson in place of Pitt Taylor, were
utter, as they fondly gazed at the Castle—

drank the Lybian Sun to sleep, and lit
camps which outburn'd Canopus. Oh! my life
Egypt! O! the dalliance and the wit,
the flattery and the strife.”

But there were graver matters than these that had long looked for the time when once again eat the vice-regal dinner free from the company and secure from the contagion of Popery, to were exposed in dining with Lord Carlisle's g Poor-houses wanted looking after; nuns were mitted to attend Catholic paupers; the electe were becoming troublesome, and were nomina lic officers; the elective franchise, founded o valuations, was going to destruction,—more ex- alone make matters secure. This was an av things; down with the Whigs! out with the brainless destroyers, minions of the Pope, and Paul Cullen, out with them, Toryism for ever! Ultramontanism, civil and religious liberty world, founded on sound Protestant principles.

Well, the wished for moment arrived. "Queen," said Mr. Smith, the lessee of the Theatre, to the electors of Bridport, "had and I would'nt give in to her;" so it was wi merston, he and the House had a difference, I give in, and therefore he went out. Loud *The Evening Mail* was in ecstacies, *The Warder* convulsions, in a state, like *Judy M' Cann*, of devotion;" *The Saunders* went as near writin original as possible; several quires of draftin sold by the Librarian of the Courts, and in sm ners of this library might be seen, writing with Alexander Dumas power of speed, the hero brainless waiters upon Providence and Fact. Macaulay describes the species, "venal and scribblers, with just sufficient ability to clothe th a pander in the style of a bell-man," who toady flatter Whiteside, in that burlesque of *The London* *The Daily Express*.

And what did it all come to at last? the administrative talent? Naas for the tary! The "Fat Boy" of the Carleton s late the affairs of Ireland! "What," write pondent of *The Liverpool Albion*, "is the u secretary? It is astonishing how the question with Naas to the fore. What *can* be the fun city like his is adequate to the efficient disch

the winner of a first-class medal in Barnum's show, a Titanic infant, rubbed, scrubbed, combed and spread out on the hearth-rug to play with the lollypop, for the admiration of surrounding maids and nursery maids. And he is in every respect his looks. Yet is he deemed a rising statesman. He is the one that shall have him when he is fully risen! At that blessed hour comes there will be no need to ourselves about the millennium,"—and I add, un- country which has him, and his herd of hungry, followers quartered upon it.

Who was to be Attorney General, who Solicitor General? Something resplendent was expected in their ranks. There was that grand galaxy of learning and eloquence, of which Ireland had heard so much, to be selected from; and after delays wither, after disappointments and false reports, discovered to all, the whole difficulty of selection was solved—by the selection of Curran, of Plunket, of Bushe, of O'Connell, of whom all were ignorant, the factiousness, "the wrath and bluster of Whiteside; in the sound sense and the Northern stolidity of Hayes!

Who must be a Chancellor. Who shall be Chancellor? Who can tell? Is there not all the resplendent Tory talent for selection? So it was open, all open, with all its great intellects, its towering reputations, its perfection of faculties mental and physical, and yet the Court of Chancery was turned into an auxiliary ward of the Hospital for the Insane, by the appointment to the Chancellorship of a man who was but afflicted, the pious but fanatic, the moderately but incurably and notoriously deaf, Joseph Napier. Who was to be appointed on public and on private grounds. On public grounds, because it places in the Court of Chancery a man who was never an equity lawyer of any standing. On private grounds because, my voice being so weak, I cannot make the Chancellor hear me, without the assistance of that reputed acoustic chair; and further to the appointment as the principles of acoustics were not laid down as part of the Chancery rules or precedents, perhaps, however, Mr. Blackham may print them in his forthcoming *Chancery Practice*.

And you ever, my dear friend, fancied what glorious fun we shall have in the Courts as soon as, his

relative and register being provided for through the dated *Nisi Prius* court, the chief justice shall be in retire? Fancy the Right Hon. James bellowing, in style, in the Queens' Bench, as chief justice at the Francis Fitzgerald, and Mr. Brewster roaring, will be forced to do, in the Court of Chancery, at Hon. Joseph on the bench. Fancy Macdonough, strong, and O'Hagan, and John Thomas Ball, a Lynen, and Sullivan, taking their law from James side. It will be the most laughable thing in the world will recall the gay days when Dan and Chief Baron used to make the Exchequer better value than Hawking or when, later, Doherty kept his court (no his audience) roars at his mixture of wit concealing his want of wit with a drollery sufficient to make the fortunes of the comedians. Thus between the man who has sense and could he hear the facts to which it is to be applied and the man who has no law to apply to the cases which he hears in the Queen's Bench and Court of Chancery in Ireland present, in due time, objects of the most intense interest to the genuine Pantagruelist, as they will remind him of the contents of that famous third book treating of the sayings and doings of the good Pantagruel, and of those immortal law judges, *Goatsnose* who was deaf, and that voluble *goose*, who was ignorant and insolent: and when justice is done, we beg pardon, Chief Justice, that is to be, we shall be set before us as having often carried Judges when at the bar by the aid of his juniors; and when acting as judge, have decided cases with the help of his puisnes. Can we say but that Rabelais was right when, referring to the decisions of *Bridle-goose* he makes Pantagruel say, "In sooth, such a perpetuity of good luck is to be won. To have hit right twice or thrice in a judgment so hap-hazard might have fallen out well enough, especially in controversies that were ambiguous, intricate, abstracted, and obscure."

But it will be said, Whiteside is a legislator, a reformer of our law as administered in Ireland. I deny, I deny. I know that with the help of the acts of Parliament, and through the aid of Mr. Dwyer Ferguson, Mr. Whiteside has introduced some alterations; but if I called a monkey Romilly, or a

med an ape Brougham, would these names make either money or ape a Samuel Romilly or a Harry Brougham, even though I should be able to make them Attorney Generals or Chief Justices, or Chancellors.

There was a time when a judgeship, or any other high legal office, was the right of a great lawyer; of one who had worked through the hard, stern, iron reality of his profession. In those old days men felt the full force of that grand truth proclaimed by Terrasson in his eulogy of D'Aguesseau,—“ Quand la vertu sort victorieuse de tels combats, elle n'a besoin d'autres épreuves; il ne lui faut que des couronnes. Celle qui est due à tant de travaux, ne s'est pas attendre long-temps.” Now the great legal posts are rewards of faction, the marks of gratitude for unscrupulous support; and I am firmly convinced that if any man were now living, who combined in himself all the learning of Coke, all the ability of Blackstone, all the scholarship of Mansfield, all the practical knowledge of Chitty, and all the powers of advocacy of Erskine, of Brougham, of Scarlett, of Sturges and of O'Connell, JAMES WHITESIDE would be the holder of any legal position before such a man, even though he were of the faction, but out of Parliament!

Having secured the services of Napier, Whiteside, Hayes & Co., it became necessary to inflict silk gowns on the bar, and accordingly various names were set floating about the streets. At last it was evident that “a fell,” a very “fell” upon the value of the silk gown, was about to be made by the man of all others who should uphold its worth and dignity, by the Chancellor, by that high-minded, exemplary, most pious and most God-fearing man, Joseph Napier. Having, like *Geoffrey Wildgoose*, in *The Spiritual Quixote*, “settled with the Lord in prayer,” he resolved to call no man twelve of the outer to the inner bar; and these twelve were the names given to the public:—Charles Ansell, Edward Burroughs, Hedges Eyre Chatterton, William Cobbe, M. P., Thomas Rice Henn, William C. Henderson, Charles Kelly, Alexander Norman, Henry Ormsby, Edward Pennefather, Edward Sullivan, and Robert R. Warren.

Admitting that every one of these gentlemen was fully entitled to a silk gown, but in fact Sullivan, Chatterton and Warren, were the only men of the number entitled to it, they were fully entitled to it, from business, does it not seem any Irish lawyer as disgraceful to Chancellor Napier that

he should of himself, or through the instigation of eleven men, all of one religion, and pretty much tical creed, in one day to the inner bar.

To be sure Mr. Charles Kelly, a Catholic, and made up the dozen. Mr. Charles Kelly is a respectable gentleman, a man who does not depend upon his profession, a member of the Kildare and therefore will never degrade his gown, and keep his wig as white, and his silk as glossy as this moment, whilst he sits before us shining, and rustling, fresh from the hands of his F dressing room; but I believe there is not a Ireland who will regard Mr. Kelly's call as an acknowledgment of any principle of selection, or as shewing in the Chancellor to recognize the Liberal Bar.

But, it has been said, and I hear, by Napier,—“Brady promoted every man upon the side who should have been promoted, and a man who should not have received the silk gown went to the Inner Bar.” As this topic has been very much pressed by the newspapers believed to be under the dictation of the Chancellor, and of the General, it is right that it should be noticed at so early a period, and the following article from *The Dublin Evening Post*, Thursday, May 27th, supplies an answer to the important portion of the objections:—

“QUEEN'S COUNSEL—‘PERSONAL AND FAMILY’

The *Daily Express*—the organ of Messrs. N. WHITESIDE—availing itself of the convenient of what it designates ‘a paper of ultra-Liberalism,’ has produced a species of evidence ready on all occasions for the use of the intolerant party now in office—laudatory of the late Lord Chancellor as a model judge, and thus referring to the new batch of Queen's Counsel:

We agree with our contemporary, that ‘the legal promotion amongst us has hitherto not been free from that of political partisanship or personal and family influence,’ and it is impossible that the Lord Chancellor could make full reparation for the injurious operation of his rule, extending over a period of six or seven years, by the list of names which we have published the

earnest of his desire to yield to the voice of the and the profession, and to promote real merit, irrespective of party or politics.'

all show, by-and-by, that the less said the better, case, about 'real merit irrespective of party or so far as a portion of the names in the new list is d.

dering the close relations between the Lord Chancellor the *Daily Express*, and giving credit to his Lord-good sense and feelings of common courtesy, we could scarcely have sanctioned the publication of on, so imprudent, and so utterly groundless an upon his immediate predecessor in the distinguished which he had the rare good fortune so lately to obtain. l show, by dates, names, and facts, that never was more untrue charge than that hazarded against the ancillor, Mr. Maziere Brady; and, furthermore, l show that the imputation so wrongly directed him can, with much more warrant of truth, be ap-Mr. Napier himself.

Brady first held the Irish Seals from 1846 to 1852, ing that period the following members of the Bar led as Queen's Counsel :—

Edward J. Lane	..	...	Feb. 15, 1847.
Daniel Ryan Kane	..	...	Feb. 15, 1847.
Thomas Fitzgerald	..	...	Feb. 15, 1847.
Christopher Coppinger	...	...	Feb. 15, 1847.
Henry Hutton	...	...	Feb. 7, 1849.
Berbert Andrews, LL.D.	...	...	Feb. 7, 1849.
James A. Wall	...	...	Feb. 7, 1849.
James Plunkett	...	...	Feb. 7, 1849.
Alfred Bourke	...	...	Feb. 7, 1849.
Francis A. Fitzgerald	...	...	Feb. 7, 1849.
Henry H. Joy	...	...	Feb. 13, 1849.
Michael Scully	...	...	Feb. 13, 1849.
Charles Rolleston	...	...	Feb. 13, 1849.
David Lynch	...	...	Feb. 13, 1849.
Richard Deasy	...	...	Feb. 13, 1849.
Thomas O'Hagan	...	...	Feb. 13, 1849.
John G. Smyly	...	...	May, 23, 1850.

, from 1846 to 1852—a period of fully six years—

Mr. Maziere Brady had nominated but seventeen members of the Bar as Queen's Counsel. Does the list of seventeen names exhibit any evidence or even intimation that 'political partisanship or personal and family partiality' with which he has been so unjustly accused is the organ of his successor? Does that list manifest any tendency on his part to reject 'real merit, irrespective of party or politics?' The direct contrary will be admitted by his most strenuous political opponents; for he selected men of standing and established reputation, most of whom occupy a high position at the profession, and several of whom are leaders in Dublin, and upon their circuits.

Mr. Brady again held the Irish Seals for the period 1858—upwards of five years—during which time twenty gentlemen were called to the Inner Bar:—

John Thomas Ball	...	January 28,
Richard Armstrong	...	January 28,
Loftus H. Bland	...	January 28,
James Rogers	...	May 1, 1855
F. W. Walsh, LL.D.	....	May 1, 1855
Thomas De Moleyns	...	July 3, 1855
Joshua Clarke	...	July 3, 1855
David Sherlock	...	July 3, 1855
John E. Walsh	...	January 29,
James A. Lawson	...	January 29.
William Darley, LL.D.	...	November, 1
James Peebles, LL.D.	...	November, 1

Is there, we ask, a single name in the list to which any man at all acquainted with the Bar could object, on professional or any other ground? In eleven years Mr. MAZIERE BRADY had nominated twenty-nine gentlemen to the Bar as Queen's Counsel. The entire of the names we have named were before the public. With the exception of a few who have left the Bar for Parliament, or other causes, or who have moved by death, those gentlemen are now engaged in the duties of the profession—most of them occupying the highest positions, and enjoying the rewards of professional success. It is a list upon which the late Chancellor might look back with pride, as containing evidences of the impartiality and sound judgment which had directed his selections. The majority are Conservatives; but

Catholics, speaking by comparison with other their fair proportion. Amongst the Conservative list are some of the most distinguished men of the Bar; and amongst the Liberal Protestants and Catholics are names which the public will at once recognise as those of eminent and most successful men. Yet it is upon which a stigma has been cast by the Chancellor Napier!

In truth, it would be impossible to produce a list entirely free from 'political partisanship, or personal family nepotism,' or one in which there was a full consideration for 'real merit, irrespective of politics.'

As the organ of Chancellor Napier has forced upon us the duty of comparison, we shall again turn to the *Directory*, for lists of Queen's Counsel nominated by Conservative Chancellors—Mr. Blackburne and

In 1852, Chancellor Blackburne called the *seventeen* gentlemen to the Inner Bar, all in one single date, November 9, 1852, will, therefore, be the entire:—

Lighton,	Henry West,
Hamilton,	Robert Longfield,
Wheux,	Sterne Ball Miller,
Wheyes,	W. W. Brereton,
W. Lloyd, LL.D.,	Hamilton Smythe,
Wheyley,	James Robinson,
Wheun.,	Patrick Blake,
Wheaway,	Sir Colman M. O'Loughlen.

No intention of offering a single remark upon any individual name in this list, nor is it necessary that we should make any invidious objection. Most of the names are highly respectable members of the Bar; but, it certainly is not more free from the unworthy appointments of the *Daily Express* than the appointments of the *Brady*. We shall not go further; for we would not give any individual name for commentary.

We come to the list of Queen's Counsel just appointed by Chancellor Napier, twelve all in one batch:—

Warren,	William C. Dobbs, M.P.,
Whehenn,	Edward Pennycuik,

Hedges Eyre Chatterton,
Edward Sullivan,
Alexander Norman,
William C. Henderson,

Charles Andrew
Charles Kelly,
Edward Burrou
Henry Ormsby

Neither shall we offer any individual com-
list. We shall not imitate the evil we condemn
of a contemporary journal. But, with all re-
gentlemen in the preceding list, and allowing
of them are rising men in good business, we
tingly, and we are certain that the sound of
Irish Bar will go with us, that this list of Chan-
as a whole, cannot stand comparison with the
given of the appointments of Chancellor Brad-
scarcely say that the list of the present Chan-
characteristics quite peculiar to itself; for, it
is very exclusive and partisan. Most of the
professionally unobjectionable, and some are
successful men; but in others the Napier list,
acquainted with the Bar must know, is really
charge made by the Napier organ, on the gro-
tical partisanship, or personal and *family* ne-
'Family Party' are duly considered; and
open to the imputation of *not* including 're-
spective of party or politics;' for members
the respective Circuits are passed over—
mention Mr. Samuel Ferguson, Mr. T. K. L.
James Kernan, on the North-East; M.
M'Causland, on the North-West; Mr. T. H.
Edmond Lawless on the Leinster; Mr. W. J.
Connaught; and Mr. C. Barry, on the Munster.
names that the profession and the public will
nise as much better qualified for the Inner Bar
the names included in the list of Lord Chan-

We learn from *Saunders's News-Letter* of
that silk gowns were offered to Mr. Charles
Leinster Circuit, and Mr. William Exham, of
Circuit, but that both declined. We comm-
taste and judgment in waiting for a future opp-
their legitimate claims can be recognised,
free from political partisanship, and in which
alone shall be the test.

reads the lists we have given, the results may thus

Brady nominated *twenty-nine* Queen's Counsel in *a-half years*.

Blackburne nominated *sixteen* in *ten months*.

Napier nominated *twelve* in less than *three months*,

others refused to accept the proffered honor! His merit it a-begging amongst the Tory Bar.

Twenty-nine nominated by Mr. Brady there were—

als	..	..	..	13
ervatives	..	..	..	16

Daily Express has also forced upon us the necessity of arising religion. Of Mr. Brady's appointments—members of the Established Church and Dissenters; Roman Catholics, 9.

Napier's list all but one, or two at most, are Protestants. One Roman Catholic—a man of high position, Mr. Charles Kelly, has been put in, for the first, to counteract the manifest 'family nepotism' in some names, to which political partisanship in some names, to which referred; and secondly, by the admission of a Roman Catholic, to delude the Catholic public into the notion that policy of rigid exclusion is not extended to honorations at the Bar as well as to all official appointments in the public departments."

Chancellor Brady appointed his sons and relatives to offices in his patronage no one will deny; and in this case as all Chancellors in England and Ireland whom I have ever heard. And surely the men appointed by Chancellor Brady were as competent, at least as competent, to discharge the duties of their offices faithfully to the crown and to the suitor as the most able and Barebones members of the Oratorical Society, the most serious, but Orange flavored, individuals with whom Chancellor Napier has, with such indecent precipitancy, crammed his court.

What can be thought of this man who has been so much a talker about the dignity of the Bar, and the honor of the profession. He knows that the silk gown is the intimate ambition of every lawyer; he knows that the hour when, with weary feet and longing heart, the

junior begins to wear out the flags in the Hall of Courts, to that hour when he has worked his way amongst the Outer Bar, the obtaining the silk gown on honest merit, is the dearest wish of every man who bears the name of Barrister. No man knows this better than Chancellor Napier, and yet the first act of his Oath-taking is a call to the Inner Bar of a mob. Surely that two or three men of ability or standing were to make this "ruck" cannot save Joseph Napier from the imputation of having done, for faction and party, more to debase the Bar, to lessen the value of the honor that used to attach to the rank of Queen's Counsel, than any man who has ever worn the Seals in Ireland. Truly the public may now compare Joseph Napier with Samuel Lover,—

"Of modern Queen's Counsel this truth may be said:
They have silk on the back, but stuff in the head."

It was not thus that Plunket acted. He had recalled two gentlemen of undoubted ability to the Bar, and it was pressed upon him, urged with force from powerful quarters, that he should call others of whom he did not think whose learning and standing at the Bar he did not deem sufficient to entitle them to the call; and Plunket, in other times defied the minister in defending his independence, refused to lessen the dignity of that last and most precious monument of her glory, the Bar. He would, he said, the Castle insisted on this mobbish call, refuse to call; he would have "la noblesse da la robe" or nothing; he would have the Bar, being Chancellor, as it was when he was Barrister,—when men were proud of their professional rank, it was, as Sir William Jones wrote, "the only rank of the highest stations in the country," when the gown of the lawyer was as honorable as the ribbon of the peer; when the profession of the Irish Barrister was, as D'Alemaire said of that of the Advocate in France—"nobility without title, rank without birth, and riches without an estate."

But Joseph Napier is not Plunket; he is beset by party partizans; he is said to be but the puppet of his brother-in-law, the Attorney-General, who cares as little for the dignity of the Bar, as he cares for common sense or for truth. When, in his wind-bag speeches on Ireland, he speaks of facts and mangles truth. These are the men who have made any Swiss slaver the official character of Chancellor.

f whose public and private life was marked by
ined for him the esteem and regard of his fel-
who knew nothing of factions, who considered
ght be the religion or the politics of the man
ted, but only, and merely his fitness; who
oured to mobilize the Inner Bar, and who will
ed as a good lawyer, as an able judge, as an
man, long after Joseph Napier and James
all have passed from pensioned oblivion
on of the grave. Or should their mem-
the traditions of the Courts, lawyers who
g, can tell in after years, how James White-
ph Napier, who, when out of office, were al-
of political virtue, who then soared above all
yet when in office, sunk below all others in
t of office, floated away, cloudward, upon the
imation, and sunk down grovelling, when in
g upon the very corruption of a decaying

ing, in the former part of this letter, of the
ism displayed in the shameless appointments
Chancellor and the Attorney-General, I had
the following paragraph from a London corre-
h shows the appointments to be still more
those particulars calculated to excite disgust
He writes:—"According to the statements
ce-hunters (who are now as plenty as black-
obbies of the House of Commons and about
here), two other Judges are likely to avail
their great age, and right of superannuation,
ing vacancies in the Queen's Bench and
Mr. Whiteside, it is said, has made up his
cept a puisne judgeship, as his ambition is
e chief seat in the Queen's Bench. These
cies would cause several changes and promo-
both the present Attorney-General and the
Hayes, would be *benched*. A grand object
-Whiteside division is to force up Mr. James
present law adviser, into the Attorney-Gene-
are at least a dozen claimants in the field,
themselves far better qualified to become
the Crown; and some of them have consi-

derable interest amongst the Parliamentary Government; but Mr. George, late member for county, and Mr. Miller, member for Armagh, are the best position in the running—that is, the Napier-Whiteside party fail in getting up into the Attorney-Generalship. If what is called the 'Family Party' succeed, either Mr. Miller or Mr. George would have a fair chance of the Solicitor-Generalship.

"But other arrangements, connected with the office, and reckless jobbing said to be in preparation here. It is said that Mr. Long and Mr. Yelverton are to be Registers in the Irish Court of Chancery, and that Mr. Robinson, brother of the Law Agent, a cousin of the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General, who had been a solicitor of some eminence before, is the proprietor of the *Daily Express* government paper, and will obtain one of those Registerships, with £1,200 a year. There are other candidates, some of whom are Irish Queen's Counsel, are pressing their claims with remarkable energy and apparent success."

I see one friend of the family connected with the *Daily Express* is not mentioned here. What is the name of Mr. Porter of that office; his ability as a lawyer has fully proved in the employment of the "Trustees for Improving the Condition of the Irish Poor," why did they not let Starkey to retire, and put Porter in for the Attorney-Generalship of the Court of Chancery.

Mr. Robinson, attorney and newspaper proprietor, some will have it, the partner of his relatives, the Attorney-General, is provided for; Viscount Ferguson, who was act-of-parliament grifter, "Brummagem," as Cobbet would call him, law agent, Attorney-General, is secure, and Mr. James Robinson, Castle Adviser, is, should all be made safe, the son of Baron Pennefather, and the peerage of the country is certain of a good thing.

But what claims has Mr. James Robinson for that he is the Attorney-General's relative, the *Daily Express* Robinson? I know of no other fair business, on *Circuit*, and was chiefly known as having evinced the grasping, grabbing, grasping whole family, by throwing up his prosecution of Justice Keogh, when Attorney-General, re-

crown cases alone, and for which he was very

whole family are provided for, or soon will be quartered upon the revenues of the country. Generosity, and a family affection which would be missing, were they not exercised at the cost of the country in a manner reminding us of that patriot who crossed the bridge at the expense of the county," the Attorney-General have proved how true the thought expressed in the old Roman proverb, *pro tergo lata secantur*."

There was one appointment out of the family, Brereton, to the Assistant Barristership of the County of Kerry; and if the appointment is to be considered representing the learning, the ability, and the polished character of the great Conservative Bar of Ireland, I certainly do not object to it, not being a member of that Bar. I presume anything was considered good enough to be put in the list of lakes and mountains. Besides, this appointment winds up fitly that list of nominations, evincing a "political partizanship, or personal and family influence," and which does not include, in any case, "real independence of party or politics."

It is a fit ending to a roll of appointments, proving that it was once the great Conservative party in Ireland that led into a talentless, place-grasping, wretched old Orange faction. Knowing how uncertain, how briefness, must be their possession of office, how the Cabinet exists but on sufferance, and through the disorganization of the Liberal party, and the higher adventures in England are throwing off the balance in taking, or making appointments, the lesser appointments here in Ireland are becoming equally bold, nameless, and equally greedy in making, taking, or giving place. Fitness, merit, propriety of selection all forgotten, and we live in the epoch of the Irish Bar, in an age of "brazen, brainless" appointments in the era of Napier and Whiteside.—Alas poor Irish Bar! what has it come to? To a Zenith in the person of a Nadir in Brereton!

Not for the peril to the Bar, I should be glad if the Liberal men have come into office. We shall now hear of the grand Conservative Bar of Ireland, and we

shall hear no more of Whig corruption. Of Whig appointuents with those of Blackburne and who can deny that bigotry and faction these instances, much more frequently than sources of the call to the Inner Bar. All men that in genius, in learning, and in powers of ad Liberal Bar is richer than the Conservative, and members having, in most cases, neither relatives upon the Bench, obtain the honors of the profession, by proved ability, and by stern self-reliance, nepotism, or through a brazen, dishonest, favoritism.

When I look back now, upon the events of the last months, it astounds me to remember how able people used to talk about the Conservative Bar. Its reputation has dwindled away to nothing—to James Napier and Joseph Napier!

Oh! Dogberry, Oh! Verges, Oh! Bridgman, Oh! Goatsnose, Oh! Midas, (of Kane O'Hara), Oh! Shallow, Oh! all ye spirits of Judges, who have made the table in a roar," ye gather around me and lo! ye fade away, resolving yourselves into the bodiment of Joseph Napier and James Whiteside. The Chancellor stands before me,—

"——Mr. Napier,

With his hand on his ear;" as the Attorney-General sways, and rocks, and shouts, as is his custom, I cry, in terror and of Goethe's "prophetic soul,"

"DAS UNBESCHREIBLICHE
HIER IST GETHAN!"

At last the INDESCRIBABLE is realized.

Yours, my dear friend, most

AN APPRENTICE OF

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

*from Mrs. B. W., Richmond, to the Editor, on some
very important matters.*

Richmond, June 8, 1858.

SIR,
My second letter to you would have been my
first, had you not thought it important to *the cause* just now
under consideration, that I should write what I had detailed
à voce, I submit. You have the right to guide
the matter. Your efforts have gained nearly all the
aid who have helped, or are about to help, the poor
prisoners in this country. Wherever the IRISH
LY is read, there, the pleading in favour of the
neglected, houseless child, has excited in
heart, hitherto indifferent (because ignorant or
indifferent) an impulse to aid, and make amends for past
want of active sympathy with those, now enlisted by
the cause for the coming struggle.

These are my facts:—

I remember my telling you of my anxiety to place
in our five reformatory girls; how she was become
in charge to us, after the other interns had been
under circumstances being more difficult to conquer
other girls, as she had not passed through Golden
Reformatory, but came to us from Cork prison.
No place had been offered to her, but on condition
she should call, and express personally what I had
written in her discharge. I feared to visit as I
should be catechised as to her previous places of
residence, therefore, was obliged to decline.

After, thank God, we still held on, giving her suffi-
cient pay for her support weekly, hoping for providential
aid in some quarter. Affairs were in this condition
one day, she came to see me, and said quite suddenly,
"Oh, ma'am, I have something to tell you!" She looked
distressed and agitated, and fixed her eyes on me in
an appealing manner that I feared she had got into
trouble, and I said, "What is the matter, child? tell
me at once!" "Why, ma'am, I want you to give me

leave to get married!" I was confounded, for such a possibility for one of our poor girls had of me, for of course the difficulty would then really be. Concealing my anxiety, I said of course she pleased I should feel at having her happily at home of her own, and I then asked how it came who it was that wished to marry her. She answered it was N——, brother to one of our Industrious who had taken a "liking to her way of going on coming to see me to ask my leave, as Susan had him on the condition that I should consent. I asked if she had told him her previous history. "Well then, my poor child, he must be made without further delay!" I felt for the poor girl but one way to act, so after a long talk she consented I should tell him when he came in the morning. Here was a painful task. He was waiting for her all this time outside my door. "O ma'am, never look in his face again?" I comforted her as much as I could, persuaded her it was better he should go than lose faith and trust after marriage. She looked up and said, with a load off her heart.

In the evening came the "boy." He began to tell me all the virtues he discovered in Susan. How industrious she was, always steady and quiet, for gadding or "*cosheering*" like the women of the neighbourhood. How she was able to earn her bread (she had made it for his sister, and was sometimes engaged out for a day's work in the neighbourhood); in fine, to marry her, and he hoped to make her a good wife. And then he dilated on all *his own* virtues. How he always with his father, never asking a penny, giving him his earnings, and only accepting of food and clothes. How he was a country boy, with none of the people about Mud Island. How now time for him to settle and do for himself, more that would be too long to write. Well, my turn. I began by putting fear into his mind when I asked him did he know what Susan had done when I took her into my institution? How he changed how troubled and frightened his countenance became when he watched him anxiously, while I prepared him to

ould be the worst to him ; and then, having pledged keep her secret, I unfolded my tale as gently as I after which I insisted on his considering himself y free, and begged he would take time to think over tter. His first words were, " O ma'am, why did l me ?" Then, after I had explained all the truth- und trust required between husband and wife, " well,"

" I believe you are right, sure you have experience matter ; ma'am you have an honest mind." His estion was, " Does any body know this but you ?" say " Yes." " Does my father know it ?" " No." your servant ?" (she had been in the Industrial Insti-

" No." I felt the ground was giving way, and esired he would go home, and come to me in three me, but until then he should not speak to Susan w leaving my door with her (as it seems she had ed him to my house).

hird evening he came to me in my garden—" Well, ve you decided ?" he smiled and said, " I don't care about what happened ! Susan is a good girl, and gives us a family she will rear her children well on of all she has gone through !"

I not tell you how rejoiced I felt. He then spoke f her sister (who had been imprisoned on account of ng the money Susan had stolen), praised her, and should always find a home with him whenever she ice. Then he talked over the future plans, and I ed to him that Mrs. A—— and I had decided on Susan a present of a *mangle*. What a settlement ! ou saw the joy the said mangle has caused. Then a long talk of how the father was to be told, as I uch he would not be pleased at the notion of losing s earnings. However, the bridegroom elect could ifficulty ; he was sure his father would be kind and le. After school the next day, I peeped into room, to see how she was going on. I was struck expression of her countenance, she had become andsome, so much hope dawning, and such a load f her heart, for N—— says he will love and protect he face of the whole world, and cares little even if t should come to light.

aught hold of my hand, kissed it, and burst into

tears. "How can I ever thank you for all you have done for me," and she sobbed as if in real sorrow. "But why such tears, surely you should feel very happy." "But, ma'am, am I not going to leave *you*, my friend?" I felt indeed touched, to think of the parting giving me a thought under such circumstances. Here are the feelings of our poor, and how far short do we come of the generous ones, full of their real refinement of heart! I will not fill your pages with the "second volume" of my story for true to romance life (though mine is literally what it occurred), a cloud came on. The father objected, the son sulked, and when he came to complain of all his mother said to me, he listened to my suggestion of throwing him out of his mother's heart. Of course she responded and he was brought to joy again; she called to the school to bless her future daughter, and the young couple were married on Thursday.

Now need I add one word more? Surely this little story is the best proof that can be given of the advantage of the *Extern Industrial Schools* attached to Reformatory Union Workhouses. Are they not more simple, more productive of good than the Holloway system of reformation, a resource in all imaginable difficulties, in every course there will be many cases where it will be the only and absolutely necessary to leave Ireland, but I cannot all understand why emigration should be held forth as a great boon to the reformed prisoner. If the reform is sincere and complete, why should we send away our subjects. Half the money spent on the journey and sea passage would give comfort and prosperity to many, settling them once more in respectable, though still low positions. If the reform has not been sincere, why not give money to send them away. Let them be reformed and made honest, at least secured at once, and forced to contribute to the public service by some prescribed and useful labour. It is impossible, if the subject be sincerely considered, that means may not be found to classify the prisoners, so as to preserve the order of treatment proper to be necessary (though apparently so very indulgent) to those who have injured society.

Being a woman, and consequently by the fact debarred from the rights of private judgment on a subject so important

permit myself to pronounce on this oft discussed
I cannot conceal how often I have asked myself
—What gives the right of prisoners to the
ious food and the greatest care of their comfort
ing morally and physically, as compared to the
e honest and innocent poor in the unions?

I read so often the recommendations of the
and even worldly-minded, that care should be
reserve the health of the prisoners in its fullest

While again obliged to remark in daily ac-
meetings of guardians discussions—and recrimi-
attacks—even accusations of too much indul-
never an attempt be made to give the pauper
will preserve life in sufficient vigour to prevent
y of an entrance into *hospital* where the food
given more abundantly. Of course, I suppose,

and necessary, or it should not be tolerated by
nevolent and good heads and hearts. I give up

a political-economy-mystery far beyond my
ion—thankful that I am not obliged to believe
ful that the time may come when it will not

having the opportunity, I should deem myself
I did not add my pleading to all and each of
have become aware of the frightful fate destined

ng girls in the unions, and cry aloud for some
change in this dreadful training to immorality
edness which the present system has been de-

gender. I dare not trust my pen on this sub-
woman could not treat it calmly, the wrong to
so deep for utterance. It is inconceivable that

of things should exist under a queen, whose
mother, wife, and daughter, is so justly a sub-
people's pride. She does not know how her

re neglected, *corrupted*, and that under the roof
called a refuge provided for helpless misery.

turn to another side—another picture. I have
ou from Julia Kavanagh's *Women of Christianity*
story. Her book is one which no lady who can

lf any ordinary luxury, should be without pur-
her private study. It will be found interesting
e saint, or the worldling, or the heroine. The

esented suggests so much that is important to

the subject now under consideration that its value will give some idea of the appreciation the book deserves. It is full of suggestions to the thinker, and above all a *doer*.

It appears to me to solve many questions or difficulties—Rosa Govona should be the model, if not the patron saint of Industrial Schools.*

Yours always sincerely

P. S.—E. W. has received so much indulgence from the reviewers of the Quarterly, that she hopes they will not attribute it to vain presumption in begging that notice be made of this letter, care should be taken that no allusion be made to the whereabouts of her "happy home," as the newspapers circulate even in Mud Island, and it is best not to set gossips guessing.

* On the northern side of the Ligurian Apennines, in the district formed by the Upper Tanaro, extends the district of Mondovì, a province of the Sardinian states. Surrounded by a fertile land, rich in corn, vines, mulberry trees, and cattle, rises the town, Mondovì. It is built partly on the bank of the Elva, on a hill which rises above the river. It can boast of a strong wall, several churches and convents, a seminary, a college, various manufactures, factories, and some fifteen thousand inhabitants.

In this quiet place there lived, in the course of the last century, a young orphan girl, of the name of Rosa Govona. She earned her livelihood by needlework, her only means of support; she never cared for the world, and thought not of marriage; grave, mild, and silent, she lived alone, in the dignity of labour and the honor of womanhood.

Towards the year 1746, Rosa, being then in her thirtieth year, happened to meet a young girl, an orphan like herself, who, by her beauty, wit, and talents, was a great contrast to her own plainness and solitude, and without the means of earning a livelihood. The sight of her compassionate heart, and shocked her feminine delicacy. She took her home the young stranger, and addressing her in language of simplicity, "Here," said she, pointing to her humble dwelling, "thou shalt abide with me: thou shalt sleep in my bed; thou shalt drink from my cup, and thou shalt live by the labour of thy hands." This last clause, comprising independence and self-reliance, was one of the most cherished points in the creed of Rosa. With the docility and industry of her young guest, she conceived the project of a female association, based on the principles of mutual aid. Ere long the girl of Mondovì was surrounded by a society of young and unprotected single women, who dwelt under the same roof, and laboured diligently for their livelihood.

This association, being something quite novel in those times, was naturally attacked; the wise derided and censured it; groundless calumnies were cast on the morals of Rosa and her companions.

libertine young men followed and insulted them whenever they left their home. Their prudent silence, and, above all, their blameless life, at length prevailed over calumny; and they were allowed to live and labour in peace: nay, more, the authorities of Mondovì, seized with a sudden fit of official zeal, repaired their long neglect of an institution reflecting so much honour on the community with which it had originated, by offering Rosa, whose abode had now grown too narrow, a house in the plain of Carcassona. This she readily accepted, and was soon surrounded by seventy young girls. She obtained another and larger house in the plain of Brao; but, extending her views with her means, Rosa no longer confined the labours of her friends to the common tasks of needlework; the house of Brao became a real factory for the manufacture of woollen stuffs. Nine years had now elapsed since Rosa first took home the orphan girl. She might well have rested satisfied with what she had done; but, consulting only her zeal and anxious wish of spreading the good effects of her system, she set off for Turin in the year 1755.

Rosa Govona entered the capital of Piedmont, with no other protection than her own strong faith, and no higher recommendation than the two or three young girls who accompanied her. She simply explained her project, and asked for an asylum. The fathers of the oratory of St. Philip gave her a few rooms "for the love of God," and the military depot sent her tables and straw mattresses. Rosa and her companions were quite satisfied, and establishing themselves in their new abode, they cheerfully set to work.

The fact became known, and attracted attention. On the suggestion of his financial minister, Count of Gregory, Charles Emanuel III. assigned Rosa and her companions a large building, belonging to a religious brotherhood recently suppressed. The house was soon filled with forsaken orphan girls. The king read and approved the judicious rules laid down by Rosa, and ordered the factories of the establishment to be organised and registered by the magistrates appointed to superintend commercial matters.

From that time the Rosinas, as they were called in honour of their foundress, enjoyed the special patronage of the Sardinian government.

Rosa Govona felt deeply grateful for the favor her plans had received from the king. Knowing that the most effectual method of showing her gratitude would be to continue as she had begun, and to contribute to the commercial and moral prosperity of his dominions she established in Turin two factories; one of cloth for the army, and another of the best silks and ribands. Thanks to her, three hundred women without dowry, without any resource save their own labour, earned an honest and comfortable livelihood, and provided in youth for the wants of their old age. Houses depending on that of Turin were established at Novarra, Fossano, Savigliano, Saluzzo, Chieri, and St. Damien of Asti. Over the entrance of every house which she founded, Rosa caused to be engraved the words she had addressed to her first guest: "TU MANGERAI COL LAVORO DELLE TUE MANI," thou shalt live by the labour of thine own hands.

Rosa devoted twenty-one years to the task of going over the pro-

vinces of Piedmont, and founding asylums for the unprotected poor of her sex ; until exhausted by her labours in Turin. Her remains were deposited in the chapel of the establishment there ; on the simple monument which covers them may be read the following epitaph :—" Here lies Rosa Govona. From her youth she consecrated herself to God. For her labours founded in her native place, and in other towns, retreats for forsaken girls, so that they might serve God. She established excellent regulations, which attach them to piety and labour. She entered on eternal life the 28th day of February, of the sixtieth year of her age. Grateful daughters have erected this monument to their mother and benefactress."

With this simple, yet touching record of a useful and virtuous life, we close all that are told of Rosa Govona. We know more of her than what she was. She appears to us through her labours, thoughtful, silent, and ever doing, a serious and beneficent woman. In aspect, she was grave, earnest, and resolute. A white kerchief, a cross on her bosom, and a brown robe were the attire of the foundress of the Rosinas. One of her daughters calls her sister Rosa ; but it does not appear that she too has sought to impose any on her community. The Rosinas are bound by no tie ; they can leave their abode, and marry if they so wish, but they rarely do so. There will always be a certain number of women whom circumstances or private inclination will prefer to remain unmarried. Rosa Govona was one of these, and she laboured. She wished to save them from vice, from poverty, to preserve to them unsullied the noblest inheritance of human beings, dignity, and self-respect.

According to an interesting account published in Paris some years ago, the Rosinas are still in a prosperous and happy state. They are admitted from thirteen to twenty ; they must be well educated, healthy, active, and both able and willing to work. They are patronized by Government, but labour is their only income. They work assiduously, save the old, who are supported by their younger sisters. The Turin establishment is the chief and certainly the most important. Other houses still exist, with the exception of that founded by Rosa Govona at Novarra. It was closed when this town was annexed to the kingdom of Italy ; and has not since been re-opened. To preserve the spirit of the modest and retired life which she taught her daughters to lead, no commercial matters are transacted at the establishment in Turin, which governs the other houses. The labours of the Rosinas are varied and complete ; in the manufacture, they do with their own hands, from beginning to end. They buy the cocoons in spring, and perform every operation which silk undergoes, before it is finally woven. They use gros-de-naples, levantines, and ribbands. Their silks are of a good quality, but plain, in order to avoid the expense and inconvenience of changing their looms with every caprice of fashion. The number of Rosinas is limited ; but only a limited number of Rosinas can be employed in the fatigue of weaving. In order not to interfere with the manufacture of Turin, the manufacture of woollen stuffs is now carried on at Chieri. *Government buys all the cloth of the army from*

manufacture all the accessory ornaments, and make up the which are cut out for them by tailors. Gold lace, and the ts of priests, are likewise produced by these industrious excel in every female art, and are renowned for skill in

The produce of their varied labours is gathered at large magazine, and sold there to trustworthy persons. of the Rosinas is patronized, not only by Government, many of the inhabitants and tradespeople of Turin; for neral preference in favour of goods, excellent in quality, and manufactured by the hands of these pure and inno-

Their profits are moderate, but sufficient; the house ne, spends eighty thousand francs a-year; and it holds ed women, of whom fifty, who are either old or infirm, ntly unable to work, are supported by the rest.

this remarkable establishment," writes an eyewitness, ne kindness of the worthy ecclesiastic who administers . He accompanied me through those wide halls con- many women, animated by the holy ardour of labour. om man, they nevertheless share with him the fatigue as condemned on the day when God sent him forth on They went through their tasks with mild gravity aud mposure, yet displaying the zeal which a mother might ing with her daughters for the good of the common mistresses and one director (a woman) preside over ey are frequently visited by the Queen, who grants a tion to these industrious women."

, poor, obscure, and unlearned, but strong in her faith, , in her love for her orphan sisters, did this.—*Women* , by *Julia Kavanagh*.

THE LATE MONSIEUR VERDIER.

In the early part of June we received the notification, dated Paris, May 26th, 1858 :—" Georges-François-Paul Verdier, avocat à la Cour de Paris, Agent général de la Colonie de la Guadeloupe, est décédé à Paris le 23 Mai, 1858, à l'âge de 52 ans, des Sacraments de l'Eglise. Priez pour lui."

We were not unprepared for this melancholy announcement ; we had heard, some days before, that M. Verdier was ill, very ill, with brain-fever ; M. Demetz had come up to Paris, from Mettray, and was close beside him, his friend, lamenting his illness, and fearing that in case he should God take him, Mettray would lose another valuable friend, fearing the anguish of another death-bed parting, that of M. de Courteilles ; painful, though the separation was, from God's work on earth, to God's glory in heaven.

In Verdier's case, the sorrow of M. Demetz was increased by the thought, that the sufferings of Verdier were the result of over mental exertion in that cause in which both had so deeply and so warmly at heart. In the *Record of the Mettray for 1855*, and of which admirable document we have published a translation in the *Record of the 21st* of this *REVIEW*, we find the exertions of M. Verdier acknowledged by M. Demetz in the following terms :

" We cannot conclude these observations on ' Patronage ' by addressing our thanks to those who have seconded us in this work, and whose zeal, instead of diminishing, seems to increase in proportion as their task becomes more difficult. We would wish, God willing, that the number were not too great, to pay to each individual, of gratitude due for his efficacious help ; to recount with pleasure the severing efforts the greater number have endeavoured to make (for the good) on the children as well as their parents, well knowing that the best counsels have little influence in presence of evil example, and that the part of the family.

We will content ourselves by naming M. Verdier, Agent of your Society, who, with a disinterestedness beyond all

himself with the 'Patronage' of all our children in Paris. hardly form a correct estimate of the difficulties which this entails, or the incessant goings and comings of every kind exacts. M. Verdier is dismayed by no obstacles of this

these high commendations were merited, all who studied the history of Mettray, are aware, and sad must have been the feelings of M. Demetz, as he beside the sick bed of his stricken fellow laborer.

Verdier was not, even according to French ideas, a independent fortune, and depended for support upon pension. Yet he found, or rather, by rising habitual-ur o'clock, he *made* time by which he was enabled Mettray, and to draw from M. Demetz, the noble in which the reader has had placed before him.

was a hard life; the courts all day, the care of the then the inspection, the correspondence, the short on to bed; at last "the sword out-wore the sheath." over-taxed brain could bear no more. Day by y watched him in his sickness, hoping and fearing, n came the awful truth, that 'twere better he should the tree had already died from the top, health would ut idiotcy, and God in his great mercy called good verdier away—"Priez pour lui."

"Who shall tell what schemes majestic
Perish in the active brain?
What humanity is robbed of,
Ne'er to be restored again?"

loss," writes an English friend, who knew Verdier hly, "to M. Demetz, will be indeed heavy, I had said irreparable. I had much opportunity in Paris of ing his rare devotion, and indefatigable zeal in the fficult work of *Patronage*. It was his delight to a comparative obscurity, for sheer 'love,' as he used

to say, of M. Demetz, and doubtless, still higher merits which have, I doubt not, their reward."

Many of our readers will remember M. Verdier, a gentleman who accompanied M. Demetz, during his visit in England, in 1856. A special meeting of the National Reformatory Union, was held in the Law Amendment Society's Rooms, on Thursday, May 29th, 1856, which was attended by M. Demetz and M. Verdier, and in the course of some observations on Patronage Societies, M. Demetz said, "My friend, M. Verdier, takes devoted care of our Mettray youths who go to Paris."

Truly it was devoted care, a care which cost a life all gone and past now, and Demetz, loving like a Christian man, must say of the lost friend, as Galileo of the sight—"It has pleased God it should be so, and it please me also."

Paul Verdier's relatives in Paris say—"PRIEZ POUR LUI." We say, far away here in Ireland, AMEN, AMEN. MAY PAUL VERDIER'S SOUL REST IN PEACE, and the Good Samaritan, shall stand before the Lord God, with all the Universe around them.

THE
IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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T. I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

SEVENTH PAPER.*

*tabbillion, ou Extraits Critiques de Divers Livres
Oubliés ou Peu Connus.* Tirés du Cabinet du
D. R. * * * 2 Tomes. Paris : Techener, 1836.
*ection of Old English Customs and Curious Bequests
harities, extracted from the Reports made by the
isioners for Enquiring into Charities in England and*
By H. Edwards. London : Nichols and Son, 1842.

ND SINGULAR TASTES.—Several illustrious men have
marked predilection for certain days in the year.
that Napoleon felt such a disposition for the 20th

es V.," said Brantôme, "was particularly fond of the
St. Matthias (24th of February), and sanctified it
l other days, because on that day he was elected
on that day crowned, and on that day also he took
cis prisoner, not himself but through his lieutenants."
ne adds, also, that the Emperor was born on the
t. Matthias (24th February, 1500), that on the same
527, his brother Ferdinand was elected King of
and that, on the 24th of February, 1556, he abdi-
empire.

of January was to Francis I. what the 24th of
was to Charles V. Born on the 1st of January, it
e 1st of January that this prince lost his father, that
king, on which his daughter was married, and that
Charles V. made his entry into Paris.

V., born on a Wednesday (13th of December, 1521),
profession as a Franciscan friar on a Wednesday, was
a Cardinalship on a Wednesday, was elected Pope on a
y, and exalted to the dignity the following Wed-

he other Papers of this Series see IRISH QUARTERLY
Vol. VI., No. 23, p. 439 ; No. 24, p. 647 ; Vol. VII.,
1 ; No. 26, p. 267 ; No. 27, p. 629 ; Vol. VIII., No.

XXXI., VOL. VIII.

Louis XIII., some hours before his death (Thursday of May, 1643), called his physicians and asked them what they thought he could live until the next day, saying that that day had always been to him a fortunate day, that he had that day engaged in enterprises which were uniformly successful, that he had ever gained battles on that day, that having considered it his happiest day, he wished he might die on that day.

"Augustus," according to Suetonius, "had a sense of the power of thunder and lightning, and it is believed protected himself from this danger by always carrying about him the skin of a sea-calf. When a storm approached he ran to conceal himself in a subterranean vault or cavern. This fear was occasioned by an incident, during a nocturnal march, in his expedition against the Cantabri, when the lightning having struck a pile of litter, killed the slave who walked before bearing the flag."

A Roman Emperor at the age of fifty-nine, was seized with an insurmountable terror at the sight of the sun, turning from an expedition into Syria, he sojourned in the palace of a king, on the confines of Asia; "The Emperor at Constantinople," says Nicephorus, (ch. vii.) "commanded the Prefect to build a bridge of boats over the Bosphorus, and to adorn it at each side with planks and the bark of trees, in order that he might pass without beholding the sea. This work having been finished very promptly, the Emperor crossed on horseback, as if he had been on dry land."

One of the Spanish kings could not endure any one in his presence who had taken tobacco. He had, besides, a mania of feeling incensed at any man's demanding the hand of a woman, unless he had intentions of marriage.

Louis XIV detested les chapeaux gris, almost as much as he did the Jansenists.*

* It is related by Saint-Simon, "the king wished to be informed in what manner of people were followers of the Duke of Orleans (1709) the Duke mentioned amongst others Fontenepuis. At this time the king assumed an austere air, "How is that, my nephew, the king, Fontenepuis the son of this Jansenist, of this fool who is running everywhere after Arnaud? I cannot see of what use this man can be to you." "Sire," replied the Duke of Orleans, "I do not know what his mother may have been, but the son, he has no desire to be a Jansenist, I can vouch for that. He does not believe even in the existence of a God."—"Is it possible, my nephew?" replied the king, becoming assuaged,—"being more certain, Sire," replied the Duke, "I assure you,"—"if that be so, you can manage him, I see no harm in that." The scene, for I call it by no other name, occurred in the morning after dinner the same day, the Duke related to me whilst seated with laughter all I have written, word for word."

g could exceed the timidity, or, we might rather say, onery, of the celebrated moralist Nicole; he dreaded excursions on the water, and to the end of his life went into the streets without trembling in incessant tile should fall on his head. He dwelt for a long e Faubourg Saint-Marcel, "because," as he said, "the ho threatened Paris would enter by the Porte Saint-and would be obliged consequently, to traverse the before they could arrive at his house." In a word, ay, as the actor who bungled Racine,

ains *tout*, cher Abner, et n'ai pas d'autre crainte."

III., who had so decided a passion for little dogs, remain in the same room with a cat. The Duke fainted at the sight of a leveret.

de Brézé (who died in 1650) swooned at the sight t, as related by Tallemant.

d'Albret got ill at a repast where either a sucking wild boar was served. Erasmus could not even smell at getting feverish. Scaliger trembled all over at seeing ses. Tycho-Brahe felt his limbs failing when he en-a hare or a fox. Bacon fell into a fainting fit eclipse of the moon. Bayle got convulsions heard the sound of water issuing from a spout. e Vayer could not endure the sound of any instru-avoriti, an Italian poet, who died in 1682, could not dour of the rose.

elebrated personages are distinguished by their affec-tain animals. Thus, Alexander cherished Bucephalus; a parrot; Commodius, an ape; Heliogabalus, a cc., &c.

as, Emperor of the West, had a profound tenderness, which, probably, was not reciprocated. Being at and having had the precaution of placing between d the Goths the channel of the Adriatic Sea, when capture of Rome by Alaric, in 410, the slave having of the imperial aviary came to announce to him apital of Italy and of the West was lost. "How is ed the Emperor, dismayed, "How! Rome lost! It moment since she was eating from my hand." Thus ards his favorite hen, whom he called Rome, that nts and anxieties of the monarch reverted, and he relieved when assured that it was not his beloved

bird but the capital of his empire that was lost. rejoined he, "I thought it was my hen." So great, Greek historian, Procopius, to whom we are indebted anecdote, so great was his stupidity and brutishness.

The celebrated French financier, Samuel Bernard, (in 1739), thought his existence was bound up with a black hen, who, thanks to this circumstance, experienced care and tenderness, for God knows how long. He died about the same time, Bernard having attained his eighth year.

Passeroni, the Italian poet, (who died in 1802,) had an affection for a cock, and alluded to it in all his poems.

Saint Evremond and Crébillon were always surrounded by cats and dogs.

Lipsius liked only dogs, and had amongst others a dog he called Saphir, in whom he surmounted the natural aversion of animals of this species for wine. Thus, said he, he has in some manner assimilated Saphir to man, as he is fond of wine, and subject to the gout."

Godefroy Mind, a Bernais painter, (who died in 1782) had been surnamed *le Raphaël des chats*, in consequence of having excelled in painting those animals, towards which he entertained an ardent affection; he had at all times a cat about him. "During his work," writes M. D. "his favourite cat was invariably beside him, with whom he kept up a kind of conversation; sometimes she occupied his knees, two or three little cats were perched on his shoulders, and he remained in this attitude for hours together, so intent on his stirring, lest he should discompose the companion of his solitude."

It was not alone for one or two species of the animal kingdom, that Denis Rolle, an English member of Parliament in the eighteenth century, manifested his sympathies, but for all animals without distinction, and he was under the impression that they both knew of, and appreciated his kind intentions. "I have," wrote he in a pamphlet he composed on the abolition of bull-fights and cock-fights, "I have procured recognition of wild bears, who, after absence, allowed themselves to be taken by me and led by the snout. I cannot better exemplify the truth of my axiom than by stating that I frequently thrust my hand down the throat of a bull dog without any particular skill on my part, have been ena-

horses, wild in the fields, docile at my approach; the venomous serpents have not inspired me with the least fear. During some years I have traversed dense forests, without being attacked; I have reposed in morasses filled with snakes and venomous insects: serpents have been in my cars, stinging me. I could also tell of a crane, who ran after me, following me through the fields; and of a dog, who, every time I crossed Waltham, hastened to me, and expressed, by his lamentations, the grief he felt at not being able to follow me. I remember also a little cat of Florida, who attacked some dogs who were barking at me, fearing they were about to attack me. I cannot better explain these proofs of Providence than by supposing that Providence thus wished to manifest its feelings of benevolence and humanity towards me.

“I relate that Demosthenes,” writes Gellius, “was remarkably spruce in his dress, and that he carried this care of his person to the most delicate and fastidious refinement. This was true, although with all the railleries of his rivals and adversaries on his dress, he kept his mantle, on his effeminate tunic. Thence also arose those injurious and obscene discourses, representing him as effeminate, and accusing him of the most infamous crimes. The account has been given of Hortensius, the most celebrated orator of his time, (after Cicero,) a gentleman always very elaborate, whose dress was arranged with art, whose gestures, and studied and theatrical action, drew on him a great number of sarcastic and outrageous apostrophes.”

The English poet, Gray, made himself remarkable by the simplicity of his manners and dress; a foppishness which he considered almost to folly.

Locke, the English philosopher, who left in dying, the greatest fortune ever known to be possessed by a man in England (£1,500,000) was always dressed in grey cloth, and his clothes made precisely as of the same date. He collected a great library, which was at the command of all the scholars; but that it should not be put out of order, he had it removed twelve miles from his dwelling. Whenever he wanted a book, he sent a written order for it, and returned it again with the greatest punctuality.

The French philosopher, Desmarests, (who died in 1815,) never varied the form of his dress, and up to the end of his life, his dress would recal one to the modes in use under Louis XV.

The great English chemist, Davy, clothed himself in green, to go fish, and in red to hunt; he pretended dressed in this manner, he frightened the fish and game.

Towards the end of the last century some individuals of the kind of nourishment recommended by Pythagoras will mention amongst others, Ritson whose only food was legumes, and who published, in 1803, an essay on temperance from all animal food.

Another English author, Wakefield, (who died in 1784,) abstained from wine, as well as from animal food. He followed the example of the philanthropist, Anthony B. (who died in 1784.)

In the seventeenth century, the German enthusiast, (who died in 1656,) never ate anything but fish which he died naturally.

Spinosa spent between five and six sous a day for his food. Buttner, a German naturalist and philologist, of the eighteenth century, made but one single repast in the day, which cost him but three sous.

Everybody knows that the astronomer, Lalande, afflicted himself with delight spiders and caterpillars, of which he kept a stock in his bonbonnière.

C. Gracchus, said Gellius, "made use of a flute to moderate the intonations of his voice, when in the tribune; but this is not true, as several suppose, that a musician playing to him was placed behind the back of Gracchus whilst he spoke, by his various notes moderated and excited by turns the passions and action of the orator. What absurdity to suppose that a flute could mark for Gracchus, haranguing in public, the measure, the rhythm and the different cadences according to the same rule as you would arrange the pace of a buffoon on the stage! The authors better instructed on this fact relate that a man was concealed near at hand who was engaged to moderate the intonations of the voice, when becoming too boisterous, by drawing a slow and solemn note on a flute. This was all. Nor do I believe that the naturally impassioned voice of Gracchus required external excitement whilst in the tribune. However, Cicero thought he employed this flute player for a double purpose, and that according as his notes were low or high, calm, he enlivened his tone of voice if too slow, and moderated its impetuosity if too boisterous." This is the passage

Thus as Licinius, a well informed man, formerly his and now his client, has told Catullus, that this same had in his service an intelligent man, who concealed at the tribune with an ivory flute, giving rapidity to which was necessary to excite when his action was and softening the notes to a calm when he was too

ylus," relates Athnæus, "was always a little excited by composing his tragedies. We know that Alcman, poet and Aristophanes the comic, wrote their poems of inebriety"

de la Suze, the humanist Lefèvre in the seventeenth and Buffon in the eighteenth, could not work without sed with the greatest elegance; nothing, not even a s wanting in the toilet of the latter.

Milton, Warburton, Alfieri, required music to enable work; and it is related that Bourdaloue always executed the violin before preparing himself to write a sermon. n, author of *The Seasons*, passed entire days in his when asked why he did not rise, he replied, "I see for my rising."

remained every day until twelve o'clock in bed, the osely drawn. There it was he composed the works afterwards wrote "off hand," when he arose. It was during all his life he only aspired to the production of aire called *du galithomas*.

he lively author of the *Animaux Parlants*, composed verses whilst playing cards all alone on his bed.

Malebranch and Hobbes composed most frequently k, whilst Mézeray on the contrary never worked but le-light both by night and day, and never failed id-day to reconduct, light in hand, into the middle of those who visited him.

composed whilst walking; Descartes on the contrary like Leibnitz the *méditation horizontale*.

caused his harpsichord to be transported into the a meadow; a vast space, the open sky, the heat of d some bottles of champagne, gave him inspiration se two divine songs, *Iphigénie* and *D'Orphée*. On ry, Sarti could not work but in a spacious room, with oof and obscurely dim. The silence of night, the immer of a lamp suspended from the ceiling, were

indispensably requisite to create the solemn ideas which the character of his style. Cimarosa wished to hear him the clamour of an animated conversation; it was laughing and prating with his friends that he composed *Horaces* and *le Mariage secret*, two inimitable chefs d'œuvre, the style of each being distinctly opposed; the air *L'espérance en ciel l'aurore* he improvised in the midst of a party in the environs of Prague.

"Whilst rendering homage in his *Lettere Haydine* to the talent of Ferdinand Paëz, Carpini said that this witty composer wrote the rôles of *Camille*, of *l'Agnese* and of *l'Alfieri*, whilst jesting with his friends, and made a thousand recitations, whilst at the same moment he found leisure to grumble at his domestics, quarrel with his wife and children, and bestow the most tender caresses on his beloved. Paesiello could not find a note if he was not lying in bed; it was between a pair of sheets that he composed the charming movements of *Nina*, of *la Molinara* and of the *Barbier*. Long before taking his pen, transported himself into a high intellectual region, by reading several passages, both of the Bible and of the Church and of the Latin classics; thus prepared he then four hours improvised an act of *Pyrrhus* or of *Juliet*."

Carpani speaking of one Marcantonio Anfossi, brother of the celebrated Anfossi, and who probably would himself have attained a high musical renown, were it not that he died very young. This Marcantonio was a monk, and his method of stimulating the creative faculty was passing strange; he did not place himself before a harpsichord in order to compose, but before a table on which he had placed seven or eight dishes overlaid with roasted capons, sucking pigs nicely browned, and sausages. In the midst of this agreeable exhalation the best inspirations were produced without effort.

Hayden, demure and regular as Newton, shut up in his study, had also his little stratagem: he shaved, powdered, and on clean linen, dressed himself from head to foot as if he intended to present his respectful homage to Prince Esterházy, his patron, or even to the Emperor of Germany; then he placed himself before a desk on which he had paper carefully selected, and pens well made, he put on his finger the ring presented to him by his revered sovereign; after these preliminaries he commenced writing; five or six hours glided by, with

encing the least fatigue; not an erasure appeared to dis-
he extreme neatness of his notes, at other times scarcely
e, so that he himself used to call them his pothooks,
ere so cramped and illegible.

worthy of remark that singularity of taste, for particular
and numbers, occasionally exhibits itself even in the
of wills. In the *Reports* of the Commissioners for
ng into Charities in England and Wales, we find the
g bequests recorded :—

Whimsical Partiality for Nine.—

el Rabank, at Danby, Yorkshire, by indenture of bargain
enrolled, dated 24th February, 1631, conveyed to Thomas
and Samuel Pruddom, and the heirs of Pruddom, certain pre-
son trust that they and the heirs and assigns of the said
Pruddom, out of the rents and profits of such premises,
9th day of June, or the 9th day of December, from the day
ath, and upon every 9th day of every month for ever there-
use to be paid to nine poor people, to be nominated and
s thereafter mentioned, 9d. a week, or 3s. a month; and
so, upon every 9th day of December, pay the sum of 10s. to
ly and able preacher, who should on that day yearly preach
d of God in the parish Church of Danby; and that the said
Pruddom, his heirs and assigns, should, after the sermon,
deliver one peck of rye to every such of the said nine poor
s well to those who were present during the service, as also
thers as should be absent by reason of sickness or otherwise;
the choice of the poor persons, he directed that, on the 9th
r, the curates, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor
should nominate eighteen poor persons, men or women, of
x by the curate, six by the churchwardens, and six by the
of whom nine should be immediately elected by Pruddom,
rs or assigns, but, if they were absent, then such nine
ould be chosen on the next Sabbath day, by the curate and
or any three of them, whereof the curate should be one;
if there were not so many poor persons of the poorest sort
report in the parish of Danby, the number should be sup-
of Glaisdale; so, however, as such number should not ex-

e.
m of £18 10s. a year is paid on account of this charity, out
alled Howe Farm, Castleton and Bottom or Dale Head,
arish. £17 11s. of the money is distributed in monthly
of 3s. each month, to nine poor persons of Danby, 10s. are
e minister for a sermon which is preached on the 20th
, the day on which the rent-charge is paid; and, in lieu of
rye, it has been customary, for many years past, to give a
each of the poor persons, which makes up the present
f the payment.

Whimsical Predilection for Colours.

Henry *Green*, at Melbourne, Derbyshire, by will, dated December, 1679, gave to his sister Catharine *Green*, during her life, all his lands in Melbourne and Newton, and after her death, to others, in trust upon condition that the said Catharine *Green*, should give four *green* waistcoats to four poor women every year; and that such four *green* waistcoats to be lined with *green* galloon lace, to be delivered to the said poor women on or before the first of December yearly, that they might be worn on Christmas day.

Thomas *Gray*, by his will, bearing date the 25th April, 1680, directed his executrix, Mary *Gray*, and others to lay out £200 in the purchase of lands; and out of the profits of such land to lay out yearly to buy six waistcoats of *grey* cloth, edged with blue lace, and 40s. to buy three coats of *grey* cloth, to be faced with blue, and that four of the said waistcoats should be given yearly to four poor widows or other poor women living in Castle Donnington, who were to be of good behaviour and endeavour to live honestly; and the other two waistcoats to two poor widows or women of like behaviour, of the parish of Melbourne: and two of the coats to be given yearly to two poor men of Castle Donnington, and the other two to a poor man of Melbourne. And he also directed that copy of his will should be entered in the Town books of Castle Donnington and Melbourne, and also hung up in the respective churches, that the same should be read yearly on St. Thomas's day, the following Sunday, after prayers, for the performance of which he directed that ministers of the said parish should have five shillings a piece; and he further directed that fifteen dozen of bread should be given to the poor of Castle Donnington, and ten dozen to the poor of Melbourne, yearly, on St. Andrew's day; and if any rents and profits of the said land should arise, the same should be laid out for the benefit of the poor children of Castle Donnington and Melbourne, in the proportion of two thirds for the former and one-third for the latter place, towards putting them out to apprentices.—

SINGULAR DEATHS OF CELEBRATED PERSONAGES.

The Emperor Adrian, immediately before death, composed some Latin lines, which Ælius Spartianus has recorded are very defective, and exhibit but little taste. They are as follows:—

Animula, vagula, bladula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigida, nudula;
Nec ut soles, dabis jocos.

Fontenelle gives the following version of them:—

petite âme, ma mignonne,
 en vas donc, ma fille ? Et Dieu sache où tu vas.
 pars seulette et tremblante, hélas !
 deviendra ton honneur, folichonne ?
 deviendront tant de jolis ébats ?*

ount de Maugiron, lieutenant-general, who died in
 67, wrote, an hour before his death, the following

Tout meurt, je m'en aperçois bien !
 Tronchin, tant fêté dans le monde,
 Ne saurait prolonger mes jours d'une seconde,
 Ni Dumont en retrancher rien.
 Voici donc mon heure dernière :
 Venez, bergères et bergers,
 Venez me fermer la paupière ;
 Qu'au murmure de vos baisers
 Tout doucement mon âme soit éteinte.
 Finir ainsi dans les bras de l'amour,
 C'est du trépas ne point sentir l'atteinte,
 C'est s'endormir sur la fin d'un beau jour.

e Maugiron was residing at the house of the Bishop
 ia ; the clergy hastened to afford him spiritual assis-
 en he, turning to his physician, said : ' I have out-
 em : they imagined they had me ; I am, however,
 m them.' He died after repeating the last word."†
 atian, in his last illness," according to Suetonius,
 ' observed all the forms of state, with the same punc-
 in perfect health ; he received deputations even in
 ading himself sinking : ' an Emperor,' exclaimed he,
 ie erect' ; and whilst attempting to rise he expired in
 of those who supported him."

F CELEBRATED PERSONAGES CAUSED BY SINGULAR ACCIDENTS.

ons reports the deaths of three great tragic poets of
 as having occurred by very singular accidents.
 ylus, according to Valerius Maximus, was going one

ue des Morts. Pope's paraphrase all know.
 Memoirs of the Republic of Letters, 23 of April 1767.

day from the town where he resided in Sicily, when an eagle was carrying a tortoise chanced to pass over him, and, deceived by the smoothness of his head, which was entirely white, taking it for a stone, he let the tortoise fall for the purpose of breaking it to eat the flesh. Under this stroke fell the emperor and father of the highest and most vigorous tragedy.

We have our doubts of the truth of this statement, which would give rise to innumerable questions. First, do eagles eat tortoises? That is possible—yet it is a fact of which the ancients were ignorant. Secondly, to whom did the eagle relate that it had taken a bald head for a portion of a rock? This supposition has been gratuitously formed, and does small honor to the piercing glance of the king of birds; though we may admire the correctness of his aim, when from a height, at a distance very considerable, he with a precision worthy of an archer lets fall his prey on the very point he wishes.

This is but one of the innumerable fooleries which have been bequeathed to us from antiquity, and which have been valued by the moderns for genuine coin.

"Euripides," relates the same author, "after having spent one evening at the residence of the King Archelaüs at Thracian Pontonia, was torn to pieces by dogs whilst regaining the palace of his landlord."

We have already seen, that according to Valerius Maximus, Sophocles died of joy. An anthologic epigram assumes that the poet was choked by the kernel of an unripe grape.

This latter species of death terminated also the career of Anacreon. "Whilst sucking the juice of a sun grape," says Valerius Maximus, "to sustain his sinking strength, he had a pipin stuck obstinately in his throat and deprived him of life."

A favorite slave of the Caliph Yezid died in the same manner.

* L. 9, ch. 12.—La Fontaine has thus translated this chance.

"Quelque devin le Menaga, dit-on,

De la chute d'une maison.

Aussitôt il quitta la ville,

Mit son lit en plein champ, loin des toits, sous les cieus

Un aigle, qui portait en l'air une tortue,

Passa par là, vit l'homme, et sur sa tête nue,

Qui parut un morceau de rocher à ses yeux,

Etant de cheveux dépourvue,

Laissa tomber sa proie, afin de la casser

Le pauvre Eschyle ainsi sut ses jours avancer."

o, a Danish writer of the seventeenth century, was
by a bit of meat; and Henry Knox, an American
met the same fate by a chicken bone in 1806.

byses," wrote Herodotus (1, m. ch. 64—66), "hear-
only of the revolt of Smerdis, of the Magians, threw him-
ipitately on his horse with the intention of hastening
; but whilst leaping on horseback, the scabbard of
etar fell, and the scimeter being unsheathed wounded
he thigh, in the same spot where it had formerly
pis, the God of the Egyptians. Shortly after the
ayed, and the gangrene quickly spreading through
e thigh, Cambyes died."

omedian, Baron, wounded himself in the foot with a
the theatre, and died of the wound in consequence of
itting amputation.

King of Castile, Henry 1st, whilst at play in the
the Bishop's Palace at Palence with some young
n of his own age, (he was about thirteen), was
ccording to Mariana, by a most melancholy acci-
tile having fallen on the head of the young prince,
him so severely that he died eleven days after, on
the 6th of June, in the year 1217."

Deaths of several princes were occasioned by falls
ir horses; we shall merely mention the following:—
his period, (13th October, 1151)," according to Suger,
ident of the strangest and most unheard of nature
in the kingdom of France. The eldest son of Louis
lip, a youth in the flower of his age, and of great
s, the hope of the good, and the terror of the wicked,
ng one day in a faubourg of the city of Paris; a detesta-
rushed before his charger, and threw him rudely, the
y falling beneath the horse's weight, and that of a rock un-
n he had been thrown, and was crushed almost to death.
tanders, overcome with grief and horror, ran to his
e and bore him into a neighbouring house; but sad to
e resigned his pure spirit into the hands of his Maker
e night had come to a close."* This young prince of
mise had only attained his seventeenth year.

Prince of Orange, William III., having, by a fall from

le Louis le Gros, see Guizot's collection, vol. 8, p. 149.

his horse, put his collar bone out of joint, and refusing the rest which his situation required after such an accident, died, from the effects of this accident, on the 16th of 1702, being then fifty-two years old.

A great number of princes have perished in the various accidents. Thus, William Rufus was killed by an arrow aimed at a stag by one of his knights, Walter the Good, Henry the First, King of Jerusalem, and Count of Champagne, perished in a manner even more singular.

"One day (in 1197) before going to a repast, Henry went for some water to wash himself; it being brought to him, he went near to an open window at the top of the tower where he was lodged. As he washed his hands he leaned too far forward, and, falling from the window, was killed on the spot. A valet who held the napkin threw himself after him, and should be said he had pushed him out. He was not killed, however, but had his thigh broken; having fallen between the walls he crept on till he came near a postern. Hearing the people passing outside, he commenced to cry out; on which, to his surprise, they immediately came, and demanded what it was required; he begged them for God's sake to send some of the gentlemen of the court to the Count, who was now dead. The valets and attendants of the Count came in on being summoned, and found the tale too true. He was borne to a neighbouring monastery, where he was buried. He had ordered several times a lattice to this window to be put up, to guard against children being hurt; he had, it would seem, a presentiment of evil occurring through its means. There was great mourning for the Count's death."*

Leo IV., Emperor of the East, was passionately fond of precious stones. The Byzantine historians relate that he, prince, assisting on the eighth of September, 780, at the Divine Office, in the church of Saint Sophia, was so struck by the brilliancy of the precious stones that enriched a cross, which the Emperor Maurice had caused to be hung above the altar, that he caused it to be instantly detached, had it put on his head, and bore it away to his palace. But the enormous weight of this gem wounded him in the forehead, and he instantly mortified, causing his death the same day. His sudden demise was regarded as a signal punishment from Heaven.†

* Bernard le Trésorier, Collection Guizot, t. xix, p. 21.

† Theophanes. p. 382; Zonare, t. xv., ch. 9, t. 11, p. 1.

caused by excess at table, are very numerous. As related by Priscus, the historian, after having according to the custom of his nation, espoused a wife, united himself in marriage, almost at the moment of his death, to a young girl named Ildico, endowed with great beauty; during the festivities attendant on this union he abandoned himself to great joy, and overpowered by wine and sleep, he lay down on his back; as the blood, which had escaped from his nostrils, could not, in its ebullition, find a usual passage, it took a fatal course, and, collecting in his mouth, smothered him. Thus, drunkenness led to a premature end this King so glorious in his battles. The next morning a great part of the day had already expired when the attendants on the King, suspecting something wrong, broke open the door after hearing great cries, and found Attila dead, his wound save the hemorrhage; the young spouse, with her head uncovered and face, was bathed in tears. Then, according to the custom of their nation, each cut off part of his own hair, and inflicted deep wounds on their hideous countenances in order that this illustrious warrior might receive as a mark of their heartfelt regret, not alone the tears and kisses of the women, but the blood of men of true

As the First, Caliph, having been surprised by the sight of performing a pilgrimage which he made to Mecca, in 717, at a house near Taïef, and there eat seventy pomegranates, and hens, and an enormous quantity of raisins. It is interesting to relate that he died from the effects of this repast.

DEAD PERSONAGES WHOSE DEATHS HAVE BEEN OCCASIONED BY GRIEF, JOY, FEAR, ETC.

A greater number of biographers seem to feel ashamed of dwelling on the persons of whom they have written the simple illness, and like M. De La Palisse they have gild the close of life, and gild the approach of the terrors with a halo of romance. For this purpose the death by grief have been made to play a part in the life of the human species, as important as the rôle of

Life of the Goths, ch. 96, translated from the collection of *Les Goths*, p. 373.

the lungs in the medical theory of the servant of the *Imaginaire*. It sufficed to have proved that a person the course of his career has met some violent opposition, experienced some great sorrow, to behold in this opposition the evident cause of death irrespective of sex or age. In order not to be accused of exaggeration, we shall take a cursory glance over a few volumes of the excellent *Bibliothèque Universelle* of Michaud in order to assure our readers of the truth of what we advance. Amongst other examples from this work we shall cite one. It is recorded of L. Abilgaard, a Danish painter: "that the destruction of his pictures at the chateau at Copenhagen when that edifice was consumed by fire in 1794, and which he considered his *d-œuvre*, had such an effect on Abilgaard that it conducted him slowly to the tomb." Abilgaard died in 1806, that is *twelve years* after the burning of these paintings. We could say on this occasion, *Time goes for nought here*.

Be that as it may, we have a number of deaths caused by grief, recorded in Michaud's *Biographie*, for the truth of which he is responsible.

The number of learned men who died of grief in consequence of various accidents is very considerable. Tribolo, an Italianentine engineer of the sixteenth century, died of grief (and of illness, adds the *Biographie*) for having been disappointed in the inundations in the territory of Florence. Valentin, a German lawyer, died in 1577, at the age of seventy, in consequence of the ingratitude of the Prince whom he had served.

An English writer, died, 1557, at the age of forty, for having been forcibly converted; the famous heretic, John Wycliffe, twelfth century, Amaury, died from the same cause, for having been forced to deny his belief. The Benedictine Lami died at seventy-five because a young man whom he had converted from heresy, relapsed again into its fatal errors.

Sibouyah, an Arabic grammarian of the eighth century, died, it is said, of grief, because, the Kaliph Haroun-àl-Raschid decided in favor of another savant on a grammatical point on which they differed. The Spanish theologian Valentia died of equal susceptibility; he died in 1598, aged fifty-two, because the Pope had reproached him with falsifying a passage in the works of Augustin. The historian Avrigny, born at Caen, died of grief at sixty-six, in consequence of some alterations made by Lallement in his works.

notch Chancellor Elphinston died they say of grief occasioned by the loss of the battle of Flodden Field; he was, it is true, at the full years of age. The Italian philosopher Rhodiginus, died of grief in 1525, because Francis the First was made prisoner at Pavia, he being at the time seventy-five. The English statesman Jones, who could not survive the execution of Charles I., had attained the age of sixty-nine. The physician Simon Stevin, whom the misfortunes of the king of Denmark made miserable, was more than seventy.

As persons died, they say of grief occasioned by the execution of Henry IV. They cite amongst others, the death of the chief of the partisans of Vic.

The Bishop of Clermont, died, in 1560, at seventy-two years of age, because the Canons of his chapter wished to force him to shave his beard.

John Keble died in 1808, of regret for having devoted his life to the world a work of his own, under the name of John Keble.

Diego Velazquez, a Spanish painter of the seventeenth century, died at the age of sixty-six, in consequence of having discovered his weakness by Murillo; the Westphalian painter, Lely, died at the age of sixty, from jealousy, caused by the success of Kneller; Corelli died because Scarlatti told him he was devoted to the value of a note; Lepautre, in consequence of the preference given by Louis XIV. to Mansart, the Italian architect; Porteguerra died at sixty one, in the year 1735, because the prize which had been promised to him was given to another. I will cite also Francis, the engraver, from Lorraine, who died in 1769, from grief, occasioned by the jealousy and rivalry of Magny and Demarteau.

The German painter, Kloosterman, born in 1656, and the Dutch painter, Le Pays, celebrated by the criticisms of Boileau, died, at the age of fifty-four, because we do not know at what age, the latter at fifty-four, from grief, caused by the loss of their fortunes. Schidone died at the same cause, at forty-five years of age, after having lost a considerable sum; and Breughel, at fifty-eight, in consequence of having lost his daughter's dowry. Terence died of grief, occasioned by his having lost in a shipwreck one of his best and eight theatrical pieces which he had composed.

Giulio Gualdi, surnamed the Italian Pindar, repairing to the Pope, to offer to Clement XI. the fine copy with which he had translated the six homilies of the Pontiff, which he had

transposed into verse, discovered, on the way, an error in printing, which overwhelmed him with such grief, that on his return to Frescati, he was seized with apoplexy, and expired a few hours, on the 12th of June, 1712.*

We may add to these the names of Ximénès, who died at eighty-eight, from the sorrow he experienced at being displaced from the poet Sarrazin, who, at fifty-one, died, because the Prince de Conti had struck him with a tongs; of the Duke de Vauban, who, because he could not present his claims to the Bourbons, in 1814, died of chagrin, at the age of eighty. We could form a much longer list of celebrated men who have passed away, more or less slowly, by household griefs. In reality, we know of very few individuals, who, (according to the legend of romance,) died of grief for having lost their wives. Among the deaths caused by love, we are limited to the recital of the death of Giorgione, who died at thirty-four, from the grief he experienced on discovering the infidelity of his mistress, whom one of his pupils had taken away.

It appears, however, not quite so easy as people think, to die of love, if we may judge by the attempt of the young Grimm, who became enamoured of an opera girl, named Anna. The following has been told by J. J. Rousseau, relative to this strange matter:—

“He fell quite suddenly,” wrote he, “into the most violent malady, which I, or perhaps any other person, ever saw. He passed days and nights in an uninterrupted lethargy, his eyes open, the pulse going, but without speaking, eating, or drinking, appearing sometimes to hear, but never replying, no sign, and apparently without agitation, pain, or the least appearance of fever; he remained there as if dead. “Raynal divided the labor of watching with me, and was stronger and more robust than I, cared him through the night, whilst I passed the days without leaving him; never, together, as one left when the other came. The Duke de Frièse (at whose house he resided,) becoming alarmed, Senac brought to him, who, after having examined him, made no remark, and ordered him nothing. My anxious friend caused me to examine the physician’s conduct very closely, and I observed him smile when going out, although the invalid remained several more days in the same state.”

* Valéry, *Voyages en Italie*, l. xv. ch. 28.

sting either soup, or anything else, save some pre-
ries, which I occasionally placed on his tongue,
he appeared to swallow. One fine morning, he
essed himself, and commenced his routine of life in
nd ordinary way, without ever making the slightest
the past, either to me, or as far as I could learn, to
Raynal, nor in fact to any any one relative to this
ary lethargy, nor of the care we had bestowed on
it lasted."*

deaths caused by grief, we now oppose the following
joy.

-Maximus (l. ix, ch. 12) relates that a certain
ventius Thalma, colleague of Tiberius Gracchus,
subdue Corsica, was offering up a sacrifice "when
a message announcing to him that the senate had
n his honor a thanksgiving to the gods. He
h an eager eye, then fainted and fell lifeless at the
altar."

cles, having already attained an extreme old age,
same author (l. ix., ch. 13,) having read in an
new tragedy, and waited for a long time with much
the result of the votes which were being given; the
n was unanimous and the joy which he experienced
death."

orded of the noble Tuscan, Thomas Baroncelli, that
his ville (at present *the Poggio Imperiale*) to meet
First returning to Rome, was so delighted to learn
ope had conferred the title of Grand Duke on his
t he expired on the instant. There were various
o occasioned by fear. The first king of Prussia,
the First was sleeping one day in arm chair, when his
e de Mecklenburgh, who had lost her intellect, escap-
ne persons who had charge of her reached his apart-
being wounded in getting through a glass door which
oken in trying to make an egress, threw herself on
ommenced abusing him. The king, from whom they
led her malady, was so appalled by the aspect of
n covered with blood, and clothed only in white gar-
t he imagined he had seen *la femme blanche*, an ap-
which according to an old tradition announced always

the death of a prince of the house of Brandenburg, instantly seized with fever, and died six weeks after a of fifty-six.

Peuteman, a German painter of the seventeenth century in 1624 of fright, occasioned by seeing a skeleton moving shaken by an earthquake; and Madame de Guerchi, of the Count de Flesque, died in 1672, from dread

Marshal de Montrevel "who according to Saint S merely the ambition of being considered valorous, with slightest pretension, having never distinguished himself in any way, concealing his universal ignorance under audacity, was favoured by fashion and his high birth," was so terrified that when one day at dinner a salt-cellar was brought before him, he cried out that he was a dead man, he was instantly seized with fever, and died four days after, in 1716.

ROYAL PERSONAGES WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES AS AUTHORS, MUSICIANS, PAINTERS, &c.

A paragraph has lately been going the round of papers, in which it is stated, that a custom prevails in France which makes it necessary that male members of the royal family should be each acquainted with some trade or handicraft. We learn from the paragraph in question that the Prince lately married to the Princess Royal is a very expert locksmith. As this paragraph appears to have amused and interested a considerable number of readers, we propose to present before our readers a few facts regarding royal personages who were authors, musicians, painters, or locksmiths.

"Augustus, according to Suetonius, composed several works in various styles, which were recited or sung amongst a circle of friends who acted the part of critics as regarded censorship. Such as Cato's vindication of the greater portion of which he read himself, though at the time, the remainder, however, was read by Tiberius. Also were the philosophic discourses, and the history of his life, in thirteen books which reached to the war of the civil life. He also essayed poetry, and left a small treatise on the history of Sicily, and a little collection of epigrams. He composed generally in his bath. He commenced with ardour a tragedy of Ajax; but not being content with the style, he destroyed it, and his friends having asked him one day 'what had become of Ajax?'—'Ajax,' replied he, 'distinguished itself on a sponge.'"

* It will be recollected that amongst the ancients the sponge was used for the purpose of effacing.

rius, relates the same author, ardently cultivated the Latin literature, and selected for his model amongst orators, Messala Corvinus, whom he considered an orator ; his style was, however, obscure owing to, and the extravagance of his diction ; it has been his genius was more prolific than even he himself had. He composed a lyric poem entitled : Lamentation on the death of L. Cæsar. He also wrote Greek poems, in which he imitated these authors in whose genius he took pleasure, and whose works and portraits he caused to be placed in the public libraries amongst the most illustrious ancient writers."

Asinius in his youth,' says also Suetonius, attempted to write history, encouraged by Livy, and assisted by Sulpicius. He commenced to read his work before a numerous audience. He wrote much during his reign, and had his works read in public by one of his lictors. His history commences with the murder of the dictator Cæsar, but he passed on to a more recent epoch, that is to say, to the end of the civil wars, as the constant remonstrances of his mother prevented his writing freely, or with truth, of a more anterior period. He left two books of the first part of his history, and forty-one of the second. He also composed a memoir of his life which was entirely a masterpiece in wit and elegance. He also composed a rather curious epilogue for Cicero, in reply to the books of Asinius

Asinius invented three letters, which he thought necessary to complete the alphabet. He had already published a volume on the subject before becoming Emperor ; and when he had ascended the throne he had not much trouble in obtaining the sanction of the use of them. They are to be found in the number of books, public deeds, and inscriptions of that period. He did not exhibit less ardour in the study of the Greek literature, and he testified on all occasions the esteem in which he held this famous language. A barbarian spoke between Greek and Latin ; 'I behold with pleasure,' said he to him, 'that you know my two languages. 'I am,' replied he, 'attached to Greece by the ties of education.' In answer to him, he almost invariably replied in Greek to the orations of the ambassadors, and in his tribunal he frequently cited Homer. When baffled by an enemy or conspirator,

and when the tribune on guard demanded from him the law, he gave it to him thus in Greek :—

“ I will take immediate vengeance on the first who offends.”

“ Finally, he wrote in this language twenty books of the history of the Tyrrhenians, and eight of the Carthagenians. In consequence of these works that to the ancient library of Alexandria another was added, bearing the name of the Emperor, and it was also decreed that on certain days of the year that there should be given in turn by the members of the two Museums, two public lectures, in one the history of the Carthagenians, and in the other the history of the Tyrrhenians.”

“ Charlemagne, according to Eginhard, devoted his whole direction of Alcuin, much time and labour to the study of rhetoric, logic, and above all to astronomy, tracing the course of the stars, and following their course with the most diligent and marvellous attention, and marvellous sagacity; he essayed to write on the subject, and had tablets constantly placed at the head of his bed, that he might employ every leisure in writing; but he failed this in study commenced too late at an age unsuited to such avocations. None of the laws of the subject to him had up to that period written laws; he decreed that their constitutions should henceforward be written down and deposited at the registers; he had also ancient poems composed, in which were recorded the wars and heroic actions of the ancient kings, by which the traditions were transmitted to posterity. A grammar of the national language was also commenced through his assiduity.”*

“ Robert II., relates the monk, author of the history of Saint Bertin, was very pious, prudent, literary, and philosophical, but he excelled as a musician. He composed the hymn of the Holy Ghost, which commenced with the words :—*Adisit nobis gratia*, the rhythems, *Judea eadem, concede nobis, quæsumus*, and *Cornelius Centurio* offered at Rome on the altar of St. Peter, with a melody suitable to the words; he composed many other fine hymns. His wife Constance seeing him always occupied with his pursuits, asked him jestingly to compose something for her. He then wrote the lines *Constantia Martyr*, the queen, in consequence of the name Constantia, which is thought to have been written for her. This king was frequently

* See *Life of Charlemagne*, translated from Guizot's *Œuvres*, vol. iii. pages 151—153.

habit of repairing to the church of Saint Denis in his royal robes, and with his crown on his head, and there directing the choir at matins, vespers, and at Mass, and uniting his voice with the monks in chaunting the sacred service. As he was besieging a certain castle on the feast of Saint Hippolytus, for whom he entertained a particular devotion, he quitted the siege in order to visit the church of St. Denis, and lead the choir during Mass, whilst he was devoutly singing with the monks *Agnus Dei, dona nobis pacem*, the walls of the castle suddenly fell, and the king's army took immediate possession; a happy incident which Robert always attributed to the intercession of Saint Hippolytus."

From the reign of this prince up to the end of the fifteenth century, we cannot discover a single King of France, who signalized himself in any particular way either in literature, science, or the arts.

We know that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, princes and noble lords made use of the pens of scribes to correspond with their most intimate friends, and even their mistresses, who replied to them in the same manner. We have here some curious details which have been transmitted by Arnould D'Andilly, on the way in which Louis XIII. wrote to his mother Marie de Médécis, at the period when she retired to England, to negotiate with her son.

"M. de Bèrulle, wrote he, was the person employed by his majesty to effect a negotiation with the queen mother; and one day the king being still at Saint Germain he was about to depart for England on that mission, when M. Drageant requested me to compose a suitable letter for his majesty to copy, and send to his mother. I complied, and M. de Bèrulle entertaining for me a particular regard, and reposing complete confidence in me, spoke to me during his sojourn at Tours of the negotiation which was still pending, and told me, that on presenting the queen mother with the last letter written by the king from Saint Germain, she wept on reading it, that he, feeling surprised at this strong ebullition of feeling, expressed to her majesty his regret at being the bearer of a letter that caused her such pain, to which she replied: 'You are quite astray in your supposition, as joy, not grief, causes my tears. I have received several letters, since our separation, from the king, but this is the only one I have received from my son.' As I had not forgotten the purport or diction of the latter, I asked M.

de Bérulle if it did not commence with the word *Ai*; appeared all astonishment, and immediately replied 'y how did you know that ?—I had good reason to about it,' I answered, 'since it was my own com On hearing which he embraced me tenderly.'*

Returning to singular words referred to at page 6 second paper of this series we note the following words

There exists in an old collection of inscriptions which bears some analogy to the Venetian placard. I conceived :

Defunctis patribus, successit prava juvenus,
Cujus consilio quæ valuère ruunt.

This distich is preceded by another which has been sent as engraven on the doors of the cathedral of here it is—

Quas sacras ædes pietas construxit avorum,
Has nunc hæredes invadunt more luporum.

It appears that the authors of these bitter jests were to attack the youth of their time, which was in the century; and as there is nothing new under the recognize at the present day some waspish people with the smile of irony on their lips, take it into their heads as slightly of our youth, as was done in former

We are very glad to take this occasion of denouncing readers a pitiable article inserted some time since *Bibliothèque de Genève*, under the following title :

LESCENS de notre époque, comme gros d'avenir.
ourselves to a short extract, for in quoting nonsense this is the better : " In the happy age in which we live this satirical jester, "there are men of fifteen. We have youths, they pass at once from infancy to mature age, top to the gazette, from the rudiments of science to Before they get their beard, the mind is perfectly formed. hesitate no longer, they have fixed ideas on things, maxims, principles, systems, the heart is cold, blasé; those feelings inhibited to all, but especially to their father, whom they old. Behold the consequence of this new order of sound principles, just and invariable from which they swerve; here they are as adopted.

Experience is a useless thing."

* See *Memoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly*, compiled by Michel Joulat, p. 432.

concourse with men and observation teach nothing. In this age of enlightenment youth alone possesses ability. It is the age in which the passions are in all their effervescence, and the age in which reason predominates. The culminating point of judgment is necessarily to be met with between twenty and twenty-five and rarely beyond that. After this age society is no longer composed of useful men; this fact is proved by the following category:—at twenty he becomes a man;—at five and twenty his maturity of judgment is complete;—at thirty false hair,—at forty a wig;—at fifty stupid;—at sixty a mummy;—at seventy a fossil, childish, extinct.” In 1735 a poet expressed the same ideas, and gave them the same denomination in a piece of poetry entitled *Le Chant du Cygne, ou le chant du Cygne*! We will not say where the origin of these designations is to be found. In the *Orestes* of Voltaire appeared for the first time, on the 12th 1750, the concourse was great at the representation, and they placed as a check or countermark on the pit the following letters.

O. T. P.

Q.

M. U. D.

signifies this line of Horace:—

Omne Tulit Punctum Qui Miscuit Utile Dulci.”

Voltaire interpreted these sigles in the following manner:—

Tragédie Pitoyable, Que Monsieur Voltaire Donne.”

Voltaire, in discussing the subject of Voltaire’s tragedies, we

do not omit the mention of another by the same author:—

of which they have abridged four lines, and which have

been recovered in a manuscript deposited in the bureaux of the

at Paris. These four lines form part of the third scene

of the second act, towards the middle, the part where old

Creon calls on God, after having recognised his daughter:—

Ne m’abandonnez pas, Dieu qui voyez mes larmes!

Et toi, cher instrument du salut des mortels,

Garde auguste du Dieu, vivant sur nos autels,

Bois rougi de son sang, relique incorruptible,

Croix sur qui s’accomplit ce mystère terrible,

Je meurt sur cette croix et qui revis pour nous,

Dieu, achève, ô mon Dieu, ce sont là de tes coups.

The four lines preceded by inverted commas, are those which have been abridged.

THE FIVE LATIN WORDS OF LOUIS XI.

They say that this prince, so amiable, so frank, so glorious in his own ignorance; and it was for this reason he wished to banish from his court, and from the education of his son (Charles VIII), the Latin language, preserving nevertheless, five words, which he reserved as a special favor. He found them so useful that he made them through life the basis of his conduct. "Not," said he, "that Latin is useless to me, or at least a little of it; it will suffice, however, for me to know the five following words, QUI NESCI DISSIMULARE NESCI REGNARE; here lies the entire art of governing." He laid down as a principle in his *Rosier des Guerres* the following maxim:—"No counsel is better than that your subjects should be ignorant of your intentions." That is to say, to dissimulate all your resolves, in order that your adversaries should not be aware of them until after their execution. The following is a maxim taken from the same work:—

"De tant que fust vault mieulx que escorce, Autant mieulx soutilleté que force."

Which signifies:—

Know, that as far as the wood excels the bark, So do I wholly exceed strength.

MAXIMS DRAWN FROM THE BREVIARY OF POLITICS.

These maxims are of the species we are about to treat, being from another source, they are a little more exact. It is affirmed that they were handed down by Mazarin to Louis XIV., as the most secure rule of conduct in the administration of public and private affairs; the following are the tone and scope:—

SIMULA, DISSIMULA; NULLICREDE; OMNIA LAUDARE.

NOSCE TE IPSUM; NOSCE ALIOS.

As these principles are extracts from a furious dietrich published against Mazarin, it is very natural to suppose that the conscience of the minister is not charged with machievellian delinquency. The book from which the maxim has been extracted is entitled *Breviarum politicum secundum rubricas Mazarinicas*. Colon. Agrip., Joan. 1684, pet. in duodecimo. *La Bibliothèque historique de France*, N. 32, 564, in announcing an edition *Parisii*, Petit, 1695, in 24, added that "this book is very

and is not a bad specimen of devilry. We know another edition, *Vesalia, et Amatelodami, Joh. Wolters*, 1700, pet. in duodecimo; this work must not be confounded with *Le grand Brélaire de Mazarin* in-quarto, a jocular piece on the manners of Cardinal Mazarin, and the manner in which he passed his days.

FEMALE WARRIORS.

If we may credit Dalémile, a Bohemian poet of the fourteenth century, there existed in Bohemia, up to the eighth century, a corps of Amazons, under the rule of the Duke Prémislas. We here append a resumé of the traditions with which he has furnished us.

Libussa, or, Libossa, wife of Prémislas, who died in 735, formed a guard of young girls, dressed in military costume. After the death of this princess, Vlasta, the Amazon, by whom they were commanded, assembled them on the Mount Widoulé (not far from Prague,) and erected there a fort, which she destined as the centre of her new empire. Prémislas, on hearing this, sent one of the lords of his court to treat with them; they, however, mutilated the unfortunate envoy in the most brutal manner, by cutting off his nose and ears.

The number of her adherents increasing, Vlasta had a second fortress erected opposite Wissegrad, which she designated *Diewin*, or, the *Young Girl's Fort*. Thence they ravaged the neighbouring countries, and all who did not belong to their sex, were cruelly mutilated or murdered. After a victory gained over the troops of Prémislas, Vlasta published a code, the three last articles of which decreed that men were to be prohibited from carrying arms, under the penalty of death; that they should never go on horseback but with their legs joined and hanging on the left side of the horse, that those who dared to mount otherwise should undergo the like punishment; and that the men, no matter to what class they belonged, should conduct the plough, and do all the laborious work, whilst the women did battle for them; that the young girls were at liberty to make choice of their husbands, and whoever refused to submit to this decree should undergo the penalty of death.

After several ineffectual attempts at conciliation, Prémislas attacked the fort of Widoulé, and murdered all the women he found there. Vlasta having been apprised of this disaster, decreed that they should offer at Diewin a sacrifice to the

gods; and on the altar they murdered twenty-four persons whose blood they gathered in charmed cups; they then perished from Diéwin, and perished arms in hand.

Such is the Poet's tale, and it amazed us to perceive how was taken up so seriously by the author of the article devoted to *Vlasta* in the *Biographie de Michaud*, an article in which we have in part borrowed the details just given.

Dalémile had certainly done no more than collect such traditions, which he, perhaps, embellished, if this task had been already accomplished. This legend, however, was not in Bohemia; as there is mention of these Amazons in the chronicle of the eleventh century, that of Cosmus of Prague. It subjoins a relation very different from that of Dalémile. The original is in Latin prose, diversified and filled with illusions. It might be said on reading it, that it was the fragment of some poem, written in barbarous Latin.

"At this period (under Prémislas) the young girls ruled over the land, free from all species of restraint. The Amazons they bore military arms, and, under self-government, fought like young soldiers, and gave themselves up to ardour to the chase. It was not the men who at that time enjoyed the privilege of selecting their spouses, it was the young girls who chose them for their husbands. There was no perceptible difference between the dress of men and women. Their audacity increased to such a degree that they constructed a fortress on a rock not far from Prague, possessing natural defences; to this fort they gave the virginal name of *Wissegrad*. The young men, on their part, indignant at such wanton boldness, assembled in much larger numbers on another rock, and built in the middle of the wood a town, which the moderns have called *Wissegrad*, but which, at that time, derived its name, *Nurasten*, from the trees with which it was surrounded. Sometimes peace, at other times war, reigned between the two parties: the young girls were more courageous than the young men more brave. On one occasion, peace had been concluded between them, they determined on celebrating the truce by a series of festivities, which were to continue during three days; they, consequently, abandoned their arms and relinquished themselves to all manner of riot and dissipation; at the termination of these orgies, the young men set fire to the fortress, and thus Diéwin was consumed.

od, the women were content to dwell in peace under of the men.*

g the middle ages, female warriors were not uncommon. furnish a few examples, the greater number of which ench origin.

battle gained by Robert Guiscard over the Greek Alexis Comnenus near Dyrrachium, Gaëte, wife of the Prince, "who according to Anne Comnenus followed r and fought like a Pallas," she rallied spear in hand, o combat the troops of her husband who had been by the Greeks.†

c Vital, in book 8th, spoke thus of Isabel, daughter of Montford and wife of Raoul de Conches. "She was," "generous, enterprising, gay, amiable, and courteous o approached her. During the war she mounted on t, armed as a knight amongst the other knights, and e young Camille, the pride of Italy in the troops of he yielded in intrepidity neither to knights covered in to soldiers armed with javelins." After the death of and she retired into the convent of Haute-Bruyère.

12th book of the same chronicler, we find the history a wife of Eustatius of Breteuil and illegitimate of Henry I. King of England. Having been sent troops by her husband to defend the castle of Breteuil, here besieged by her father, whom the inhabitants had into the city. Seeing the impossibility of a long she demanded an interview with her father.

king, who never dreamed of treachery in a woman, and arly allied to him, granted the interview, during which unate daughter sought his life. She bent a balista d a shaft at her father, whom, by God's protection, o strike. Henry on perceiving her unnatural design, he draw-bridge leading to the castle to be destroyed, to intercept all communication with the exterior. eeing herself thus encompassed on all sides, and ope of succour, surrendered the castle to Henry, but obtain from him her liberty. After his prohibition bliged to let herself slide from the top of the highest

Progenis Decani Chronica Bohemorum, inserted in Compilation, *Rerum Bohemicarum Scriptores* 1002, in folio,

† *Alexiade*, book iv. ch. 5.

wall of the castle, and without the assistance of a b indeed of almost any support, creep ignominiously to tom of the ditch and expose her naked person to t This incident occurred at the commencement of Len third week of February, when the water in the dy frozen pierced the delicate flesh of the princess as plunged into it on her fall. This unfortunate warrior thus ignobly, and hastened with speed to rejoin her h Paci (sur Eure.)*

Amongst the number of women who contributed to the defence of castles and towns we must not omit to Jane Hachette, the sister of Duguesclin, and another less known, Jane Maillotte, who distinguished herself during the revolt of the *Hurlus*. We refer to Froissart's account of the adventures of the two Countesses of and de Blois, who, during the captivity of their husbands, set up a bloody war against each other, the termination of which was the possession of the Duchy of Brittany. We omit the mention of an attempt at a crusade made by Genoese ladies in 1301—or the defence of the city of Benegon by Marie de Barbançon in 1569.

As to Joan of Arc, and other adventurers who, in death, aspired to play the same part as she had done in life, their history is too well known to need recital here.

The celebrated female poet, Louise Labé,* had attained the age of sixteen, when having accompanied her father to the siege of Perpignan, in 1542, she was seized with an ardent desire of becoming a warrior, and so distinguished herself by her bravery as to earn for herself the surname of *Capitaine Loys*. Her exploits have been celebrated by an anonymous author in a very long and laudatory piece. We here transcribe a sample of these very indifferent lines:

Louize ainsi furieuse,
En laissant les habits mols
Des femmes, et envieuse
Du bruit, par les Espagnols
Souvent courut, en grand'noise,
Et maint assaut leur donna.

* Orderic Vital, t. xii. collection Guizot, t. xxviii. p.

† She was born at Lyons in 1526, and died in 1566.

Quand la jeunesse françoise
 Perpignan environna,
 Là sa force elle déploie,
 Là de sa lance elle ploye
 Le plus hardi assaillant ;
 Et brave dessus la selle,
 Ne montrait rien en elle
 Que d'un chevalier vaillant.

When the siege she returned and married at Lyons, at the same time she resigned herself unrestrainedly to her literature, and her passion, which was not less lively, aux-esprits of her time ; she entered on a life nearly that pursued by Ninon d'Enclos in the following. In forming her society the bourgeois or traders were not, no matter what wealth they were possessed of, considered as men of learning above all, patronising them by their favour, and holding them in far more esteem than the highest nobles, preferring to admit them free to her society than the others for a large premium.

About the same period a Spanish religious, named d'Erauso, escaped from her convent, and assuming the name of a man, served as cabin-boy on the ships trading to the Indies ; then deserted, and after various adventures by land and the army, where she signalized herself in the wars against the Indians. She attained the rank of captain, and quitted the service in consequence of a wound received in a duel, by which her sex was discovered ; she then returned to Europe, where she received a pension from Philip V. The facts, at least, are the facts which have been recorded in the memoirs written it is said by the heroine herself, and published for the first time at Paris, with some justificatory preface, in 1829, in octavo, under the title of *Historia de la Religiosa* (the History of the Religious Officer.)"*

About the year 1638, if I do not deceive myself," says Abbé Arnauld, "that I had the honor of becoming acquainted with the Amazon of our day, Madame the Countess of Saint-Balmont,† whose life has been a real prodigy of valour

this work, which is after all perhaps only a romance, as it is inserted in the xliii volume of the *Revue Encyclopédique*, in the following.

† Madame D'Erneecourt, Countess of Saint-Balmont, was born at Bar and Verdun, in 1608.

and virtue, having united in her person all the courage of a determined soldier, and all the modesty of a truly virtuous woman. Part of this testimony was given in my presence by some Spanish soldiers whom she had taken in the field, to whom she had dispatched to M. De Feuquières at the siege of Namur. He having asked jokingly of them, if they had in their ranks any women equally brave, one of them replied with the utmost seriousness, that he never could have supposed such a woman, having seen her perform feats which would be deemed impossible for a reckless soldier. To those who wish to read the memoirs of Madame de Saint Balmont, it may not be uninteresting to learn further particulars of so extraordinary a woman. She was descended from an ancient high family at Lorraine, and born with ideas worthy of her birth. The beauty of her countenance corresponded to the greatness of her mind, but her height did not correspond with her beauty; she was small and rather fat. God who designed her for a more laborious life than ordinary women, rendered her constitution robust, in order that she might be better enabled to resist the fatigues of bodily fatigue; he also bestowed on her a supreme talent for beauty, so that having had the small pox she received much more than others felt sorry at a like mark on her face, saying that it gave her more the appearance of a martyr than of a married woman. She was married to the Count de Saint Balmont, who yielded to her in neither her either in birth or merit. They lived together in perfect harmony; but the commotions which broke out at Lorraine separated them to separate.

"Madame de Saint Balmont dwelt on her estate with a view to preserve it. Up to that period she had never indulged in warlike tendencies but for the chase, which is, after all, but a mimic war, but the occasion soon presented itself for exercising it in reality; it was this. A cavalry officer having been appointed to reside on her estate, lived in a very disorderly manner. Madame de Saint Balmont with much courtesy expressed her disapproval of his conduct, which he received very ungovernably. This piqued her, and she resolved to bring him to reason with herself, and without any consultation, but the promptings of her own heart, she wrote him a note to which she affixed the name of the *Chevalier de Saint Balmont*. In this note she pointed out to him that the bad treatment experienced at the hands of the *Chevalier's* sister-in-law demanded some expiation, and that he desired to meet him sword in hand. The captain accepted the challenge, and repaired to the appointed place. Here

de Saint Balmont awaited him dressed in male attire. They fought, she conquered him, and after disarming him said with peculiar grace; 'You were under the impression, Monsieur, that you fought against the Chevalier de Saint Balmont; but it is Madame de Saint Balmont who returns you your sword, and who requests that in future you will have more consideration for a lady's behest.' She departed, after these words, and history records, that he, full of shame and confusion, retired, and was never again heard of. As to her, this occurrence only served to inflame her valour; she did not content herself with preserving her own property, in repelling force by force; but gave protection to several neighbouring gentlemen who took refuge upon her estate, and ranged themselves under her banners when she went to war, from whence she always returned victorious, accomplishing her undertaking with equal prudence and valour. I met her several times at the house of Madame Feuquères, at Verdun; and it was amusing to see her embarrassment at being dressed like a woman, and with what ease and spirit she mounted her horse on getting outside the city, and acted as escort to the ladies who accompanied her, and whom she permitted to remain in her coach. Notwithstanding this strange life, at variance with nearly all the feelings of womanhood, and which might in another lead to freedom of manner, or it might be libertinism, yet for her it possessed but the one attraction, namely, the power of doing good by redressing grievances, and repelling injustice. When in her own quiet home, each day was employed in offices of piety, in prayers, in holy reading, in visiting the sick of her parish, whom she assisted with a most praise-worthy charity, which gained for her the esteem and admiration of all who knew her, and caused her to be regarded with the respect and homage paid only to a queen."*

Madame de Saint Balmont, after the peace of Westphalia, occupied herself with literature, and published in the year 1650 *les Jumeaux Martyrs*, a tragedy in-quarto; it was republished in 1651 in duo-decimo. She died amongst the religious of Saint Clare, at Bar-le-Duc the 22nd of May, 1660. Pere de Vernon has written her life, and entitled it *l'Amazone Chretienne*, Paris, 1678, in duo-decimo.

* *Memoirs de L'Abbe Arnould*, from Michaud Ponjolat's collection, p. 494. See also a chapter of Tallement, t. viii. p. 217.

We do not know the name of the heroine, whose biographer, James de Joigny, printer at Rheims, has given under the title of *Les Merveilles de la vie des combats et victoires d'une citoyenne de Reims, Rheims, 1648*, in octavo. We are in doubt about another heroine in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.—*L'Histoire de Louis XIII.*, by Duplessis.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century an English woman named Maria Read concealed her sex, and passed her life on the American seas, in the midst of pirate dangers and profits she shared. The vessel on which she was having been taken by the English, she, with her companions, was condemned to death at Jamaica the 11th of November. She declared herself enceinte, and thus obtained a respite, but falling ill, she died in prison, being at about forty years of age.

In the latter part of the same century, an amazon of the species, Mademoiselle Maupin, an actress at the opera in France with the noise of her sanguinary and scandalous adventures. Skilled in fencing, and wearing usually the dress of a man (a costume by means of which she could more easily abandon herself to her infamous pursuits) she one day, as a woman who was accompanied by three men; they, of her sex, challenged her to a duel, in which she killed successively the three. She obtained pardon by quitting France, to which place she however returned, and re-appeared at the theatre. She finished her career by renouncing the world, and retiring in 1707.

The mother of Wyermann, a Dutch painter, who died in 1747, was vulgarly called Lys Saint Mourel. She had been in the armies, and retired with the rank of serjeant, and staff of which she continued to wear during the remainder of her life.

We shall conclude our sketch with the following fact.

The first woman who made a tour of the world was an English Briton, named Barry. She was dressed in man's attire, accompanied as a servant, the French botanist Commerson on his travels (1767 to 1770.) Her sex was discovered by the islanders.

ART. II.—DELPHINE GAY.

Comte de Launay, Lettres Parisiennes, précédées d'une introduction, par Théophile Gautier. Par Mme. Emile Girardin. Paris: Michel Levy, Freres, 1857.

Contemporains: Mme. de Girardin (Delphine Gay), Eugène de Mirecourt. Paris: G. Havard, 1856.

ly with whom we wish to make our readers better
d, having devoted twelve years to the chronicling of
l beer as fashions, and the topics of the passing hour
an introductory word or two on these subjects will not
place.

em to feel ourselves as on a sand-bank drifting we
where. Our poor planet has not a moment's rest
y Year's day to St. Sylvester's, nor can its inhabitants
alize their condition for the nonce, to reckon up their
sorrows, or adjust the balance. But in time, mother
s herself starting from the same point again, and at
al of some cycle—if we could live to witness it—it is
hat every phase in the world's economy would find
ated. The drop of water that with its countless
ushes westward past the Cape of Good Hope, in
to the moon's pleasure, will in the lapse of years
in by the same headland; but what variety of
nd what myriads of kindred drops, will it not have
ed in the interim. Mme. de Girardin in one of her
ntrasts the diary of a fine lady in 1812, as preserved
causée d'Antin," with one of the year 1840, and finds
ers of the same families presiding over the popular
s of the two eras, except in the instance of a fashion-
er, and the proprietor of a flower magazine; hence
too hastily at a conclusion, and says that nothing
y remains the same, but fashions and flowers.

g slaves to the same absurd style of dress at this day,
our great grandmothers of a century since were vic-
ed anything, our poetess would be in the right; but
varieties of style, more or less at variance with good
ste, which ruled during their fitful hour in the inter-
o taken in to account. And while we are on the sub-

ject of fashions, a subject on which the celebrated *Jean* the Morning Post is much better informed, let us reflect on the waste of God's time, the abuse of money, the misapplication of talents, for which those rulers of the fashionable world must account one day, when the reward of their labours is the adoption of expensive, immodest, and serviceable clothing by the myriads of foolish women who have not the moral courage to refuse to bow down and worship the cruel idol, dress themselves according to the dictates of a natural good taste, and the ascertained principles of gracefulness and beauty in form. Would that the Augustus, who nominally governs the men and women of these islands, were an absolute mistress in the article of female fashions, and would we for a certainty be relieved of the sight of those looking foreheads from which the natural ornament of the hair is so tightly pulled away, from dustmen's fantails on the tops of their heads which they disfigure, and from those gaudy hats which a hay-cock is the ungraceful type.

The women of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, have the fancy that their "Great Diana of the Ephesians," reigns in Paris; but people who are supposed to be better skilled in the mystic rites of that money-lavishing goddess, assert that she has her shrine on the banks of the "dark rolling Rhine." And after all, what a flimsy and fragile rod of power she holds, if her slaves had even a shadow of moral courage or common sense! Were our Queen and a few influential ladies of the court, to return to a natural and graceful style of dress, and steadily persist in wearing it, for a reasonable time, they would by degrees shew its colours beyond the *Mane* of Paris by assault, occupy the cities that behold their approach, the "winding Rhine," get possession of Munich, and drive down the Danube, seize the trembling tyrant on his throne, and boldly free the fair mistress of Vienna and her fair court ladies from the iron hoops and other harrowing ponderous though fantastic car.

This may be said to be begging the question; but we see what Englishmen have already done; and if England will take a lesson from the books of their natural history, once, they will live to bless the happy inspiration.

Did John Bull in the matter of training his horses, in the steeple chases, races, and fox hunts, cross the water to see how his Gallic neighbours went, or went not about the

rd. He moulded his canine and equine amusements
its after a model constructed in his own hard head,
quired a systematic and stable form (*no pun intended*)
ecame in fact a national institution; and now see the
nce. Your Parisian lion who must do violence to his
s and instincts, when he rides a race, risks his neck
le-chase, pursues a reynard, or practises *le bore*, cari-
hese exercises as well as he can, and works himself
titious enthusiasm about them, merely because he
slanders practise them with genuine eagerness and
t.

isian is associated in the minds of most of us with ideas
ess, frivolity, love of change in dress and customs, and
g allied to unsteadiness. Let us examine with what
From the days of Racine and Corneille to the first ap-
of *Hernani*, who were they that uniformly sat out,
ed to enjoy the long-winded tirades, the no-action,
nsuitable costume of the Classic drama? The Parisian
s. Who for about a century and a half were satisfied to
mselves, and their cares and their interest in passing
the tremendous romances (each 10 volumes folio) of
century? The French reading public. And in the
dancing, a recreation so intimately associated with a
enjoyment, the same stereotyped forms, are repeated
to year. The ballet may be called the *Highland Sylph*
ples of Atalanta, but the same mode of flying on to
ights, the same nonsensical and ungraceful postures,
twirls, and the same unintelligible language of arms
s, will be strictly repeated still. Performers from the
llen, the *coast* of Bohemia, the country of the Cos-
dalusia, the Carse of Gowrie, or the Sands of Sahara,
e and obtain some cold applauses by the performance
national dances; but they vanish in time, and *Mons.*
who sometimes happens to be Jemmy Sullivan from
nd who has been waiting round the side-wing, bounds
supports Mlle. *Frelebras* with the tip of one finger,
nds her arms like the sails of a mill, twirls her empty
d holds out one leg parallel to the earth's surface;
ueurs bring their horny palms together, and the ste-
manœuvres and *pedæuvres* then witnessed for the
th time, put to flight all remembrance of Irish jigs,
eels, Spanish boleros, and all the lively and joyous
connected with them.

A pleasing feature in the Fauborg St. Germain Parisian society, one most worthy of imitation by ours, is the assembling of talented, titled and agreeable individuals for the purpose of social and intellectual entertainment, and of themselves at little expence, and with no obligation of great expenditure in entertainment or decorations. When invited are distributed on this side of the water, thousands of pounds are expended on costly meats and wines, profusion of plate is ostentatiously paraded, apartments are transformed into levees, and lights innumerable are reflected from diamonds and pearls. Guests get a nod or bow from their negligent and anxious entertainers; they are stewed in the high-boiler at a temperature of 85° ; they are crushed to a pulp in the progress to the supper room; ices hiss on their tongues; the bare necks and shoulders of ladies meet chilling draughts as they rush forth in desperation; loping consumptions shortly overtake them in the race of dissipation. They can only get comfort by railing at their entertainers, and this is the recompense to these hapless heads of all the trouble for heavy expence, for worry and anxiety, and for the very upsetting of all domestic comfort.

We may naturally look for a greater demand on the resources of a Parisian lady hostess from her select society, in the absence of such *agremens* as wait on the English union just described. Herself and her guests feel it to be combining duty with pleasure to bring out all their stores of fancy, and anecdote to entertain each other, and make the evening pass pleasantly; and from this good intention and the sprightliness of their character, an electrical current of animation and satisfaction is diffused through the party. It is natural to suppose that if the English and French took pen in hand next morning, there might be seen a comparison of their productions, an instance of the benefits of the gifts bestowed on the human kind. The one exhausted by the evening's efforts and excitement, producing only a coarse sketch of what she has so much enjoyed; the other, who has been a mere stewardess, and noter of what was going on, producing from her stores of comparison and observation a clear image of what is so vividly present to her own perception.

Thus, comparatively few actors have produced good effects in fiction or acting plays, however intimately they may have known and represented the various moving passions; or

statesmen have written standard histories; or great generals have left us enduring pictures of their campaigns. It is one thing to be interested in an animated, witty, or humorous conversation, and bear your part therein to the delight and admiration of the company, and another to present afterwards a lively counterpart of what took place; so materially do the relations of the parties to each other, the temporary circumstances of place and time, and the characters and talents of the individuals present, contribute to the effect produced. In like manner, the grand or striking result of some chemical experiment depends on the presence, the proportion, the mode of combination, and the peculiar properties of many differing ingredients. Hence the great disproportion in number between those continental ladies who have been, or now are, perfect presiding goddesses of salons, and of those who may be cited among the standard writers of their age. The disproportion is also evident on our side the channels, but in an inverse ratio.

The lady cited at the head of our article, a close observer, and a most vivid delineator of the follies, fashions and manners of her day, a paragon of beauty and accomplishments, a perfect mistress in presiding over, and delighting a select reunion of talent, wit, and agreeability, and the author of successful dramas and novels, is no more. George Sand, like her German sister, the Countess Hahn Hahn, has resigned her perilous trade, and devoted the remains of her life to the service of her Creator;* and of the really inspired women of genius living, we can quote few besides Mme. Charles Reybaud, Mme. Léonie D'Aunet, and Mlle. or Madame Marie Aycard, if the writer who bears the name is indeed of the gentler sex. Now omitting the female writers who have been called away in our own days, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Ferrier, Mrs. Opie, Mrs. Inchbald, Miss Baillie, Miss Austen, Lady Blessington, Miss Brontë and sisters, L. E. L., the Misses Lee, the Misses Porter, Miss Mitford, Miss Pickering, and others for whom space should be found, there are still living and delighting our generation with their writings, Mrs. Burbury, Mme. Blaze de Bury, Miss Bunbury, Mrs. Crowe, Lady Dacre, Mrs. Ellis, Lady Fullarton, Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Gascoigne, Mrs. Grey, Mrs. Gaskill, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Howitt, Miss Jewsbury, Miss Kavanagh, Lady Morgan, Mrs. Marsh, Miss Mulock, Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Oliphant, Lady Emily Ponsonby, Miss Pardoe, Lady Scott, Miss Sewell, Mrs. Smedley, Mrs. Stewart of Cork, Mrs. E. M. Stewart, the

* Such a report has prevailed here for some time at all events.

Baroness Tautphoeus, Mrs. Trollope, Miss Wallace Yonge, the authoresses of *Mount St. Laurence*, *The Whitefriars*, *The School for Fathers*, *Kathie Bran*, *Wreckers*, *Lady Granard's Nieces*, *The Henpecked L*, *The Lady of Glynne*, *The Old Chelsea Bun House*, *Ten*, *True*, and many others whose bead roll would be too the reader's patience.

As a large proportion of French works of fiction make their first appearance in the Feuilleton form, of the general character of which no reader of the *Irish Quarterly* need be reminded, it may well be supposed that a French *Mulock*, a French *Mrs. Hall*, or a French *Miss Edgeworth* would feel loth to commit the pure offspring of their mind to the companionship of such vile associates as the *Arthurs*, the *Antonys* of Sue, Dumas, and Co. Even if they declined to run the risk, it is not likely that they would be welcomed by a public accustomed to the ranting, the inconsistency, and the convenient moral philosophy of the reckless and the vagabonds, to whom they have become habituated.

In the comparative scarcity of harmless works for the novel-reading public, it is pleasant to know that there is a good deal of cheap, entertaining and useful books got out for the use of youthful readers in Paris, Tours, Cambrai, and other provincial cities, under the patronage of the Archbishops.

In our last two articles on French literature, M. de Girardin determined enmity to Emile de Girardin was slightly mentioned, and mention made of Mme. Girardin, and the esteem she was held by our critic. Since his biography was published, Parisian society and Parisian literature have been deprived of one of their fairest ornaments by death. Her biography is now before us, and our admirer thus enters on his pleasing task.

"Do you recollect the wondrous tales of our infancy, of the fairies seated round a cradle, endowed the newly born prince with the rarest qualities of head and heart, and gave her in addition with tune, worth, grace, and beauty?"

"Madame de Girardin had for godmothers every one of the beneficent fairies; she was born on the——"

"Ah, too curious reader! now we have you with mouth and ears cocked. Do you know what you resemble in thus ferrying every one's age? you are the exact image of a Lord Mayor or a president of the chamber. I am quite tired of your inquiries."

"You are the sole cause of all the annoyances that beset me. Dejazet will never forgive us, for blabbing her birth-day. George Sand has found our conduct so inexcusable that

ear to her age to convict us of falsehood. Paul de Kock
t fire and flames. He swears he is only thirty years old,
urnish the proofs. Théophile Gautier enters his protest,
es that he wrote *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, on his nurse's

for all we renounce the registry, and refuse to listen to its
s revelations. The age of a woman is written on her
ce, in her eyes, in her smile; and the smile, the eyes, and
nance of Mme. de Girardin are just twenty-five years old.
e uniting her destiny to that of the too celebrated journalist
raphy has caused us such woes, our heroine was known by
e whole kingdom of France. The pure and delicious
lle. Delphine Gay fell from Parnassus in streams of
oney. Daughter of a poetess, she was hushed to sleep
m, and learned, while yet an infant, to make the lyre-chords
unison."

ne Gay, daughter of Sophie Gay, was born at Aix
le, and baptized (it is said) on the very tomb of
gne. Her mother, who was a wit, a poetess, and a
to the bargain, and moreover, wife of the receiver-
f the district, indulged in some witticisms at the
f the prefect one evening; the good things were
o the subject of them next morning; and it being a
the telegraph brought the dismissal of her husband
rse of two hours. Women of talent are sometimes
urchase; the bon mots of Mme. Sophie Gay cost her
e thousand pounds yearly income.

nily all came to Paris, and their house was the centre
y of wits, actors, poets, and painters.

chatted, they laughed, they danced, they played; for the
our *tenth muse* was a *Cordon Bleu* in the science of colored

and then when the cards were unpropitious, she dealt them
aste to her friends, that they occasionally got a slap on the
he Queen of Spades, or the King of Diamonds.
ame being over they recited verses; and here our heroine
er first triumphs. She was applauded by all the celebrities of
Her early developed talents and unaffected grace rendered
l of her mother's circle. At fourteen years of age she was of
adiant beauty. Her large mild eyes full of charm, her fair
ificent in its profusion, her large alabaster forehead, her
h, precious casket with its rows of pearls, her skin of milky
all combined to render her a prodigy of fascination."

22 she sent her first essays in verse to the academy;
sion of five hundred crowns was settled on her by
K. She went under her mother's guardianship into
s conducted in triumph to the capitol like another

Corinne, and recited verses to an admiring and enthusiastic crowd. She refused a very advantageous match in order to be at liberty to return to Paris; and was rewarded with the applause and greeting of all that the city could boast of talent and high birth on the occasion of her recitation of verses in the Panthéon, then just after being enriched with frescoes of Baron Gros. "She might fancy herself the moment queen of France."

"This epoch of her life was one long scene of delight and feast for each day and every hour of the day.

"At the commencement of 1830, the conquering charms of *Corinne* had harnessed to her chariot, more suitors than had been Penelope in the days of old. This flight of turtle doves, with its presence every saloon where the tenth muse made her appearance; and when Summer came, the more adventurous flight to the leafy shades of Villiers-sur-Orge, where Mme. de Girardin possessed a little country house. Almost all the poetical and Delphine before her marriage, are dated from this retirement, always loved the solitude and quiet of the country."

She became the wife of M. de Girardin in 1831; and owing to this gentleman's implacable foe, Eugène de M... her talent, which erewhile was signed with a stamp of sensibility and seraphic candor, seemed at once to acquire a distinctive characteristic, as if the dark influence of a journalist had fallen like a mantle over the muse, the spotless dove had contracted some of the qualities of the hawk. About 1834 or 1835 she wrote *Le Lorgnon* and *La M. Balzac*. Her husband found fault with this employment of her time; but the praise and the Louis-d'or by her labors, overpowered her conjugal fears; and in spite of contradiction she published *Le Marquis de Pontat* and *Marguerite*. Her present biographer insinuates that by virtue of his privileges as head of the family, in the honest publisher paying into his (Emile's) own pocket the price of these works, wishing thus to disgust her with her occupation, for she had not the pleasure of purchasing a pincushion with the produce of her labours. The inference drawn from this circumstance is, that a man may be a successful speculator, cover the dead walls of Paris with advertisements in letters a yard long, turn every thing to profit, and yet have a very middling knowledge of human nature.

"If it sometimes happens to Mde. de Girardin to show a slightly paradoxical, she makes up for the defect by a pro-

study of the character of her sex. How admirably she likenesses of those coquettish, elegant, delicate, ethereal full of heart, of devotedness, of caresses, of affection! It is as if she looked into the depths of her own nature, to find in her most adorable expression, in her most perfect

the day when her husband was brought home wounded from the Crimea. * Mme. de Girardin, who had no previous suspicion of her husband's conduct, showed herself a brave woman. She forgot to faint, gave necessary orders, had a surgeon at once on the spot, got down in the street, and never quitted the bed-side of her husband till the wound showed favourable symptoms."

Mme. de Girardin looked with a very unfriendly eye on the commencement by his lady in his own paper *La Presse*

Mirecourt attributes this to the over-weening value she set on his own political lucubrations and his dislike

to her. He spoke out to her on the subject pretty plainly.

She gave away her pen in consequence, but it was picked up

by her fiercer, his colleague, as often as it was thrown down,

and sent back between the fingers of the charming writer; and

in *Les Parisiennes* of *Vicomte Launay*, continued to inter-

estigate the public from 1836 to 1848.

Mme. de Girardin began to write for the theatre in 1839.

Her first piece *L'Ecole des Journalistes* was not allowed to be

performed under the liberal rule of Louis Philippe. *Judith*,

written in verse from the old Testament, was performed

in 1843; *Cléopâtre* in 1847. Her other pieces are

Le Mariage du Mari, *Lady Tartuffe*, *La Joie fait Peur*, *Le*

Chapeau de l'Horloger and *Une Femme qui deteste son Mari*.

In *Le Gymnase*, *le Chapeau de l'Horloger*, a delicious burst of

comedy in one act, proves that she possesses the gift of exciting

laughter as well as of drawing tears. Exquisite sensibility, comic

powerful delicacy of touch, perfect taste, these are the

qualities which ensure success at the theatre, and these Mme. Girardin

possesses in perfection.

One day her husband entered the room where she was sitting,

holding the hand of a little boy just learning to walk. She looked

at him, looked at Girardin, and comprehended the whole thing

at once. 'I thank you for this mark of confidence,' said she;

and she has since been a second mother to your son.

The promise she has religiously kept. Delphine herself directs

the education of this child of her adoption. He has never been from

her guardianship. She provides for him at home the neces-

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XXIX.

sary tutors. He is now fourteen years old, and as he has the riding school, she has purchased a horse for him from the owner of the 'Clockmaker's Hat.'

"Their country house is at Chaillot, It is open every day to her friends, and every evening it is filled with Parisian celebrities."

"She writes to a protracted hour in the night, and rises at five in the morning. She keeps possession of her health in the cold season, and in summer takes refuge in an Algerian villa up in the middle of the garden. There she composes her verses, there she receives her court, like an Eastern Queen. Her voice is listened to with religious respect, whose every word is an order, and before whom the incense of loving homage is burned. . . . She never appears sensible of her superiority to those around her; and it would seem as if she had never made any efforts to acquire her poetical or inventive powers, her style, than she had to acquire her beauty."

"Like her mother, she occasionally gives way to some fits of passion, but when she perceives the chagrin she has caused, she makes excuses such as an affectionate charm, and she is so anxious to soothe the wounds, that the victims are even grateful for the attack. . . . She neglects no one, she takes pains to be agreeable to all; to children, to old men, even to women."

"She is determined that she shall be loved. She considers herself charming, and nothing is more easy than to love her at this point, for she is certainly one of the most *spirituelle* of the women of her time."

"In fact we can discover in her only one small fault, a want of affection for her husband."

Théophile Gautier, in his biographical preface to the *Œuvres complètes* under review, gives the dates of the birth, marriage, and death of Mme. de Girardin, thus achieving the adventure which had dismayed Mirecourt, according to his own confession.

Delphine Gay was born 6th *Pluviose*, An. xii (26th Dec. 1804), was married 1st June, 1801, and died 29th Jan. 1805.

Gautier is still more enthusiastic in his praises of Mme. de Girardin than Mirecourt. He was one of her circle of intimates, and his sketches a series of efforts, each more perfect than the one before it in finding out stronger terms of affection and reverence for the memory of his lost patroness. According to him, she was seldom severe in language or roused to anger, except when obliged to defend one of the literary productions of her little court. We subjoin a characteristic trait from her *Œuvres complètes*.

"Despite her manly spirit, Mme. de Girardin was womanly. She would have mounted the scaffold without paleness or trembling, but she was afraid of the motion of a coach, and had not courage enough to cross the Boulevard on foot. We have seen her, with perfect coolness, and admirable eloquence, the rioter

under her windows in 1849; yet she had like to swoon at the sight of a bat, which had entered by the open window, and was hanging from the ceiling."

It will be supposed that the newspaper quarrels of her life, into which she was unwillingly drawn, had an evil effect on her health and spirits. They could not have been more than irksome and injurious to one who seemed only to live in the regions of poetry and the imagination. The beautiful and gifted poetess quitted this too good world, and Mons. Girardin seems to us to have made a blunder in filling her place with a rich Englishwoman. *Le chevalier de Launay* saw his first feuilleton in print, in November, 1836: it begins characteristically:

"There has been nothing very extraordinary this week; merely a revolution in Portugal, the apparition of a republic in Spain, a nomination of ministers in Paris, a fall in the funds, a new ballet at the Opera, two capotes in white satin at the Tuilleries.

The Portuguese affair had been foreseen, the spectral republic long settled, the ministry had been selected, the fall in the funds, a job, the new ballet had been announced any time for three months; so after all, the only novelty was the capotes in white satin; they would be no novelty only for being premature. And the weather did not deserve the affront. Make a fire in a cold day, if you please, that is but reasonable; but to wear satin in winter sets in is a crime against nature.

To pretend that Paris is tiresome; we consider it most agreeable at the present moment. You see no one of your acquaintance; the streets are filled by strangers. You feel at your ease, as on a journey. You see many people admiring everything that you begin to admire yourself. You have a population of gaping loungers whom it is pleasant to behold; loungers from beyond the sea, from beyond the Rhine, from beyond the Rhine: very probably there are even some even of Chateaubriand's loungers from *beyond the*

"Paris is renewed for a time; the worn-out are gone; the *ennuyés* are scattered; the air seems fresher, space freer. An *ennuyé* takes a walk in the park; his presence renders the atmosphere so heavy; he takes so much vital air when he sighs and when he yawns. When the *ennuyé* is absent; he goes to the chace with the *ennuyeux*, and amuses himself with the recital of his hunting exploits; and both amuse themselves with abuse of Paris, which their absence has rendered more desirable; and both remain in the country, thank goodness! and the *ennuyeux*."

"We have no nearer equivalents for these class names than the French *ennuyé*, the *tiresome*, the *bore* and the *bored*; but the reader will find the objects themselves, the next dinner or evening party he

"The theatres have grown young, the public have grown old. It is not the hostile public, the tyrannous public to those who amuse him, the public so easily vexed and so difficult to please, not the old bellwether of the pit, who dares not smile for fear of his absent teeth remarked, nor the aged coquette of the boxes, who dares not weep for fear of furrowing her rough public, frank, joyous, and ready to be amused, critic and censor at once, who frankly helps you in your efforts to make it cry; a good sort of public, which is little fastidious provoker of amusement; in fact a public which believes in the existence of merit.

"Among our visitors are many Englishwomen, with their hair garnished with three rows of tulle, tulle faded and limp, who have travelled and remembered its mischances, that still remember the fog of the Thames fog, that has been begrimed by the coal fire smoke; an ungraceful ornament that forms a grizzled and disagreeable contrast to the face. These are Englishwomen of the third order, who the cheap steamboat has flung on the continent in shoals. It is the season for the Englishwomen with rosy cheeks and flowing locks, who come to teach our elegant women to be fresh looking and handsome; and to change the Rue de la Paix into an English Hyde Park. O beautiful daughters of the north! in one smile you will be here, will you not? to replace your unworthy forms and efface their images from our memories.

"The English admire the statues in the Tuilleries; but they themselves they wonder at the little care taken of them. The king who lays out so much on mutilating the orange trees, spares half of it to clean up his heathen gods. Phæton (Phaeton) is already so black that you cannot tell whether he has been changed into a negress or a poplar tree. Venus has washed her feet within these thirty or forty years, but with the certainty of the fact. As to Themistocles the Conqueror and Scipio Africanus, we will report them to the colors of the National Guard; their buff coats and belts are in the worst state. As to other matters, there are always white swans in the basins; children and childrens' hoops in the clock of the chateau is always up to time, and the flag is still of its color. All this is mere detail, but we wish to be truthful at the moment.

(19 Oct., 1836).—* * * A Parisian audience is the poetic of tyrants in exacting flattery; and the most favorable will always be the man that draws the worst likeness of it. The audience detests the true. What gives it delight are monstrosities of every description, monstrosities of virtue, monstrosities of vice. It will not do to depict human beings as they are, versatile and inconsistent. No, no: we must have beings perfect in goodness, or perfectly bad; a notary who holds out as an angel during the first act, a duke who is the devil himself during the same space. At the fifth act, the notary resumes the good work he has begun during the four previous ones, the whole pit is agog with a shout. 'That's he all over,' it exclaims—'he is the same man still.'

just now—he said so a little while since—his good—
of a piece. Virtuous notary! I recognise you there: per-
! you are the man for my money: bravo!" With the
ic truth is a false assumption enunciated in the first act,
ted to the end of the fifth.

s with the *Marie of Mme. Ancelet*. Not that her character
od. We have known more than one woman whose life
long and pure sacrifice; but then this is still not an abso-
It is an exceptional verity, an immoral verity, seeing
eceptive; a fatal verity, as it disgusts you with the com-
one; a sterile verity, as it delivers the soul to powerless
o useless researches; a culpable verity, as it renders us
the *quasi* virtuous people, among whom we live, and whom
when put in comparison with the perfect beings whom it
verity servile, and flattering, and therefore the only verity
at the theatre, and the sole verity which the public will
ge.

w the virtuous journals cry out, 'this is the edifying, the
ly! here is no chartered criminal, no culpable or miserable
modern school.' And the good husbands contemplating
estier sacrificing the love of *D'Arbeille* to the happiness of
exclaim, 'how edifying!' never suspecting the *D'Arbeilles*
their own box at the moment. These very *D'Arbeilles*
at the sight of the constancy of their *type* to the same
seventeen years, add their quota of admiration: 'How
Oh the true, the good comedy!' How well *Mme. Ancelet*
foibles of the public! She looks on them as her personal
d administers the sweet draught of flattery in properly
ed doses.

oor old public! you must either have your *Neros* or your
, not fearing comparison with these monsters; or your
aries and magnanimous spouses, as you can appropriate
es to your own proper account.

ve attacked the convenient truth of the theatres; a word
v on the truthfulness of the journals. Some days since,
most outspoken of our journalists, as witty as unsparing,
atout at the house of a young deputy, a friend of his. He
ow him personally though he had made him for a long
utt of his sarcasms. The conversation was interesting, the
important; and owing to a community of ideas, each felt
o give a frank utterance to his sentiments, so frank as to
mself. It was an interchange of thoughts and feelings in
judge each other, not only by what they say, but even by
do not care to speak on. After some time *M. Vatout* quitted

The door had hardly closed, when our editor exclaimed;
man after my own heart; our very thoughts are identical;
a man of sound understanding, what's his name?' 'That
'atout.' 'M. Vatout on whom I have cracked so many

rama of *La Duchesse de la Vauhalère* furnishes matter for
observations.

jests !' And then bursting out a-laughing, he naively 'well, well ; I could not have thought of it : he is not a portrait I have been so long making of him.' "

From the extract which follows Jules Janin was good for something more than criticizing plays, he had performed, and selling bushels of chaff with only a few of sense in each. Our authoress quotes him thus in *Feuilleton* of Nov. 30th, 1836.

"M. Janin reproaches M. de Balzac for originating Comedy of Madame Ancelot, 2nd, the Drama of M. And the loves of all women of a certain age. This is hard. According to him, we owe to M. de Balzac the discovery of *femme de quarante ans*. He calls him the Christopher Columbus of that too sensitive lady. 'The woman from thirty to forty years,' says, 'was formerly an undiscovered land with regard to that is, as far as the romance and the drama were concerned in our days, thanks to these fortunate discoveries, the woman reigns supreme queen in romance and drama. This time the World has suppressed the Ancient ; two score has triumphed over sixteen. 'Who knocks ?' growls out the Drama in his room. 'Who is there ?' asks the Romance with squeaking voice. I answer trembling '*sixteen*' with pearly teeth, snowy bosom, form, innocent smile, and sweet countenance. 'It is I. I am the same age with the *Junia* of Racine, the *Desdemona* of Shakespeare, the *Agnes* of Molière, the *Zara* of Voltaire, the *Veronique* of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. I enjoy the enchanted and flowery life of all the young virgins of Ariosto, of Lesage, of Lord Byron, of Walter Scott. I am hopeful and innocent youth ; I cast a future glance as pure and beautiful as the heaven itself. I am the age of *Cymodoce* and of *Atula*, the age of *Eucharis* and of the age of chaste attachments, of noble instincts, the age of modesty and of innocence : let me in Monsieur.' Thus speaking, I turn sixteen to the romance writers and dramaturgists ; And those novelists and dramaturgists answer : 'We are now occupied with the education of my child : look in on us in about twenty years, and you will see what we can do for you.'

"But what can M. Balzac do ? Is it his fault, if thirty years is to be the age of love in the present day ? M. Balzac is only painting the passion where he finds it, and for a certainty you will never cover no girl of sixteen a victim to her sensibility in these late times. Formerly a young girl eloped with a *mousquetaire*, or she escaped from the walls of a convent with the aid of a rope ladder ; and the romances of the day were filled with *mousquetaires*, convent ladders, and elopements. *Julia* loved *Saint-Preux* at eighteen, and twenty-two she espoused *M. Volmar* in obedience to orders from the spirit of the age. At sixteen the heart began to speak ; it takes a much longer time to soften. If *Julia* were now sixteen, she would espouse *M. Volmar* at eighteen through ambition. At twenty-five, waking from her illusion, she would elope with

Talk of the old writers! they painted their epoch; let M. Racine's *Junia* you say! In 1835 she would have been without scruple to become empress; *Virginia* would have wed *M. Lasourdonnaie*; *Atala* herself would prefer *Aubry* to the handsome *Chactas*, only the good old father would have sworn to a vow of poverty. The women who now-a-days set the example of them, commence by an advantageous match; they are countesses, marchionesses, and duchesses. It is only by getting out the vanities of vanity that they decide on love. Even *M. de Morny* to the past, and at twenty-eight or thirty, devote themselves to the youth whom they had rejected at seventeen. *M. Balzac* is quite right in painting the passion where he finds it, though he is out of time: *M. Janin* is equally right in saying that all this is tiresome. But if it is wearying to romance readers, how interesting to young men who dream of love, and find themselves exclaim, 'oh how I love her! how beautiful she must have

been! following may seem too highly charged; but as we paint the French character in tints where the frivolous is too pre-ponderant, on the other side may give us a more earnest and substantial character than we strictly deserve.

(1836)—"In general the most trifling actions of an English woman are the result of a fixed determination. They know nothing of impulses, the nonchalance, or the vivacity of a French woman. They do one thing rather than another through indifference; they are the result of a decision, even their manner of walking, of sitting, of loving, or praying. They do not desire a thing, they desire it; they don't walk; they march, because they have fixed on it; they go straight—to nothing; they set out to proceed, no matter what the particular. No matter: they have decided; they will go to some place or other, and their very mode of walking seems to be adapted to that place. They will certainly go no place else. They possess interior laws which govern their conduct; they have an interior judge which promptly decides everything without appeal. With them everything is predetermined; everything is the natural consequence of a previous decision, an effort, a preparation as it were for a journey; they are determined on every object. This is perhaps the consequence of their being shut out of which they cannot stray by chance or inclination; which they cannot quit without a certain degree of resolution; this resolute spirit, which is so devoid of grace when applied to the trifling and indifferent concerns of life, is of great efficacy when applied to matters of importance.

These observations are made apropos to a certain managing lady, *Flahault*, with whom we were made acquainted for the

(1838)—"Among the number of fetes, we must not forget a new and original one given some days since to all the female artists in Paris in the atelier of one of our most celebrated painters. The invited were all beautiful, but their general style of dress

was not such as might naturally be looked for. All (with exceptions) wore gowns fitting close to the neck, and very long sleeves. Did this arise from calculation or modesty? or was it unwilling to give a gratuitous sitting, and fare off like the giant who amused us so much a few years ago? We went to visit a cabinet of curiosities. The Savant who owned it lived on the first floor, right hand, but we mistook and rang the bell on the left. A man of formidable size opened the door. 'Are you So-and-so's rooms?' we enquired. 'He lives opposite,' said the giant, 'is the exhibition room of the 'Giant of the North.' 'Begin with me, sir,' said a wag of our party; 'are you not the Giant of the North yourself?' 'Yes, Monsieur, I am the person; and if you wish to enter, you may see for two francs'—'I will see the giant for nothing, have the pleasure of seeing here for nothing. I am much obliged to you, sir; but listen to the counsel of a friend. If you wish to see the people should pay two francs for a sight, it is scarcely possible for your part to open the door in person.' 'You are quite right, I am sure,' said the giant: 'it certainly might do me an injury if I thought of it before.'"

After a paper in which praise was unsparingly addressed to several individuals, Delphine utters her peculiar theory on the subject of praise and blame: it may be easily seen that the paradox had great attraction for her.

"Here is a feuilleton which will make many enemies for more than the last, which was somewhat satirical. An enemy annoys no one but the person at whom it is launched. It is not his friends who know better than any one, his defects and his merits, and it gives joy to all his enemies. An eulogium on the other hand has fewer chances; it sometimes offends the eulogised person, pleases his envious friends, and irritates his enemies. Praise, when deserved and administered is never forgiven. We have never seen the saying of an old courtier—'I am now seventy-five years of age, and have arrived at that advanced age without ever having made an enemy.' 'You have never been successful then.' 'On the contrary, I have been very successful.' 'Probably no one has loved you.' 'I have been sincerely loved.' 'Well then what is your record?' 'I have never pronounced an eulogium on any one.'"

Mme. de Girardin has forgotten to take into account the active measures occasionally taken by the subject of the injury for the injury of his assailant, and what small benefit he derives from the enjoyers of the ill-natured joke.

In sparing some space for the following passage on the mode of teaching music, we beg to confess that we would rather listen to the cawing of rooks, the rumbling of carts on the streets, or the voluntaries performed by cats on the roofs of the back houses on summer nights, than be obliged to learn

ished pieces which used before now to be ground out orchestra, T. R. D., when there happened to be a of the House," and when, instead of killing time as the wearied performers mistook the victim, and flayed of the audience instead.

3, 1839.)—"Strange country! this of ours, where the evil is all-powerful, and the good languishes unvalued; where plants come to perfection in a day, and where salutary ones before they flower; where the lie is provided with wings, truth crawls on in silence; where calumny blows its breath twenty trumpets, and deserved praise finds no echo. * * * country! where if an absurd melo-drama is represented at the *Ambigu-Comique*, or the *Porte Saint Martin*, twenty vie in giving a critical account of its performance; but unproductive work, the fruit of long studies, be issued by a who is not at the same time a charlatan, and not a journal of it. Let a too confiding Englishman have his pocket his handkerchief or his watch, coming out of the theatre; journals in Paris will resound with the signal event next day, a remarkable fact will be repeated in all the provincial gazettes. A useful institution be founded, and a really interesting meeting, all will preserve the most perfect silence. Ourselves, we look out for the developement of noble designs, have had of one of the most admirable institutions of our epoch. * * * of the popular concerts given by Wilhem at the Sorbonne. So much that our great composers have not availed themselves these new treasures of harmony—A chorus of four hundred and labourers of all ages from six to fifty. Endeavour to produce the effect of these combined voices, infantine, adolescent, and young, of voices strong and grave, rival voices, which, by the combination, form one only voice. Four hundred fine voices who sung in unison, and with a precision, an intelligence, a musical taste which you will not find in the chorus of the opera. We have heard more than once the beautiful prayer in *Le Portici* at the opera, where no doubt it is very well sung, but it is nothing in comparison with a similar prayer, sung by our four hundred working people. We have heard in Germany much be-praised choruses, and at Rome, the *Miserere* of the chapel; and we declare that the vivid and profound impression on us by these solemnities has been surpassed by the power of the choir excited at the last concert of the Sorbonne by the chaunt of our working people. These new accords, these harmonious voices, have lifted us far away from this prosaic world; we seemed to be in the celestial symphonies, the fraternal choirs of angels and cherubim. Angels after all were only cabinet makers, journeymen and working jewellers; and among the cherubim we discovered a gro with puffed-out cheeks, beating the measure with his fingers. The seraphic vision vanished, but admiration of real life remained with us entire; and frivolous observer be, we made the following reflections. While the *Vir-*

tuous friends of the people' preach revolt, sloth, and pride, in the name of liberty, the '*infamous oppressors of the people*' render the people by religion and the arts, and confer on it the only dependence of the honest man, that which he acquires by labor. The '*friends of the people*' summon it to the public assembly, seduce it into taverns to entertain it about its sovereign rights. The '*famous oppressors*' open for it, churches, hospitals, workhouses, schools, to teach it the greatness and goodness of God, the wonders of civilization. Its friends teach it to vote and its oppressors first of all, teach it to read and write. All this double system of instruction soon teach it to hold at their feet the ambitious tenderness of its pretended friends, the authority of its pretended oppressors."

The following simple account of a robbery may be worth relating; but as it is rather out of the regular line of the doings of housebreakers, it may present something new to the admirers of *Oliver Twist*, *Jack Sheppard*, and *Macaire in England*.†

(Dec. 29. 1836) * * * "This young gentleman came at half-past four to pay a visit or two. Simple was his dress on Sunday, and your man of fashion dreads above all, to appear on any day as if he had got on his Sunday clothes. Besides, your man of fashion was to dine with a relative, and no one beautiful enough to expect when he expects to meet only his cousins. Before presenting himself at his aunt's, Rue-du-Faubourg St. Honoré, he looked at his watch, and there learned to his great dismay, that the time was not to be superb, nearly diplomatic, followed by a grand conclusion. His aunt had neglected to apprise her nephew. 'Oh my heart!' cried the Elegant, looking at his boots. He shortened his coat, and betook himself back in all haste. But he is on foot; he has not even a horse. He has been in the morning in the Bois de Boulogne, and his valet and valet have got leave to spend the evening abroad. The valet has the key, and every thing is locked up. He arrives at home, he breathes again. All the doors are open, the presses are open also: they are as empty as they can be. He goes round, he rushes into the salon, he sees on the table a pocket watch, tied, and recognises his favorite waistcoat, the very one he had put on. He hastily enters his bed chamber. Oh, death! a robber is forcing his desk. 'Infamous thief,' cries he, 'seize him!' himself on the villain, seizes him by the throat, and is on the point of strangling him. But the thief immediately—guess—'seize him!' nard, and plunges it into the heart of his adversary! ' "

* Those extracts dated Jan. 6. 1836, and March 2, 1837, are advertently misplaced.

† The adaptor of *Robert Macaire* is not much accustomed to the society as those to whom he is here introduced. The similarity of parts of the three works quoted is the cause of the anachronism.

on the floor and takes to flight ! ' No. ' ' Well what does He faints away in the arms of his victim, who finds him- self to bestow the most tender cares on him. The same tries the malefactor to a sofa, and searches for his smelling ring him to himself again. But the victim cannot find his bottle, beautiful little utensil, as beautiful as crystal and cannot render it. Happily it came into his head to look for pocket of his despoiler, and there indeed it was. The victim malefactor to recover his senses ; but scarcely has the ruffian eyes than he beholds his crime in all its horror. He falls into most frightful despair. His victim comforts and consoles Monsieur,' says he, sobbing, ' it is the first thing of the kind attempted. What a frightful thing is theft ! Catch me if I do ! ' He was a young locksmith whom vicious company had corrupted. So our gentleman could not think of giving him a reward. But the swoon had held an hour, and it was too late for dinner. So he came and joined us at the Café de Paris, and this adventure, in which, as in most romances of the day, the interest is centered in the rascal."

Our writer had a sneaking kindness for *les Anglais et les Françaises*, but that never prevented her from *Joe-Millering* the English. In the feuilleton of 5th January, 1837, which was devoted to new year's gifts and anecdotes, she tells a sad story of a brave young Scotch girl, *Suzanna* by name, who was sensible to frights or terrors. So on the eve of her marriage, her foolish bridesmaids determined they would try her nerves. They borrowed a skeleton from a friend, and laid it, carefully enveloped in a nightgown, in the poor *Suzanna's* bed, wishing her, " *Good night, good night, my dear ; good night.*" It is not to be wondered at if our nerves to tell a horrible story in detail, but the poor bride a maniac next morning. May the memory of this, which is probably a real fact, extinguish the practical jokes in some stray reader or another.

The English excel in the art of simplifying things. While we use long and words saying to every one ' *Bonjour : Je vous Souhaitons une bonne année*, an English friend of ours made a wonder of the neatness out of the formula. He went about saying to every one he met, ' *Bon jour de l'an*, ' an abbreviation as happy as *Dickens* or *Richard* and *William*.

Our Englishman recalls to our minds another of his countrymen, a man of genius. He attended a representation of *le Comte Ory*, a happy chance previously unknown in the *fasti* of his country, and in retaining the supper air, ' *C'est Charmant, C'est Charmant* : he caught it in his Britannic ears, and retained it, and, to his gain, hummed it very agreeably between his Britannic lips. Lighted with his musical acquisition, he was a little mis-

trustful of his memory, and prudently made a knot on his chief. 'Why this knot?' enquired a friend. 'Tis for fear I forget this charming little air, which I have acquired with trouble.' We are thoroughly confident of this man's being a husband and a good father."

Mme. de Girardin, as may be supposed, did not *go*, we should have said, at Musard's wild assembly; she invested her *double-ganger* in male attire, bade him to the name of *De Launy*, and sent him to inspect the hall of frenzy.

(Jan. 11, 1857.)—"As to the quarter of central Paris, the valses nor dances, it neither leaps nor falls: it turns, it rolls, it rushes, it throws itself forward, it plunges headlong round, it charges like a serried file of soldiers, it envelops you like a whirlwind, it drags you down with it like an avalanche, you away like the simoon. Hell is unchained, the devils leave, it is Charenton (*the French bedlam*) enjoying a holiday, the *Wandering Jew* driven on his everlasting tour, it is launched on his wild horse, it is *Leonora* carried off by her yard lover through forests, rocks, and deserts, and not till she comes to the door of death. It is a phantasm, it is a nightmare, it is the *sabat*; finally it is the terrible which is called the *galop* of Musard. The masked balls at Saint Honoré are conducted as on last year. Our moon prevented us from seeing them, but we may repeat what The quadrille of the *Huguenots* has a wonderful effect; it is more fantastic. The lights of the hall become dim, a glow succeeds, to give the idea of a conflagration: and this strange spectacle is presented by these joyous faces, these all colors and every degree of gaiety, seen by the baleful. All these uproarious phantoms, demons of joy and folly, columns, rush forward in torrents; and the masses turn, repress and push each other, knock against each other, repress, repass, still, still, still, and never cease; and the too the drum beats, and the orchestra is relentless. It qu measure, gives no time for breathing, and the firing and the streets is perfectly imitated. They hear the cries, the laughter; it is civil war without mistake; it is an massacre; the illusion is complete. You see that we all after amusement in Paris. Some amuse themselves sa pompously, others without affectation, every one after a fashion everyone is amused, except those who are tired of striving themselves."

Looking back on our youth we strive to recal once

* It is probable that this anecdote as applied to a *Paddy* the light in that most melancholy collection, *Joe Miller*. Not having read a page in it for a score of years, we positive.

, and taste for amusement peculiar to that period of fancy what would be our sensations looking on spectacle. But we cannot imagine any other effect it we, than giving a lively idea of Hell. The performers to cries of agony, and pursuing the mad measure at time, remind us of one of the quaint apologues in *reference between Temporal and Eternal*. A man pursued by dragon through an Arabian desert, takes refuge in but as he is beginning to rejoice in his escape, he looks and beholds a black and white rat* gnawing at the roots, already half cut away. He next beholds the pursuer seated in the shadow of the tree, and practising the opening of his jaws to open freely, when the victim is about to escape. He is very much dismayed as may be supposed, and estimating the length of time the rats will require to finish their task, when he chances to espy some drops of honey hanging on the leaves within his reach. He forgets rats, dragon, and all, and begins to taste and enjoy his short-asure with the greatest relish.

1836, 1837.)—"Except the cholic recently imported from here is no news worth relating: but as the absence of an excuse for a failure in conversation, when none come to the rescue, is a failure in itself, I will invent. A false report in Paris can count on eight days of life, not indeed a satisfactory or general one, for it is already in the quarter where it first saw life, while it is flourishing in the quarter where it is appointed for its death. But it is never thoroughly expected till the eighth day, and there is no manner of risk in giving a report that is sure of eight days of life. This year we are inventing nothing but deaths, even the death of poor Musard. We have killed, as a last resource to keep conversation at proof of the immensity of our city is, the tremendous exertion to make to persuade your acquaintance that you did not die. Some are so obstinate that they prefer your having come in after a fair and regular departure into the land of

Paris is a great city for fertile imaginations. They are very in the provinces in this respect; they are obliged to order things from the city, along with their caps, ribbons, and fowling. You may say Mr. 'Such a One' is dead; in five minutes you are seen promenading in the market place, and all the salt is of the joke. * * * You do not sing when you are in voice; why then need you talk when you have got nothing to say? Ah! it is because in France we must keep up conversation

Rats represent day and night, the regular lapse of which exists; the dragon is of course the devil.

at any price. A causerie that languishes is a punishment, and the lady of the house ; she must rouse it at any hazard ; crisis everything is lawful. She will even betray her own and if she has none, she will closely question you as to you will invent falsehoods about the lady who was leaving the you entered ; but then, only think of the imminent danger coming to an end ! I knew a lady who not content with her success, felt it her duty to keep up at scandal heat, the corner through the city. Her daughter, lately a bride, gave her assistance, for she was both truthful and modest. One day visit in which she had not opened her mouth, she was scolded mamma for her silence. ' But mamma, I have nothing to do with the matter ; invent something. Say that your voiture was lost in the omnibus ; or that you saw some one arrested in the street ; the men were fighting, that a superb funeral had just passed, that a shawl was stolen, in fact anything you please ; but talk at once or I will not bring you out with me again.' A bride of six months is not in love with her husband, and is scolded by her mother ; she easily made cry ; so she cried plentifully. The next visit the young lady was in trouble, for no one had passed out at the door, and it was a fine sunshiny day. ' How pale you are, my Valentine,' said the Baroness. ' Are you ill ?' ' No, my mother, I am not ill. I am only a little out of spirits. I have cast a furious look on the unhappy young lady, and she has said to say, ' why don't you speak, you helpless creature ?' The child began to recall the late lesson, and stammered out, ' no, no, but I was very much frightened just now : we were jammed in the omnibus.' The mother triumphed ; her daughter would not learn a few lessons. ' It fastened on us, just as we were crossing the Pont Louis XIV.,' cried mamma ; and she detailed with the presence of mind all the circumstances of the incident.

" The Baroness was appeased, and the conversation continued. ' You have a very fine shawl, my dear Valentine.' She looked at but at a terrible side glance of her teacher, she received in answer ' Oh ! I lately had a much finer one, but they stole it from me, and I must have it !' cried the Baroness : ' that can't be allowed ; we must be careful. The Prefect of police is my friend ; I will write to him on the subject. ' Oh ! pray madam, do not take the trouble : it is of no consequence. ' No consequence, a shawl of that value !' ' Oh, she means my husband has already taken all the steps necessary ;' the conversation took another turn, and Valentine fell into one of her mother's ' Truly,' said the mother, ' these clubs have unsettled the household altogether : no witty or pleasant conversation now at all. The men spend their mornings, playing and smoking, and their evenings drinking : I pity the young wives of the present day, they are so very unhappy.' ' Ah !' said the Baroness, ' I do not think this time is of your opinion : she, at all events has no complaint against the clubs.' Valentine made no answer ; she had no word. ' Why do you not speak ?' said her mother. ' Perhaps I does not know what a club is.' Feeling herself obliged to answer, ' oh, yes, madam ; I have often heard of the jockey club.'

a report of a quarrel that took place there yesterday, that may have a disagreeable termination.' 'A quarrel arising from what?' asked the Baroness in great anxiety. 'Yes Madam. They mentioned the names of the players?' 'M. de H——' 'A furious look from the mamma, but misinterpreted by the novice. 'Oh! yes indeed, Madam; M. de H—— was one of the gentlemen.' 'Oh heavens!' cried the Baroness, 'is it so?' and towards the fire-place to seize the bell cord, she fainted

and continued to understand nothing of this. She had named M. de H—— knowing him to be the hero of the club, not suspecting him to be the Baroness's hero also. She had not heard from him for two months, and attributed his absence to a lover's quarrel that had taken place. She was now in a pitiable state, and the visitors soon with-

drawn, said the mother to the culprit, 'you are a downright fool, to name M. de H—— to the Baroness.' 'But, mamma, how could I have guessed?' 'Don't speak; people in the world should be careful of what they say, and to say that you did not care about the loss of M. de H——' 'She said she was going to write to the prefect.' 'You are too timid, it was only a piece of politeness. And then the *Pont des Neiges* where voitures never pass; it is absurd.' 'You see, mamma, my poor child, that it is better for me not to say anything.' 'That is the very thing I wish you to do.'

That is the very advice we wish to give to all spreaders of calumny, and to those who kill their friends, calumniate their friends, and disturb their loves, to keep conversation alive. To say, 'better hold your tongues.' The English, the genuine English, at all events, visit each other for the pleasure of being together. They do not consider themselves under the necessity of saying anything for an hour to convince you of their presence. The French smoke, and are silent. The Germans meet in order to indulge in reverie. The Orientals find their chief happiness in unbroken silence. They do not open their mouths even to give an opinion. However, we find we are talking of nothings, because we have nothing else very particular to talk about. So let our ideas benefit themselves even though it be at our own expense."

Dore Hook, tells in one of his 'Sayings and Doings,' of the English ladies who scarcely ate anything in company, but indulged themselves in the privacy of their own apartments; Villis tells tales on a sentimental young German lady, of her refined and ethereal (literary) taste, how when safe from company she fell on chops, beer, sauerkraut, and other rough dishes like any bricklayer; Mme. de Girardin gives us to understand that fine Parisian belles are either too hungry or too weary to practise such deception. Her paper on the subject appeared 8th March, 1837, and we learn from it that the English fashionables were not much devoted even at that

Lenten time to excessive mortification of the flesh. not much surprised, for even in this city of our philosophical Catholics (for health's sake of course) and to eat meat on Fridays; and if the full truth was known their Protestant fellow citizens their peculiar priviledges matters of fast and abstinence.

"The lent is particularly brilliant; it rivals the carnival to say. They dance with the ardor they should devote to prayers, and they certainly do not fast. If you were to look at elegant young nymphs at ball suppers, you would have little idea of their pious privations. Neither could you comprehend how our young ladies contrive to be. Really when you have seen one of these suppers, and seen these sylph-like beauties when your eye has weighed and measured all they have in ham, pies, fowl, wild and tame, and cakes of all denominations you have full right to insist on their arms being plumper, their scapulæ less developed. Poor sylphs! they must have much grief to devour at home, to counteract the good results of their repasts. A man of wit has said, 'that women are not aware of the injury they do themselves by eating;' and he was right. It can be more disenchanting, than to see a beautiful and rich woman seriously employed at table. Appetite is not allowed to a lady, except on a journey. At entertainments they may taste a fruit, or a bit of tempting confectionary; but femininity should have association with nothing more earthly than fruits, and flowers.

"April 12, 1837. The ball given for the relief of the English has been thoroughly successful. Oh! how we enjoyed the tulle ball! Beautiful women are there still more beautiful than of late. They have a new aspect, and the ugly, whom a brilliant imagination has hitherto considered, have their value as foils. The English ladies are more fully original in their style of dress. If we admire the beauties with bitterness and envy, we hail with delight the equally attired beauties of another sort, which it pleases *Proserpine* to send us; and we say to her double glory, that if *Venus*, that is, Beauty herself, has arisen from the cleaving of the Channel, the other goddess, whom it is not ours to name, has been led up from a muddy pool of the Thames. In fact, we regard our neighbours beyond sea, the double supremacy of *Proserpine* and *Venus* women the most beautiful, and women the most remarkable for the opposite quality. The English never do things by halves. They are handsome to perfection, or they push ugliness to deformity. They cease to be women. They are fossil beings unknown to the creation, whose species infinitely varied, admit of no class. One resembles an aged fowl, another a superannuated steed, a young donkey, many resemble dromedaries, and some the bison. Quietly seated in a salon, and appropriately dressed, they are honestly ill-favored, and no one thinks more about it.

costume ball when these strange figures are dressed, and bedizened, in brisk spirits, highly rouged, with shapes and motions in high relief, and their peculiar graces striking so strongly on the senses, they produce a tremendous effect. If you had seen the other evening, these fantastic personages wandering about in the *Salle Ventadour* with seven or eight feathers on each head, blue, red, and black, peacocks' feathers, cocks' feathers, feathers of every kind—if you had witnessed the pride and self-confidence of those phantoms, and the self-satisfied looks thrown on the mirrors as they passed, and the hand adjusting some enchanting neglect in the dress, and the ringlet carefully drawn over the nose, which it obstinately refused to protect, and the yellow or copper-colored slipper bordered with red or blue, advanced or retired with so much grace, and the thousand little ornaments, all surprised at their unexpected meeting, you would say 'a *bal costumé* is very amusing indeed.' Ah! if ever any one asks you to visit such an assemblage for a louis, hand it out at once; you could not turn your money to better account."

The Princess Helena (*Duchess of Orleans*) arrived in Paris early in June, 1837. Contrast the animation and excitement of her reception with after events—the violent death of her husband, the reverses of 1848, and the subsequent exile of herself and her adopted family. Ponder the subject well, and it will be equivalent to the careful reading of a chapter in "*Think well on't.*"

June 7, 1837. "The garden of the Tuilleries was splendidly beautiful last Sunday: it was beautified by the sky, the king, by the people, and by the season. What a spectacle at once smiling and majestic! O people of the province, who have not seen the picture, go hang yourselves at once, you will not see it again, the canvas is destroyed. Figure to yourselves what no Parisian ever saw before on the same day—the sky, blue—the trees, verdant—the people, clean, a crowd joyous and well dressed, enjoying the perfume of the lilacs in flower. Have you ever seen all these together? In Paris when the sky is blue, the trees are ash-colored—devoured by the dust. The trees are never green but after rain, and then the people are wet and splashed with mud.

"See how beautiful the prospect is from this spot!—The great avenue of the garden, on the right three ranks of the National Guards, on the left the same number of the troops of the line, behind them the crowd, a crowd elegant and resplendent in all the hues of the rainbow, and before us a pond with its jet d'eau glittering in the sun. Behind this you see the obelisk, and beyond that again, the triumphal arch: then for a frame to the picture, the two terraces covered with people, and the large trees meeting the eye in every direction. Look down and admire these parterres, these countless tufts of lilac all in flower the same day. What perfume! what a lovely day! But hist! here's a courier—the cortege is coming. A postillion gallops on, covered with dust; shortly after, a

poodle at full gallop—laughter and lengthened hilarity. At interval hies on a pug dog in extreme trouble : he has strayed perhaps for ever lost ;—prolonged amusement. These avant-infused patience into the crowd. A needle-woman cap gave a push to an elegantly dressed old lady. ‘Let me princess; you will have opportunity enough to see her at court ladies.’ The lady looked down disdainfully on the woman, as to her daughter, ‘little the good woman knows that she is likely to go to court than we.’ ‘Without doubt,’ said the heiress, ‘let her marry a grocer and she is certain of becoming a great lady.’ We guessed by this dialogue that some legitimist come to see the procession.

“At length this princess, about whom we have talked so much two months, is with us. Her arrival in France is the very reverse of an illusion. At a distance an error looks but as we approach the charm vanishes; here it was clear. While the princess was at home, every one said, ‘she is frightful; is thin, she is without grace, she has nasty red hair, a big foot, a bony hand; her eyes are small, her mouth large, she is as Mme This or Mlle. That; and they mentioned two of the most disagreeable women in Paris.’ The princess set out, and after a few days, they commenced to speak more favorably, ‘Her hair is exactly red, it was fair with a tinge of that color through it, it was ugly, but it was ugliness not destitute of distinction.’ She was at the frontier; ‘there was not the slightest approach to foxiness in her hair now, it was a clear chestnut hue; her foot was small, for a man foot to wit,—‘she was *not* ugly.’ She got as far as Metz, her physiognomy is more gracious; her appearance is really noble. At Melun, ‘she would make a delightful picture; she has a charming face, a lovely hand.’ At Fontainebleau, ‘on my word she is a most agreeable looking lady.’ Finally at Paris ‘she is a beautiful woman.’ If the journey held for two leagues more, she would be the most beautiful woman in the world. See how we have been deceived. The princess is not a decidedly beautiful woman, but she is a *Parisienne* in all the rigor of the expression, a woman such as we readily love, we who look for beauty in a gracious expression of face, and in a shape defined by graceful lines.

“Welcome, Madam, to our country, to our hospitable land. Two months our knights have proclaimed with loud voice, that she was a prodigy of ugliness: pardon them we pray; it was a lie. Our deputies have chaffered about your income as if they were looking for a cook:—this is the result of liberal ideas. Our journals have written you in epigrams without salt or point:—it is party spirit, it is a bad spirit; pardon them also.

“You saw that evening, your new family filled with joy; and indeed not without reason. Your father-in-law, the king, was through a crowd that day, the first time for two years, without being a shot. It was wonderful, himself was astonished. Not a bullet in the sky, not an assassin on the earth! All this was owing to your fair presence; but how sad the life of which such are these happy days! You are a courageous woman, for you come to

the disenchantment of all your ideas. A daughter of Germany, ve in royalty; and with us, royalty is no more. Romantic trust in the respect inspired by woman's dignity; woman lost her prestige, her weakness is no longer a thing to be proud of; she is insulted as if she could avenge herself. You, the Teutonic Homer, nourished by him on the ambrosia of poetry, you believe in poetry, and we have none. Ask the courtiers of the palace, they will tell you that French words do not have the same value as Greek words. Ask your august parents what has become of our great poet, Chateaubriand, they will tell you he is a legitimist, the most redoubtable enemy. Mention Lamartine, they will tell you a deputy who sometimes votes for them; introduce Victor Hugo, they will not know him at all. To do justice to our modern royalty, it is not the poetry of the land; it is prose with a crown. The French 'three colors' admits none of the arts except painting; a painter, if now living, would be obliged to daub some emblem, and to inscribe in his verses in the disguise of a motto, in order to get a seat at the foot of the throne of July. Poor young bride! bid her forget her dreams of grandeur and poetry. There are no poets in France who will neither be flattered nor sung. You will be in our country more a great lady, than the most humble woman of the land. However, you will enjoy a happiness unknown to princesses; you will be free from ambition; you will love and be loved. Be consoled; you will recover poesie and royalty."

we hear splenetic grumblers exclaim against the climate of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, and make odious comparisons with reference to Paris, or when the want of a romantic and chivalric spirit among our young gentry is before them, they will refer them to the foregoing extract.

Lin speaks feelingly of the miseries of a washing day: on which they take up the carpets, and wax the floors, and add a new horror to those Parisians not actively employed in the nation.

19, 1857.)—"Happy the man who on this day can go to the theatre or at least, dine and pass the evening with a friend; but the wretch whom imperious necessity keeps at home, while the family is upsetting and removing. Not a room is habitable: one is a single article of furniture; in another all the moveables are on another: the chairs are on the tables; the sofa cushions on the chairs; the presses are *condemned* by all the things piled up on them. The poor victim asks for his breakfast. 'Ah, sir! the knives and knives are in the press;' and the victim breakfasts on a knife. A shop keeper presents his little bill for sixty francs. The victim says: he will not give the man the trouble of calling again. He goes into his bed chamber; finds not his secretaire; walks into the dressing room; no furniture but plenty of *frottoirs* at work; finds

provided with a kind of sweeping brush charged with bees' wax, the frottoir applies his foot thereto as a digger to his spade, and

his way through many impediments to the dining room ; and the article required at the lower end of the apartment be piano. He displaces a mountain of chairs, he removes a h he manœuvres with much address, and at last attains his ob applies the key, the bolt shoots back, but the piano preven from opening beyond an inch or so. There is a sofa before and a huge divan before the sofa, and the bill-bearer goes with ment : no one breakfasts, nor pays his bills the day the c taken up.

"Just at this moment our unfortunate receives a note charming widow to whom he is paying his addresses, containing invitation to dinner. Quick, quick ! a loving, grateful r be dispatched forthwith. He rushes to a table : alas ! it is a card table. 'François, where is my writing desk ?' 'T behind the *armoire*.' But the press is of Buhl, and heavy bargain, and it would not be wise to risk injuring it : bes masked by a commode. 'Give me my writing case at least I am just after cleaning out the ink-stand, it was so clogge patience ! what shall I do ? I must return a verbal answ that I shall have the honor—that I ask a thousand pardons R. for not returning a written answer ; but they are lifting up pets, and I have not even a table to write at.' François, prehending the beginning of the message, gives a free tran Mme. R.'s servant, 'Monsieur asks a thousand pard Madame ; if he has not sent a note, it is because we are taki carpets ;' adding from himself, 'I have not seen such dust years that I've been with Monsieur.' 'Well !' said Mme. servant eagerly. 'M.' • • • presents his excuses to be can't have the honor, for he is taking up his carpets.' receive this message from himself ?' 'No, Madame, it François ; he said he was very sorry that he could not writ were taking up the carpets.' Mme. R., in high resentment unexpected visit to her sister in the country. At 6 o'clock thing is got into its place at our young friend's, and he dro self with the greatest care, all the while anticipating the ha ing he is to spend in the society of the lady of his choice. misses his tilbury at the *porte-cochère* of Mme. R.'s hotel, the court, and without listening to the porter, he runs up He meets the *Maitre d'Hotel* on the landing place, his h head—very odd, 'Mme. R.?' asks the unfortunate w troubled voice. 'Madame has just gone to the country to sister.' The hapless youth rushes down stairs, and across to catch his tilbury, but it has had a five minutes start of he is obliged to content himself with an indifferent dinner dinary eating-house. He feels that the two ingenious ser skilfully caused the mistake, though ignorant of the exact p the mismanagement. So he laid up these maxims in his chance of a good breakfast, of settling an account, or ac welcome invitation the day you lift your carpets."

with a jerking motion he pushes on, and soon has his floor and slippery as a mahogany table.

de Girardin looked with little complacency on competition in literature or commerce. Apropos to seeing the actors and actresses dispersed among the various theatres, great and small, she would prefer to see a galaxy of them at two theatres, a state of things which our literary and theatrical solons here, have upset with a world of trouble, and she would not wish to see restored at any price. Our actress looked only to the disagreeable features of the state of things. She thus vents her displeasure.

It is not a pity to see all the good actors scattered among the theatres, while the large ones are absolutely in want of subscribers. What a miserable thing is competition! Instead of bringing competition to business to perfection, its struggles only lead to a denouement. The eloquent apostle of communism, the excellent Fourier, was unhappily too much in the right, when he thus depicted the organization of existing societies.

'Everywhere,' said he, 'you see every class interested in wish-evil of others; and private advantage in direct opposition to the advantage of the masses. The man of law is anxious that dis-should prevail among the rich, and induce *good* law-suits; the farmer limits his aspirations for the common weal to their enjoyment of *good* fevers and *good* catarrhs; the soldier desires a *good* kill off half of his comrades, in order to secure his own promotion. The purveyor longs for a *good* famine which will double the price of food; the wine merchant has no objection to a hail storm on the vine-yards, or a *good* frost on the buds. So all the social conditions; every one feels a rivalry or jealousy towards others, and cannot thrive except at the expense of his fellows.'

Two days of this week we have been zealous Fourierists, but two days only. We were reading the work of Mme. Gatti de Courrier which explains the system of Fourier; and we were thrown into a transport of admiration. The frightful history of social selfishness, frequently written, filled us with indignation. The Unitary system of the Phalanges appeared as a great problem resolved. To the poor without taking from the rich, that was a superb establishment equality by education was wonderful; the invention of the *passionelle* industry was truly sublime. A note introduced towards the end of the book promising 144 years average term of man's life infused some suspicion, and when we came to the chapters on the *cosmogony* and the *immortality* of the Phalange, we became schismatics and deserted the Phalange.

Fourrier was undoubtedly a man of genius; and he has experienced the fate of every one who, after long meditations has discovered a new idea. He became the victim of this idea, and a martyr in consequence. There is not on earth a punishment greater than that

Fourrier's, Phalansteries, no one was to be employed except to which he was strongly attracted.

inflicted on the inspired, convinced, and enthusiastic possessor of a discovery capable of changing the whole face of things, but not able to convince the world of the importance of his discovery. His enthusiasm restrained becomes folly; his unemployable turns to monomania. No one entertains a great idea with more ardour than Fourier was many years the victim of the great idea he had conceived. He had long hoped to see it realized; but the obstacles, nay impossibilities. * * Occupied with elaborate details of his idea, he changed its nature and destroyed it, by striving to reduce it to a system. For, after all, what is a system but a little part of the whole which you wish to compress the world! it is a little spot from which you wish to inspect the whole universe. System is the great enemy of great minds, preyed on by the fever of inaction; what chance has a great idea, misunderstood and undervalued, but conversion to a system? his vast projects were absorbed in impossible revisions, scientific combinations, lost in extravagant conjectures, he was discouraged and fatigued in such a terrible strife, in his despair he found faults with the most innocent creatures. He accused the Creator of injustice; he found faults with the earth in a moral sense: he regarded her as a young ill-reared planet who is too eager to be married, he attacked the moon without any just cause; and as he wished to improve the world, he was not satisfied with its Creator. This is the result of his plained. His system was to produce universal happiness; he had need of a religion such as ours, which preaches resignation and glorifies suffering. Poor fool! he suppressed consolation, patience, and reserved for his universe nothing but genius and death.

"All this is to say, that if they had aided Fourier in his first idea, he would have employed in realizing it, a common sense and understanding which has been thrown away on devotedness to explaining it. Face to face with the difficulties of execution he would not have had time to write pamphlets, to disparage the existing religion and reform Christianity. He would not have turned an important discovery to a burlesque system. Instead of composing innumerable sensible books, he would have founded useful establishments. He who now laugh at the exaggeration of his principles would have found nothing of his ideas but what they possessed of ingenious, practical, sound, and generous.

"Oh, how culpable are the ignorant powers of our day! who neither appreciate the real worth of men, nor the value of their discoveries! who can neither foresee nor examine; who are more of experience than of instinct, and who pine in poverty surrounded by priceless treasures; who are feeble, and pervert their strength who compose their strength to expend their energies for the benefit of others; who let their writers labour for mere support, then die of chagrin, and allow their geniuses, who might pervert them, to become fools."

In noticing Edmond Texier's* *Critiques*, Fourier

* *Irish Quarterly*, No. XII.

ers were slightly handled, along with the wonderful to which men, beasts, and planets would arrive in. Whales would be drilled to draw whole fleets through and sharks to catch fish for man's use. As the are sentient, and capable of conveying their ideas to er, we might turn the knowledge thus to account. respondent in Calcutta would make a telegram to when passing his meridian, and the *mercurial* officer, he bye is provided with a tail six feet long, and a le eye at the end of it, coming to the meridian of in six hours, would telegraph to Greenwich hospital, ey are keeping a sharp look out for him through a forty times the power of Lord Rosse's.

ild speculations of one age are exceeded by the reali- another. It might be said of Fourier, what some fop n Anne's day said of Achilles, that 'he was a pretty r his time:' but beside the convenience of the electric w clumsy was our prophet's mode of conveying the rent. Still some of his dreams are not likely to be nor surpassed. The planets, according to him, will be communicate their peculiar virtues to each other, thus g the flavor of meats, and the culinary and medicinal of herbs. And after some long lapse of ages, when day of a planet has come, it unites itself to the next nt wandering body it meets, incorporates itself there- t as the *Beer-jug Gazette* is blended with the *Coal- rald*, communicates to its new partner an additional nd fertility, and a new cycle commences.

ne name and influence of our brave communist has ted French heads only. Looking at Mrs. Trollope's ece, as adorning the volume of *Jessie Phillips*, you y that she might be safely permitted to read Four- d visions, without finding her nice sense of morality n the slightest degree, nor her sound Church-of-Eng- ciples weakened; yet see the unhappy result. Once od old Christian and Tory, she poised her orthodox d prostrated the hypocrite of Wrexhill; and in foreign e mixed with old fashioned Christians, and "very plauded" what she saw and heard. But see the dire bad reading, producing an unhealthy state of the in- nd breaking out on the surface of her later novels,

which the indulgent reader may please to consider a lope (vulgo the skin) of her internal life. A young man, disturbed by the prevalency of existing evils, and perceiving the best means of comforting and doing good to heretics and sisters, ill-favored by fortune, invites her to a conference, and they take refuge in an underground grotto; and there uninfluenced by the brawling of the world, she gravely proposes the study of Fourier's amelioration; for they must acknowledge that "it's the world they live in;" that it can't be much worse; that Fourier's system promises well at all events, that it is a trial, and that, even if it fail, they will not find it below their point of departure.* She introduces a period of her experience, a very respectable Catholic, a respectable that is, in the eyes of *Mrs. Matthews* and estimable folk of the novel, and of course in those of the authoress herself; and this conscientious clerk commends himself to our respect by revealing secrets heard in the confessional from a quasi penitent, who confessed them with the hope that he (the confessor) would blab them in a certain way. And a woman of information and undoubted talents, who would believe such absurdity, and respect that man who in real life be considered a sacrilegious hypocrite; for he acknowledges elsewhere that his faith in the doctrine of the church is of a very slender, nice, and eclectic character. He is afterwards introduced to a high-born, well-bred, and well-educated, selfish, self-indulgent, and worthless as he can well be, who is made to appear almost conscientious and estimable, in contrast with a high-church clergyman, an inveterate shipper, and unamiable character.† The young hero is not to be expected to be firm in the religious dogma.

* For particulars the inquisitive reader is referred to the *Novels of Marriage, Mrs. Matthews, and Uncle Walter*.

† Some years since, a very low-church publisher in our country, in order to disparage the practice of auricular confession, published a little scrubby pamphlet appropriately illustrated, and then introduced it into any Christian family blessed with young people. It is probable that there is no more than one bookseller in the country who would exhibit this precious pamphlet in his window at the present day. We consider that the odious sketches in *Uncle Walter* are about as praiseworthy in design (not so bad in effect) as the attempts of the Dublin worthy, who wrote, illustrated, and issued the brochure, so valued by our unique Holywell-stre-

by either of these gentlemen. So being confined to her
 efforts for the interests of the story, she lays her
 own earnestly to the study of the *Nemesis of Faith*.
 As our younger readers see the bad effects of studying
 visionary Utopian schemes of Bona, Campanilla, Nicholas,
 Proudhon and others on the judgment of a staid old
 man ought to have known better, we request them not to
 waste lucubrations for hand-books of morality or religion
 tedious moments; but having a wholesome dread of
 hardness of youth, we would scarcely give the advice
 knowing that the works in question are scarcely

Proceed to quote from an amusing medley dated 12
 37. She takes notice of the unamusable condition of
 to have yearly tickets for the opera; and her remarks
 remind us of nearly forgotten nights some twenty years
 when we did see an occasional play. It enhanced
 the moment during an interesting or comic scene, to cast
 towards a stage box, and let it rest a moment on a most
 likely duo or trio of young ladies who occupied it. There
 neither muscle of face nor of body moved at the most
 nor the most laughable incidents; but when the in-
 flame rather too intense, they languidly looked towards
 There was not even the variety described in the act-
 of old Williams:—

“When joy the liveliest is exprest,
 He points his toe and slaps his breast;
 But when a prey to deepest woe,
 He slaps his breast and points his toe.”*

For the locality we would have said that they were
 some dismal weird, or performing penance, as we can
 no visit of ours in which they were not present.
 de Girardin takes notice that the occasional visitors
 at stupid opera on the boards simply lament the loss of
 its price and that of the evening, and all is over; but
 the occupants find themselves,

capable of such a pitch of philosophy: for them a bad opera is a
 failure. An absurd ballet is a year's failure; for them one stupid
 multiplied by twenty stupid evenings. Hence we hear in
 actors, and airs, and steps hissed, a thing unknown in the
 former days.

Diary epistles to Frederic Jones, quoted from memory.

"There has been a great outcry against the ministry for giving the cross to Simon the dancer; yet the ministry is in the right. A dancer under peculiar circumstances, merits the cross, he deserves it. To give the Cross to a dancer is no crime, but to refuse it when one is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, rather than to give it to a man of letters, is a crime. The notions of the fitness of things. The grimaces and gaucheries, much less the bounds and pirouettes of the civilization, very much from the dignity of the man decorated with it. The weight of a dancer's honors will impede the airy movements of the *entrechats*. Glory lives by privations; it requires heavy sacrifices. There are honors incompatible with certain conditions, with certain triumphs; but we must take things with their accompaniments. The case in point is presented by the bell-hanger of Chateau de Fontainebleau, who was ruined by taking dinner with the King of the French. An honest tradesman used to go from chateau to chateau, to mend the damaged locks, and putting bell wires in order. He was at each chateau for two or three days, in fact till all his little business was completed, taking his meals in the kitchen, and then being sent to his room, content with his treatment and pay. But when his patronage was known, he understood that his rank in the National Guard had brought him to the notice of the King to compliment Louis Philippe, and that he had dined with the King and the Princesses, the Ministers and the Ambassadors, that he was to think of entertaining him at the same table with chamberlains and footmen. A locksmith not so highly honored was employed in the same place, and he lost all his customers. He was a proud man, but he submitted to his fate; solicited the office of *Garde Chambrée*. Now with sword on side, he consoles himself for loss of profits, by saying with becoming spirit that he had had the honor to dine one evening at the king's table. Glory has its rigors which must be endured.

The *Vicomte* proceeds to relate the difficulty of finding entertainment or enjoyment in Paris at this season. At the *Tortoni's* you get ices without sugar, and breathe an air so much infested with tobacco. If you return home you find your friends and think of your friends gone to the country, who are in the country, and ennui, feel it at least in good health and surrounded by fresh air. That is something: and then they walk about in the country, exercise is out of the question in the city. In the Tuilleries, the children and their hoops beset you, and on the Boulevard, mock Turks poison you with their perfumes, under pretext of burning the pure pastilles of the *Parfumerie* of your nose.

"What has become of that being, beloved of the gods, that is mentioned by poets, that great unknown whom every one wishes to see?"

* An office combining the duties of game keeper, with those of a rural policeman.

being indifferent to your interests but still carrying hope along with him; that undefined personage whom we call the *visiteur*, amiable individual, who without compromising his dignity, furnishes entertainment to every one. People sitting before their doors, keep their looks on him as he listlessly walks on, and he furnishes a piquant expression or two to their lazy discourse. The smiling young girl in the balcony follows him with her eyes; the gouty old gentleman beholds him with envy from his window, enjoying his walk; the crying child dries his eyes to get a better view of him. He furnishes a new idea to his beholders; he imparts, unknown to himself, a sentiment to every looker-on: he is distraction personified; and a distraction is always a benefit both to the sad and the joyous. The *visiteur*, hope of the shopkeeper, future of the poor, exists no more for Paris. Perhaps he still perambulates some distant quiet streets; but in our fashionable ones he dares not venture. In these, a walk becomes a strife, the flags the field of battle; to walk is to wage war. A thousand obstacles oppose you, a thousand snares are laid for you, those you meet are your foes, every step you advance is an enemy overcome. The streets are no longer free passages,—public ways; they are bazaars where every one displays his wares, ateliers where each exercises his craft in the open air. The sideways, narrow enough as they are, are converted into a permanent exhibition. You leave home in a reverie: an important business, an affair of the heart, or perhaps a literary project, occupies you; and trusting to the prefect of the police, you push on, fearing nothing but horses, vehicles, or ill-reared donkeys. These are quite enough, but for their avoidance you trust to instinct. At the corner of your own street a dozen casks are arranged before a wine shop in symmetrical order; but preoccupied as you are, you knock up against the one next you, and get a disagreeable bump. You express your feelings in language more or less energetic according to temperament and birthplace, and continue your route. Your ruling idea besets you again, and a bucket full of water is flung between your legs. Never mind! a porter is solicitous for freshness before his post. It will be nice and dry in half an-hour, but for the moment you must quit the flags. You next experience a great heat, and looking up in a fright you are almost stifled with smoke. An *emballeur** is merely closing his boxes surrounding them with canvas, and exercising all the disagreeables of his profession on the pavement which is completely impeded by those big chests. Irritated by these delays, you hurry on, and knock yourself against a straw chair at the corner of the street, still on the flags. Why is that chair in that inconvenient place, and why has that lady established her domicile on a straw chair at the corner of a street? She is a tooth-pick seller and in deep mourning. She is so for five years, and the entire quarter is weary of her griefs. We advise her to remove her chair to some street where her woes will possess some novelty. Still you respect affliction, and quit the *paré*. After a while you resume it again, and behold a

* One who makes up large packages.

“ The fact is, that the *trottoir* now-a-days belongs to except the lawful owner, whom I take to be the foot passer fruit sellers encumber it with their baskets ; china dealers adroitly for the disposal of their wares. You cannot purchase a flask, a cup, or a glass ; and you pay for the article the buyer in spite of himself, is the discovery of our age. *missionnaire* uses an ingenious device to get employment. He himself out on the pavement to sleep (?), and if you wish demolishing his nose or breaking his arm you are splashed in the kennel. Of course the sleeping fox runs for a cabriolet not fit to be seen, and his readiness cannot be left unrequited these are not the only dangers. From nine till twelve on the carpet showers, and you enjoy the dust of the houses through the window. A friend of ours lately received on a bonnet from Leghorn, a pair of beautiful scissors of English make, and the fringes of a carpet ; its mistress is probably looking for very hour in every corner of the house.

Under the date, July 19, 1837, we find a paper, part

we cannot help extracting though the subject is touched on in our introductory matter : the reader will scarcely regret the picture of which the outline only has been presented.

"Who is that keen flatterer, that first dared to say that the French are a light people? We, light indeed! There exists not on the earth a more grave, more routinish, more manical people than ourselves, and nothing is more enduring than a mania. A passion may be overcome, a mania never. And why do they call us light? Is it because we occupy ourselves about frivolous things? But if we are occupied about them seriously, it is not lightness nor frivolity any longer. A frivolous character attaches importance to nothing, we on the contrary attach great importance to a——NOTHING. In order to express French unsteadiness, we would not say a butterfly on a flower, a fly on a feather, a child in a swing, a swallow on a weather-cock, a slight weight on a slender twig. No: we would say a heavy fat man in a tilbury, a heavy weight in a slight machine, an exorbitant price set on a valueless object, a serious application to a piece of foolery, gravity in nonsense, a great zeal for matters of no worth. * * * Our understanding, our spirit may be light and airy; our character is the reverse, and has been so from earliest times. Love of change constitutes a mutable character, but with us nothing changes, we are always the same.

"We vary our kings a little, that is all; we never vary our pleasures; our tastes are everlasting, our fashions of a frightful solidity. You might, in order to express the stability of a thing, say that it will last as long as a fashion. For thirty years, our men believe themselves delighted with their ugly dress; for fifteen years, our women are encumbered with their leg o' mutton sleeves; and for forty years, thick muslin cravats imprison the necks of our fashionables. We will be happy under a reign that endures the length of a fashion; to attain the period of a fashion is to live to a good old age.

"We, light indeed! look at us on holidays, for it is in their hours of pleasure, that a people's character can be known. Look for truth not in a well, but in a hearty laugh. The dances of a country are the stamp of their originality. Look at a Spanish dance! what pride—what grandeur! how well it exhibits the fine shape! it is an extra ornament on beauty. Behold the dance of Italy, joyous and passionate! it is the delirium of an imagination always active, which expresses itself in movements so quick, so lively, that it would appear impossible for the performer to stop.* It is an amusement resembling he exercises of a madman. Think of the German valse! what handon! what langor! what enjoyment! Even the English dances, so active so restless, so quarrelsome in appearance.

"And now consider the Gallic performance. What pedantry! what pretension! a dance of actors who wish to be admired, a piece

* We were about being displeased with the chevalier for omitting our Irish jigs, but with a slight variety he describes their character these allusions to the Italian steps.

of vanity in performers who are only anxious to know what is of them. And it is not only at fashionable balls that the is so serious; the same things are not a whit more amusing in the villages. The balls of Musard are simply grosser in their nature, but have no more genuine hilarity than the others. The same at our theatre. For sixty years there is no change in our performers; the sky-blue shepherds are replaced by white and red, but their steps are the same, and their admiration for their shepherds has not changed. For sixty years they have admired with the same postures; they have joined their hands the same way in the same enthusiasm, and they caress their chins with the same naïveté, to express their sense of her beauty. The shepherd springs forward, he assumes a pose, he is satisfied with himself but he discomfited; he bends his body backwards, he stretches his arms, he takes a bow, then he whirls. He whirls for a time, then stands firm on his feet with much pride, and seems to say, 'here I am.' This is the shepherd, thoroughly satisfied with himself, and makes no secret of it.

"He now slowly raises one leg in the air, keeps it suspended for some time, and then he turns on the other, the original position, pointing to the horizon like the pasteboard appendage of a kite, kept suspended by a wire. When he considers that he has done enough, he restores liberty to the stiffened limb, and it falls, the comrade of its own accord. He then strikes the boards with his foot in the style of a conqueror, and gives himself up to all sorts of contortions, but with the gravest air, till in order to give his partner, he sets himself to admire his partner. And these proceedings recommenced with the next *pas*; and every evening you will conduct himself in the same manner, and all for your amusement." Ah, you may say that we are giddy, that we are at our fashions, our entertainments, and our arts, and that we have no knowledge that we are the most constant people on the face of the earth. The Turks have quitted the turban, but we will not take aside the round hat. In Spain, the bull-fights have ceased, but in France, pirouettes will never cease. Call them changeable, whose dances are lugubrious, whose fantasies are changeable, whose fashions are eternal."

Forgetting her testimony to the endurance of our fair authoress mentions a change in the fashion of our bouquets, a paper alluding to the custom of sending bouquets on the day of the ASSUMPTION of the BLESSED VIRGIN, to a friend called Mary.

August 19, 1837. "The week has passed in the celebration of the family festivals. We do not exaggerate in saying that twenty thousand bouquets were distributed in Paris the day of the ASSUMPTION. All the myrtle flowers we have seen! and all enveloped in their white paper envelopes! Where were they sent? to a mother, to an aunt, to a sister, to a cousin. Who called Mary to offer homage to, among his cousins or his friends?"

an orphan, a widow abandoned by earth and heaven, if you put a bouquet to send on the Assumption to some woman. In all women young and old are called *Mary*; all the little girls *Mary*. This charming name, which perhaps no one ought to bear, is not only a religious observance; it is a pretension. Formerly they gave children the most extraordinary names from the now extinct folio romances. They called them Pamela, Palmyra, Clarissa, Zenobia, Clara, Clorinda, Aglaë, Amanda, Malvina. They looked out for a name by every one: they would not have a young lady of birth the same appellation as her waiting maid. This fashion has way: indeed we do not regret it; but we attack the opposition; the great pretension to simplicity, which induces mother to give the same name to her daughter has its ridicule. This last winter at a children's ball, we counted twenty-*ry*s, you could hear nothing but Marie, 'Marie, come here, Marie;' and every time, twenty-two little ladies all ran they heard the call. The abuse of the best things is so un-*re*, that we have begun to dislike this name so sweet in itself. At this moment we would welcome *Calphurnia*, *Fatima*, *Ismenia*, *Legonda*. It would be at least less pretentious than the dear *Mary* which perforce of becoming fashionable, has lost its charm.

the family festivals have succeeded those of the colleges. Distribution of prizes has been one of the most interesting solemnities of the year. It is a joyful day for the parents, even though they are mothers and queens. A mother has said, on learning that her son had obtained the prize for history, 'In his position it is the prize particularly wish for him.' This mother is the Queen of the *M. the Duke D'Aumale* has reason to be proud of his son. According to general opinion, he deserved it. They say the Duke de Montpensier was fly-fishing at Neuilly, when he came of his acquiring the prize of Natural History. His son was so great, that he dropped his rod; and the fish on the point of being pulled up, made his escape. This event proves that the great is occasionally favorable to the little—fishes in this

was a good idea, that of the king's to give to his children an opportunity of sharing one of the most delightful enjoyments of boyhood and himself to come down from the anxieties of his royal seat, his children crowned just as an honest citizen would do. The distinction the young dukes enjoyed was that of being able to score more than one of their family to witness their triumph, each pupil having the enjoyment of one ticket only.

Mothers commonly shed tears in abundance on these occasions. The physical effect is useless to resist; the better scholar the child the more abundant the tears. If you see a woman bathed in tears, in a state bordering on despair, you may be certain that she is the mother of the youth who has been crowned three times. The prizes are respectively in proportion to the importance of the contest. The prize for French declamation being given, she

wipes her eyes. At the prize for Latin translation, she face with her handkerchief; Greek translation, she tears;—Cosmography, she sobs. Happily they pass class; she comes to herself, and the tears resume their course with another woman. Tears like these are sweet. woman's life: the tears which they are not ashamed to the eyes of others are the recompense of those they must keep secret."

Among the successful students are named O'Donnells (A sister of Delphine's was married to one of them). In the evening the pupils were treated to the performances of the Tournament and the Indian races at Tivoli, which amused our fair looker-on better than these, was handed to the spectators by one whose position shielded him from such worldly speculations.

TOPPIN,

THE TIVOLI HERMIT.

N.B.—*His spouse* washes and mangles, Rue de Bussy, Not far from the Rue des Mauvais Garçons.*

"It is pretty evident that it is a badly conducted household in which a hermit and a washerwoman live together in comfort. Our hermit's wife has plenty of customers, adieu to solitude, our hermit has a moment to himself. On the other hand, if the hermit had absolute retirement, his wife will see no customers, and the hermit's business. The idea of this household has caused us some anxiety; but why should a mangle woman think of marrying at all!

"This hermit recalls to our minds a practical piece of comedy of which he was the accomplice. Some years since, a humble but clever person being at Tivoli in grand company, borrowed a wig, gown, wig, and long beard; and being thoroughly concealed in disguise, he waited patiently to be consulted. A confederate brought all the handsome women of their acquaintance who were to come and visit him; and the false hermit amused himself by roughly prophesying for every fair visitor, whatever his wife was most anxious to obtain."

In the Feuilleton of 21st October, 1837, Mme. de Staël examines the different systems of those who divide the

* Your porters, and small shopkeepers in Paris would not be so far from being a *wife* for any 'earthly crowns' (see *Miss Miggs* passim). Dukes, peers, and ordinary gentlemen who can afford to be so, are in the same position. Ourselves have seen undoubted gentry cordially received by their dependants and humble acquaintance in public, but not by a green grocer, second hand bookseller, or working carpenter, or by a grand shopkeeper of the streets called Grafton, St. James's, or Westmoreland.

not for the general weal. Probably the number of the rather small with us ; and it may be well supposed that it is a difficult task to conduct a whole population of *Meneurs*.

"A woman of understanding thus accounts in her peo for all the revolutions that have taken place amongst us are in the world two classes that wage incessant war on who hate and despise, and will hate and despise each other and these are the people who wash, and the people who do not wash their hands. You will never succeed in reconciling them, they will never live together in peace, for there is one thing that cannot be overcome—disgust ; another thing that cannot be overcome—humiliation ; and in this quarrel, disgust clings to one party, and humiliation falls to the other. You can never induce a dancer with a rag-picker, no more than you can induce an ugly woman to surround herself with beautiful ones. Neither will you ever persuade people who wash their hands to live on good terms with people who do not wash their hands."

"Now for the latest classification. 'We resemble the animals, or they resemble us, more or less. You sir, resemble the eagle—Monsieur, the jackall—Madame, the marquisette, the squirrel.' A friend of ours has laid down the matter, thus :—'Human kind consists of two great races, *dogs* and *cats*.' He does not mean to say that we lead a life ; on the contrary we agree well enough together ; different but we are not unfriendly. The individual of the *Dog* has all the good qualities of that animal, good-nature, cordiality, and frankness, but he is also encumbered with his defects, indolence, improvidence, and *bonhomie*—'woe the day ! if he be a virtue of the heart, it is a defect in the character. The *Cat* man (properly so called) is full of good, solid qualities, but he lacks address. He is very rarely a seducer : he is destined to employments where courage, probity, and frankness are required. He makes a good soldier, a good husband, a sincere friend, a good servant :—he is a good comrade, a sublime dupe. They furnish heroes, poets, philanthropists, faithful notaries, magistrates, commissionnaires, water-carriers, cashiers, bank-clerks, carriers : in fine, they always select such offices as leave them to remain honest men."

"But the brave *Dog*, though adapted to feel love, seldom has affection returned. He married some one who has seduced him, lends money to young play-wrights, who notwithstanding ruin him a pit ticket :—His wife whom he adores, is a coquette, ruined by his children. Socrates, Regulus, Epaminondas, Washington belong to this devoted class."

The *Cat* man on the contrary has none of the good qualities of the *Dog* man, but he reaps all their attendant advantages. He is crafty, avaricious, ambitious and envious, jealous and per-

* This quality including good-nature united to weakness, not having an exact equivalent in English, we have used the original.

dent, adroit, agreeable, gracious, persuasive, gifted with
ce, management, and seduction. He possesses an infused expe-
ne makes a shrewd guess when knowledge fails; he finds
they wish to conceal from him: he absorbs with impunity
g calculated to injure him. The *Cat* man never cultivates
rtues, but he easily acquires all profitable ones. This race
great diplomatists, prime ministers, K——s but we will not
nce. It supplies seducers, and generally all those whom
call *perfidious*. Ulysses and Hannibal, Pericles and the
de Richelieu, belong to the *Feline* race. We are indebted
most of our fashionable beaux and many statesmen, for in-
de—— but we will not be guilty of flattery.

ingenious system admits all the nice shades which education
uce. Thus a *Dog* man brought up among the *Cats*, often
some of their profitable defects, and gets rid of his own per-
ood qualities. He becomes mistrustful; he preserves his
goodness, but he repulses all those who desire to abuse it.
res many bad gifts which perfect his character. A *Canine* man,
up in Normandy, becomes a finished prefect, a ditto banker
manufacturer, or a ditto speculator. He is a man of honor
ws the world, no more a dupe than a cheat.

the finest specimen of all is the *Cat* reared up among the noble
Dogs,—for instance in Brittany. He becomes the irresistible
e superior man. He preserves his address and profound
nce, his infallible instinct, his finesse, his grace; and he ac-
the good properties of his patrons. He even exhibits among
friends an extra amount of goodness, for it is difficult to
a just medium in circumstances not of habit, nor natural.
rted *Cat* is much more generous than a *Dog*. He is deter-
surpass every one. * * Buonaparte was a *Cat* brought
g the *Dogs*. He was a Corsican whose dreams were of
t of revenge.

October, 1837. "The other day we were guilty of a great
nce, though the *dog* and *cat* division was well enough re-
It was a pleasure to see the *Cats* coming forward and hum-
themselves to belong to the *canine* division, while a great
dland cunningly confessed in a low voice, 'I was frightened
rticle, for I had some doubts about being considered a *cat*.'
meneurs and *Meneés* came off very fairly too: it was a serious
t one of ours), and offended no one, as who may not reckon
among the *Meneurs*! Weakness of character is full of self-
and uses all sorts of misnomers to disguise itself. Obstinacy,
a weakness of the first order, gives its name to those with
abides as 'strength of opinion'; indecision calls itself 'pru-
stupidity is 'constancy of opinion'; and laziness, 'force of

Thus the feeble-minded not recognising themselves among
éés, have made no complaint; but how could the *unwashed*
ved or propitiated! People may believe themselves good
ey are evil, intelligent when they are silly, or charming when
e ugly; but no one can suppose that his hands are clean un-
y have been washed. The water is there to give the lie.

Error is impossible ; a flatterer could not persuade the fool in this matter. A crowd of courtiers would lose the flattering a prince on the grace with which he had just washed his hands, if the ablution had not taken place. Behold the issue we have been guilty of in launching a shaft which had aimed erringly to the centre of the butt, and the number of errors we have made among the dirty-fingered : it is really frightful.

However often M. de Girardin thought it expedient to change his political creed, we have not been able to detect through the four volumes of his lady's passing observations any views not consistent with rational liberty and good government, as we understand them on this side of the "seas." Her equanimity was frequently disturbed by the little insurrections so pleasantly described by De Balzac in *L'Homme Sérieux*.* In the paper of March 6th, she thus speaks :—

"The *Émeute* has not come to the gathering point ; it has proceeded yet to blows, it scolds. It abuses the people with its voitures. If it perceive a lady inside a coach, it cries, 'out of your ease ; you will take no trouble you can avoid : can you go on foot as we do ?' And not a harness or coach maker has been against this outcry. It is evident that the boot and shoe are in the majority. 'No more hackney coaches !' you say. Let us go on foot for the benefit of the commonwealth ; let the reform be adopted in its full rigor. Go on then, coachmen, footmen, hostlers, huntsmen, and prickers. We are the people—we will not indulge in a luxury which offends the nostrils. Go on good people : make out your living the old way : we don't want you : quit the stables, and become good citizens."

"And now that we must go on foot, what shall we do with our useless ornaments ? What good, for instance, in a gown of satin or sky-blue velvet to walk the streets ? a woollen stuff will quite well. Go to then, brave weavers of our old city : quit your looms, you are free : we have no further need of your wares. No more drudgery—be happy, and turn out good citizens."

"But if our ladies are no more to don these proud dresses, should they use expensive lace ? Down with all laces ! Down with the black and white, laces in relief, blonde laces, *point de Paris*, *Alençon*. Down we say with these humiliating ornaments. The women of the people will not have them. As a friend of the people we will not have the woman more bedizened than the man. More the floating veil ! ridiculous net, so often torn, so often misplaced. Lace merchants, close your shops ; give a holiday to the poor women : their eyes are injured by the delicate and unwholesome work. We are more generous than you, and will give them

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No.

"We have suppressed horses, coaches, satin, silk, lace: why should we spare jewels, the insulting jewels worn for no purpose by the rich, but to excite the envy of those who cannot afford them? What is the use of diamonds for instance, but to tempt the thieves? How can a lady crown her head with diamonds, and so many poor without bread! it is unjust. Jewellers, please to close your shops: we have no need of you, my friends: your art only serves to irritate the poor: you encourage vice in exhibiting all these treasures: go, do penance, and become good citizens.

"But the ribbons! Ah! they are so light, so graceful, so pretty! spare them. And why should we spare them? They fasten nothing, neither the hair, nor the dress: they are only ornaments, and ornaments must not be retained. The useful, and nothing but the useful! the useful is now the ornamental: we need to be dressed, not ornamented. What need have you of ribbons, Madam? To keep you warm! eh! No. Then renounce ribbons, and give rest to the thousands of arms that are now fatiguing themselves at St. Etienne to indulge your caprices. Leave these brave men time to occupy themselves with politics. Why should they spend the long day at labor? To support their wives and children—nonsense. It is only to indulge your whims in the fabrication of *cabbage heads*, *true love knots*, and *perfect contentments*, charming fantasies to which your inconstancy adds a new name every year. No more ribbons, dear weavers! you are all good citizens: cross your arms, and amuse yourselves with an excursion on your railroad.

"But as we have extinguished silks, velvets, manufactures of Lyons and manufactures of St. Etienne, why should we not render their liberty to the silk worms? The poor creatures! they are literally stifled. They are kept in an intolerable atmosphere; their fate is frightful. Poor insect! our luxury has kept you in durance vile, till now: bless this era of equality which restores you to liberty. The first century of our era saw the emancipation of the woman, the twelfth that of the slave, the eighteenth took the chains off the serf, the nineteenth will see the freedom of the silk worm. But here a disagreeable idea intrudes. What will the interesting *reptile* do with his independence? To pass from the dense air of servitude to which he has been accustomed for ages, into the inebriating atmosphere of liberty, will be too abrupt a transition to a being so delicate. And then you cannot emancipate an entire nation of caterpillars without some anxiety for their future well being. What employment can we procure for the insect? Shall we make him a citizen, or allow him political rights? he would not thank us for these privileges. Perhaps the place of *butterfly* in the royal gardens, or *cockchafer* in the crown forests might be secured for him.

"The more we think, the wider spreads the economical field before us. Suppress rich dress and ornament: then will the women, particularly the ugly ones, give no encouragement to mirrors, toilet-tables, or psyches. The manufacture of glass ceases, and the contented workmen will turn out the best of citizens. No longer caring to be seen by others, of course we go to no expense for crystal lustres or candelabras of gilt bronze. Ladies at a party in woollen

dresses, would not relish to be set in high relief by these suns. Smash the chandeliers! the lights of the understrata suffice for us: behold thousands of workmen now metamorphosed into joyous citizens!

"And now figure to yourself, saddlers, lace makers, rivetters, and workers in bronze, giving their arms to their wives, followed by their children, hungry and on foot, but on foot for the rest of the world; without money but equally without envy, without bread but without humiliation, without salary but without master, naked but free, wretched but proud, and enjoying the greatest of luxuries, idleness.

"There will be no longer a barrier between poor and rich, the strictest equality will unite the great and little, for all will be content. The dreams of our modern economists will be fulfilled, and they will be content. They will rub their hands,—perhaps they will wash them, but for a long time, Windsor soap (made at London) will have been suppressed as a most unnecessary fantasy, and of the people will be established, and the enemies of opulence phantoms."

"After all, these very means will be the surest to establish equality in time. Why were sumptuary laws enacted in former times? Why in Rome and Venice, did they forbid expensive displays? To prevent the nobility from impoverishing themselves by their follies, and enriching the inferior classes by their spoils; that the great are enriched by the sweat of the poor; and that the people are fattened on the prodigal follies of the rich. It is because the Duke of——is ruined by his waistcoat; the tailor has made a fortune; the Marquis of——and the count have lost their estates on the race-course, and *Crémieux* are thereby enriched. And you desire that our young *élégants* go on foot! they ought to be thankful to you, for you save them from that misery which would make them your equals. You deprive the people who labor, of all the money they would have if these young fools. Bravo gentlemen! you establish sumptuary laws which your opponents would not venture to tamper with, in the end will crush yourselves; you protect accumulated wealth by forbidding their owners to spend them, you stifle growing industry might tend by rivalling them in time to preserve equality; you work for the revival of the aristocracy, but the masses will regard you as being ultra-democrats."

* Notwithstanding all our Lady's keenness of penetration, her fortunes and little luxurious expenditure would make a hard thing of things than our present boundless luxury and miseration. It is a hard thing for a delicately nurtured lady, with a fine taste for literary and other luxuries. to see from the point of view of the struggling tradesman or la-

could not be doing justice to our fair writer, if we did to give some specimen of her devotional thoughts and poems. The reader will be struck with the religious element which pervades her poetic coloring.

Every one of us has some favorite festival. Some prefer the *Dieu*, and regret the beautiful processions, which formerly filled the city in every direction, with waving banners, youth with downcast eyes, and adorned with white crowns and veils, stalions of choir children exhibiting their scarlet robes in the sun, and then the rich tapestries hung out from balconies, the ancient tabernacles, with their rich accompaniments of superb bras, and precious vases—fairest mansions that could be seen by the rich of the earth to receive the Lord of Heaven. It is the most poetic of ceremonies, the vapour of perfumes uniting with the scent of roses, so as to intoxicate the senses of the devout worshippers.

For our spirits, we should say other hearts affect the day of the *Immaculate Conception*. For them the BLESSED MARY is the heavenly loadstone, from her radiates the effulgence of beauty, purity, and love. Claimed by every claim and right; she unites the chastity of the Virgin to the august dignity of the Mother; she is powerful in grace, absolute by her sweetness, awful in her innocence; it is to her intercession we sue, to obtain pardon of offences and to share in this spotless virtue.

For young wives, the festival of CHRISTMAS is a welcome solemnity. The lovely new-born INFANT captivates their eyes: they feel devotion blended with maternal love. To the hearts of the Saviour of the world scarcely speaks as powerfully as the *Jesus*. This festival is of so affecting a character, that it has made a poet of a friend of ours, who was very ignorant of verse, and on the morning, when on returning from early mass she improvised the following stanzas."

Follow some beautiful lines, which we would most willingly translate, had the poetic gift been among our birth-day gifts. They are the aspirations of a childless mother for a doubtful blessing, a child. We pray some lady on whom the divine afflatus has breathed, to open the fourth volume at page 10, and send us, either prepaid or unpaid, a transfusion of the sweet poesy they will there find. She was then a young childless wife, and there is an inextinguishable melancholy charm about the lines, that may be attributed to this circumstance.

THE EIGHTH DAY is also an imposing festival from the prevailing pomp which it brings with it. These proud kings prostrate before the manger, human power humbling itself before the divine, the pomp of the encircling glory,—all these images, grand and

gracious at the same time, strike the soul by their deep and charm the eyes by their vastness. Along with this the festival is a household festival. It brings together a joyful group with sportive contests, and childish merriment. It is with joy while the family reunion is complete; but alas, when it is vacant, the festival is only a day of mourning.

"But our own favorite solemnity is **PALM SUNDAY**. The sight of a bit of blessed palm (box wood) still affects us as a child. At Rome they have the genuine palm brought from the environs of Genoa. God knows how we love the palms! what profound respect we are inspired by this tree of the South, these waving branches embracing in themselves all the poet of the East; and yet the memories of our childhood are so strong, that the sacred palm blessed by the Pope himself, had a weaker effect than a little branch of Parisian box wood.

"Last Sunday the inhabitants of this great city seemed to be drawn together strongly with us. The drivers of the public vehicles, the collars of their horses ornamented with branches of palm, the women returning from church had their hands filled with a bit of the blessed shrub. Every one attached an idea, a belief, a sentiment to this sacred ornament, which he or she was going to place over some revered object—one over the portrait of his mother, another (it must be confessed) above the bust of Napoleon, a third over the holy-water vessel, a fourth over the image of her patron saint. 'What folly,' cry the philosophers, 'to pay such reverence to a dwarfish little shrub, which scarcely requires an inch of soil, and is only fit for making combs and snuff boxes!' Ah, what fine things the philosophers are! they never have the slightest distrust of themselves: their proud revelations, their lofty thoughts are ever at hand; and they have no need of exterior objects to recal them to a distance. What use can the image be to him who is never far from the idea, or the guardian recollection to him, whom a single memory has never led into a fault? We acknowledge that we do not have this strength of soul. We have need in our hours of prayer of a holy image, of a sacred souvenir, to come to our aid when our souls are in trouble, consolation and counsel enter through our eyes; and we make this acknowledgment readily, as we have seen minds of a very superior order succumb to the same weakness."

The longest article must have an end, but in this it is not for lack of material, as our selections have been extended beyond the first volume. For an exact picture of the period over which the papers extended, as to the public feeling, state of the fine arts, groupings in private and public life, they will be of the greatest value to the historian of those things which are neglected by the selection of the skeletons of past national events. We scarcely need a book better adapted to fill up hours spent in railroad car

banks of country streams, or on the rocks of watering
 Accounts of spectacles, races at Chantilly, exhibitions,
 s, and glances at the fashions, necessarily occupied
 ce as the feuilletons appeared. They will enter into
 eaux of some future Macaulay of the Champs Elysées ;
 a large portion of ordinary readers they would be
 ly uninteresting. However they do not take up dis-
 onate space. Some of the novels of this lady have not
 as much satisfaction as these journals of the *Chevalier*
ay. From the healthy tone of his lucubrations we
 d something more edifying than the plan and details
Marquis de Pontanges. A model lady marries a violent
 e would be glad to know how the dispensation was
), and bestows the most tender care on him. *Love-*
 comes domesticated at the castle ; and if she does not
 his clutches, it is not her religious nor moral strength
 es her. We are made to see however that if she had
 ray, it would be a mere self-sacrifice to her lover's ease
 , not a gratification to herself.* This fascinating
 last runs off out of pique, and marries ; but on re-
 from the church with his bride, he hears of the death
 ue love's husband. Oh, woe and desolation ! he runs
 chateau, and she knowing nothing of his marriage,
 him with the sincerest joy, as her future husband.
 ver she is presently undeceived, and he is obliged to
 console his deserted spouse. When she considers
 ured of her fantasy, they meet again in the gay world.
 ore infatuated than ever, and she, finding her heart
 ely healed, makes a marriage of reason and esteem.
 one suddenly, and without the knowledge of *Lovelace*,
 wife dies most inconveniently the very same time.
 ne genuine, but not very enduring sorrow on his
 flies like a steam coach to the castle of his long tried
 d is politely welcomed by her husband. We next
 him in a mad house, and we are not informed that she
 much happiness in her second espousals. She is how-
 ngly cominended for having retained her virtue and
 between two madmen. Now, however faulty the novel
 n outline and coloring, there was evidently no malice

a fine expose of this convenient help to morality see Miss
 th's *Leonora*. *Le Marquis de Pontanges* was an early work.

prepenance in the authoress's mind. She wrote to excite sympathy for the sufferings which the weaker portion of humanity endure at the hands of their selfish and unprincipled tyrants.

It is probable that Gay had no design of encouraging in former's or turnkeys' daughters to loose conduct, or shop boys to take to the road, when he wrote his dramatic sermon against hypocrisy and political knavery; yet the *Beggar's Opera* is a decidedly unedifying spectacle for young people. Blame of the same quality but lighter in quantity, may be justly laid to the *Marquis of Portanges*.

The Lorgnon (*Eye-glass*) is a very pleasant novellette. She evidently sketches herself in the heroine of the story: for the hastiness of expression, occasional sharpness of repartee or sarcasm, speedy remorse, and satisfaction for pain given thereby, kindness of heart, and defence of absent friends, qualities ascribed to the lady of the story, are thoroughly appropriate to herself, as we find her painted by her sorrowing literary friends and admirers.

In *Balsac's Cane*, an article which, carried in its master's left hand renders him invisible, she humourously ascribes his wonderful insight into character, modes of life of all classes, intimate knowledge of puzzling business affairs, &c., to the wonderful virtue of his bamboo—we are sorry for not having room for the extract.

It is surprising, and pleasant at the same time, to find respectful and affectionate references to religious usages, and sincere tribute to the spirit of religious influence, thro various papers of the series, when we reflect on the continual attendance of such lax professors as Balzac, Théophile Gautier, Latouche, &c., at her select reunions. Though we hear of no domestic complaints nor *amicable arrangements* for living apart, but on the contrary, great and successful efforts made at times by the lady to extricate the gentleman out of the hands of powerful foes in high places, we can scarcely suppose that her married life was blessed with much domestic comfort: she, living in the world of poetry and romance, he occupied day and night, struggling for a high political position, devising giant posters for the dead walls, and *canards* for the rise and fall of bubble and other shares in new companies. She is gone, and France will not see her peer for a century to come.

ART. III.—FAT AND LEAN.

Philosophy of Living. By Herbert Mayo, M.D.
Third Edition. London: Parker, 1851.

Physiologie Du Gout, ou Meditations de Gastronomie transcendante, &c. &c. Paris: Charpentier, 1842.

were a physician we should first write a good history
y; we should then establish one empire in that nook
e, and we should have the double advantage of having
ients those who enjoy the best health, and of being daily
by the fairest portion of the human race; for to have a
ortion of plumpness—to be neither too much, nor too
esh—is the study of woman's entire life.

we have not done, some doctor will yet do; and if
ful, discreet, and of an amiable disposition, we pro-
miracles of success. "Exoriare aliquis nostris ex
eres." We understand by obesity that state of oily
u, in which, although the individual be not sick, his
ease by degrees in size, and lose their original form
metry.

s a kind of obesity which is confined to the abdomen;
y observed in woman; as their fibre is softer and
aker, when they are attacked by obesity, it spares

We call this variety *gastrophory*, and *gastrophories*
o are attacked by it. We are even one of this class
; but although our corporation is rather prominent,
part of the leg is thin and wiry, and the nerve as
an Arab steed.

heless we have always looked upon this developement
eatest enemy. We have however conquered it, and
t to a fixed and convenient size: but to overcome it,
ecessary to make war against it; and it is to a contest
years that we owe whatever we have gained by the

This was also Savarin's weakness. He writes:—

begin by giving an extract from more than five hundred
which I formerly had with my table companions, who
ntened with, and suffering from obesity.

What delicious bread! Where do you get it?

At Limet's, *rue de Richelieu*; he is baker to their R. H.
of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé; I get it because he

is a neighbour of mine, and I continue it because I have made the best bread in the world.

Obese.—I shall take a note of it, I eat a good deal of with such bread as this I should never wish for any other.

Another Obese.—But what are you doing there? You lecturing all the meat in your soup, without touching that fine rice.

Myself.—It is a particular *regime* that I have adopted.

Obese.—It's a bad regime! I am passionately fond of rice as leeks, paste, and such things; nothing is more nourishing or more easily procured.

A perfect Obese.—Be kind enough sir, to pass me up your toes that you have before you. At the rate things are going I shall be late.

Myself.—There they are at your hand.

Obese.—But serve yourself first; there is enough for us and after us the end of the world.

Myself.—As for me, I never use potatoes; I look upon only useful in time of famine; in any other case I think them insipid.

Obese.—This is a gastronomical heresy! there is nothing better than potatoes; I eat them in every form; and should thank you up at the second course, either *à la lyonnaise*, or *au soufflé*. I protest that I am resolved to have my rights.

A lady Obese.—I should feel much obliged for those fine beans which I perceive at the end of the table.

Myself.—After having complied with the request, and having myself a well known air—

Les Soissonnais sont heureux,
Les haricots sont chez eux.

Obese.—Don't joke; they are a source of great wealth to your country. Paris consumes an immense quantity. I must beg your indulgence for those small beans that grow in market, and which are called *Windsor beans*; when they are your own a dish for the gods.

Myself.—My curse on all beans!

Obese, with a determined air.—I scorn your anathema. It is not to be said that you are a council in yourself, that you wish to every body?

Myself to another lady.—I have to congratulate you, on your improved health; it seems to me that you have grown stouter since last I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Obese.—I am probably indebted for that to my new regime.

Myself.—How is that?

Obese. For some time I breakfast on good gravy soup, sufficient for two; and such soup! the spoon would stand in it.

Myself to another.—Madam, if I am not deceived by your stouter since last I had the pleasure of seeing you, you will accept a part of this charlotte I am about to cut.

Obese.—Then, Sir, my eyes do deceive you; I have seen two things which I prefer; and they are both of the same

the one is this cake of rice from the gold coasts ; the other enormous Savoy biscuit ; for you must know that I am passionately fond of sweet pastry.

—The other lady.—Allow me, Madam, while they are discussing the other side, to serve you to this Frangipane tart ?

—With the greatest pleasure, there is nothing agrees with me so much as this than pastry. We have as tenant of ours a pastry cook ; even my daughter and myself, I believe we expend the whole of our pocket-money, and even more, on pastry.

—*After looking at the young lady.*—It seems to agree with you very much, your daughter is a very fine looking person, well fed.

—Well, sir, would you believe that her companions somewhere she is too fat.

—It is perhaps from motives of envy.

—That is very possible. But I mean to get her married, and her first child will settle all that.

—Such conversation that I have illustrated a theory, the truth of which I did not think existed in the human species : that corpulency is chiefly produced by a diet too much composed of starchy and mealy substances ; and thus I learned that the same diet is always followed by the same effect.

—We find that carnivorous animals never get fat (the wolf, the eagle, the hawk, birds of prey, the raven, &c., for instance)

—Carnivorous animals do not get very fat, at least so long as age does not reduce them to a state of repose ; and on the contrary they are always known to fatten, and in a little time, when they are fed with potatoes, corn and meal of every description.

—It is unknown amongst savages, or amongst those who are obliged to work to support themselves, and who eat but what is necessary to support life."

—According to the preceding observations, the truth of which I can verify, it is easy to determine the chief causes of

—The first is the natural disposition of the individual. Almost all come into the world with certain predispositions of the body which bear the mark on their countenance. Out of a hundred who die of consumption, ninety-nine have brown hair, long and the nose pointed. Out of a hundred obesities, one hundred have short faces, round eyes and flat noses.

—It is then true that there are some persons predestined to a certain degree of obesity, and whose digestive faculties, supposing everything else equal, absorb a greater quantity of fat. This is a physical fact, of which we are thoroughly convinced, has led to the fact of making us take rather pleasant views of things on certain occasions.

—When we meet in society a young girl, very sprightly, rosy-cheeked, with a roguish nose, round figure, plump fat hands

and short round little feet, every one is delighted with, consider her a charming creature; whereas we, instructed by experience, look upon her when ten years older, and ravages which obesity shall have made on all that fresh and so much admired, and we lament over afflictions have not yet come. This premature compassion is a feeling, and furnishes a proof amongst a thousand others, that man would be more unhappy if he could see into future.

The second and principal cause of obesity lies in the flour which is the principal element of our daily food.

We have already stated that all animals fed on such substances are sure to fatten; and man is subject to the same laws.

Mealy food produces more expeditiously, and with less taint, its effects when it is mixed with sugar; the sugars contain hydrogen, a principle common to both; and are both inflammable substances. Being thus combined, the more active, inasmuch as it is agreeable to the palate, thus sweet meats are seldom taken before the natural appetite is satisfied, when there remains but that other appetite for fat, which we are obliged to excite by all that the most refined and the most enticing changes can produce.

This kind of food is not less incrustating when it is mixed with drink, as beer and other beverages of the same nature. Those who drink it habitually are known to have the largest bellies; and families in Paris who, in 1817, drank beer for economy, when wine was too dear, were rewarded by an increase of corpulence, an appearance which they found very inconvenient.

A double cause of obesity results from too much sleep, and want of exercise.

The human body gains much during sleep, while it does but little, as the muscular action is suspended. It is necessary then that the surplus acquired during sleep should be expended by exercise; but by the fact of sleeping too much without the opportunity of action.

Another consequence is that, as great sleepers avoid the shadow of fatigue, the excess of assimilation is carried on by the force of circulation, and becomes charged, by a process which nature has reserved to herself the secret, with particles of hydrogen; and fat is formed to be deposited by the same operation, in the capsules of the cellular tissue.

The final cause of obesity consists in excess in eating and drinking.

been well remarked that one of the privileges of the species is to be able to eat without being hungry, and without being thirsty. This is a privilege that does not belong to the brute, for it has its origin in our indulging in pleasures of the table, and our passion for prolonging them. A morbid propensity has been found wherever man exists; that savages eat to excess, and get brutally intoxicated when the opportunity presents itself.

I take from Savarin the following curious passages:—

“We before us an example which may be known to half Paris. He had one of the most brilliant houses of the city; he was highly noted for the splendour of his entertainments, but he was remarkable for his bad stomach as he was for his love of the pleasures of the table, and he ate, what he knew would not agree with him, with a courage worthy of a better fate.

“He went on well up to the coffee inclusively; but soon his stomach rebelled against the labour imposed upon it, pains set in, and the unfortunate man was obliged to throw himself on a sofa, where he lay till the next day, to expiate, by long sufferings, the pleasures of a moment.

“The most remarkable is that he never reformed; during his life he refused to submit to this strange alternative; and his sufferings of the day before had no effect on the repast of the next.

“Those stomachs are in order are effected by excess in eating, and in the manner we have stated in the preceding instance. The food is digested; and what is not necessary for the renovation of the system becomes settled and is converted into fat.

“They again suffer from constant indigestion; whatever they take for food, and those who are ignorant of the cause are surprised to find that any good things do not produce a better effect.

“It is easily seen that I am not exhausting, or entering too far into this subject: there are many other secondary causes arising from our habits, the confused state of our passions and desires, which aid and stimulate those I have specified.

“I call that to my successor whom I have introduced in the beginning of this chapter, and will confine myself to what is the right course to come in all matters.

“For many years since intemperance first attracted the attention of philosophers, extolled temperance, princes made laws to restrain it, religion censured all excesses in eating and drinking, but the people ate as much as ever, and the pleasures of the table increased in more and more every day.

“Perhaps we are more fortunate were I to take another course. I will describe the *physical inconveniences of the stomach*, self preservation perhaps will be more persuasive than the voice of religion, more potent than sermons, more powerful than laws, and I am confident that the fair sex will not be deaf to the voice of reason and prudence.

Inconveniences of Obesity.

Obesity has a very disagreeable effect on both sexes as it impairs both strength and beauty.

It impairs strength, because in increasing the weight to be put in motion, it does not increase the motive power more injurious in obstructing respiration, which renders it to continue, for any time, any occupation which requires strength.

Obesity impairs beauty as it destroys that harmony of primitively established ; because all the parts do not increase to the same extent, or in the same manner.

It is injurious to it also by filling up those cavities which were intended to be empty : hence, nothing is more common than the faces which were once interesting, and which obesity has almost insignificant.

Napoleon was not an exception to this law. He became corpulent during his last campaigns ; from pale his complexion assumed a red and heavy appearance, and his eyes lost a good deal of their expression.

Obesity produces a dislike for dancing, walking, riding, and fitness for all kinds of occupations and amusements which require activity and skill.

It predisposes us also to various diseases, such as apoplexy, ulcers on the legs, and other affections difficult to be cured.

Examples of Obesity.

Amongst the heroes who were remarkable for their size, we only remember Marius, and John Sobieski.

Marius, who was originally of small stature, became as corpulent as was long ; and it was perhaps his huge size that frightened the bri who were sent to murder him.

As to the King of Poland, his obesity was very near cost his life. Having fallen into the midst of the main body of the cavalry, before which he was obliged to fly, he soon lost his footing, and he would have been certainly killed, if some of his aides had not supported him, almost insensible, on his horse, who generously sacrificed themselves to stop the enemy. It was mistaken the Duke de Vendôme, that worthy son of the great Duke, who was also remarkable for his size. He died at an inn ; about the age of 60 ; he had strength enough to see the last of his followers, and he died on the cushion on which he was lying, at the moment when he was about to breathe his last.

History furnishes numerous examples of monstrous obesity, but we shall omit them to speak only of those that have come under our observation.

M. Rameau, my school-fellow, Mayor of Chaleur, in France, was only five feet two inches, and weighed twenty stone.

The Duke of Luynes, with whom I often sat on the bench, was of an enormous size, his naturally fine figure was quite deformed by his huge shape, and he spent the last years of his life in a state of habitual somnolency.

the most extraordinary of all that I have seen in this way is a New York, whom many Frenchmen, at present living in my memory to have seen in Broadway, seated in an immense chair, the legs of which were strong enough to support a church. He was at least five feet ten, French measurement, and eight inches circumference. His fingers were like those of the Roman Emperor who wore his wife's necklaces as rings; his arms and thighs like tubes, of the size of an ordinary man's body, and his feet like an elephant, which were concealed by the size of his lower eye-lids were considerably drawn down by the weight of what made him hideous to look at was his three chins, or three which were hanging on his chest more than a foot long, so that the figure presented the appearance of the capital of a wreathed column.

In this state Edwards passed his days, at the window, in a parlour which looked into the street, drinking, from time to time, of ale, of which he had always a large tankard before him. His extraordinary figure could not but attract the attention of passers by, whom, if they imprudently delayed anytime, Edwards would put to flight, roaring with a sepulchral voice: "what do you do at, like wild cats! Go your way, you lazy body. Begone, and for nothing dogs," and such other gentle phrases. When he often saluted him by his name, I frequently conversed with him, and he assured me that he was not dissatisfied with his condition, and was not unhappy, and that if death would not trouble him he would be satisfied to live so till the end of the world.

From the preceding that, if obesity be not a disease, it is an indisposition, into which we fall, almost always, through no fault of our own.

It shows also that it is a state that all should endeavour to avoid, and not attacked by it, and that when they are, they should lose no time in curing themselves; it is for their benefit that we are about to investigate those resources with which science, aided by experience, has provided us.

The article thus continues:—

*Preservative against, or curative treatment of Obesity.**

I begin this article by a fact which proves that it requires resolution and strength of mind to preserve ourselves from, or to cure, obesity.

About twenty years since I undertook to write a treatise on obesity. My readers have much reason to regret that it was somewhat of a dramatic form; and in it I proved to the satisfaction of the public that fever was much less fatal than a law-suit; for by the time the litigant is kept in constant anxiety and suspense, obliged to plead falsely, and to suffer all sorts of annoyance; and after being exhausted of his rest, his pleasures and his money, finishes by dying of a broken heart: a truth as useful to be known as any other.

M. Louis Greffulhe, whom his majesty subsequently with the title of count, came to me one morning, and has been informed that I was about publishing a work on obesity. He was in much danger of being attacked by it, and wished my advice.

"Sir," said I to him, "not being a physician I am at liberty to refuse you: however I am at your service, but on one condition, that you will pledge your word of honor that you will observe for one month, the line of conduct which I shall propose to you."

M. Greffulhe made the required promise, shaking me by the hand, and the next day I delivered him my *fetea*, the first article of which was to weigh himself at the beginning and end of the month in order to have a mathematical basis to verify the result.

A month afterwards M. Greffulhe came to me and spoke as follows:—

"Sir, I have followed your directions with as much care as my life depended upon it, and I have found that my weight has increased by something more than three pounds. But to arrive at this result I have been obliged to do such violence to my feelings and to my health, in a word I have suffered so much, that in thanking you for your valuable advice, I renounce whatever good I might derive from it, and I resign myself for the future, to whatever Providence may serve for me."

After coming to this resolution, which I heard with much interest, the event proved what might be expected: M. Greffulhe got fatter and more in flesh, suffered all the inconveniences of extreme obesity, and, when scarcely forty years of age, he died of a fit of apoplexy, which he was subject to.

Generalities.

Every remedy against obesity should begin with the observance of precepts of absolute theory; discretion in eating, moderation in sleep, and exercise by walking and riding; these are the resources afforded us by science; however I have not recourse to them, because, from my experience of men and of the world, I know that no prescription which is not carried out to the letter, will have any effect.

For 1st, It requires much self-control to stand up before our appetite is satisfied; as long as we feel this want, we take irresistably leads us to take more; and in general, as long as we are hungry, in spite of doctors, but perhaps in spite of a whole army of doctors.

2nd, You could not pain persons suffering from obesity to propose to them to get up early: they will tell you that they would not permit it, that when they rise early they are good for nothing during that day; the women will complain of their heads being dull and heavy; all are satisfied to stop up late at night, and lose the entire morning for sleep; this is one resource lost.

Riding is a dear remedy, and is not adapted to people of all
stances, and to every position.

I propose to a handsome woman to take exercise on horseback,
gladly consent, but on three conditions: first, that she shall
have a horse, both fiery and gentle; the second is, that she have
riding habit, cut after the last fashion; the third is, that she
have a gentleman to accompany her, agreeable and well-looking.
It is difficult to procure all these, and therefore riding is out of
question.

Exercise gives rise to many more objections. It tires one to death;
we perspire, and exposes us to cold; the dust ruins the
clothes; the stones get through the thin shoes, and it is impossible
to wear them. In fine, if, during any of those various attempts, they
experience the slightest head-ache, or a pimple the size of the head of a
pin appear on the skin, they put it down to the system; it is
noted at once, and the doctor gets furious.

Thus convinced that to reduce our size we must eat with
moderation, sleep little, and take as much exercise as possible, we
never look for another way to arrive at this result. There
is no allible method for preventing our corpulency growing to
the point of diminishing it when it has come to that point. This method,
based on well known principles of physics and chemistry,
and on a dietary system adapted to the end we wish to attain.

The medicinal remedies, system is the most effective, because it
is in operation, day and night, sleeping and waking; because
it is reproduced every day, and it ends in subduing all
the body.

The *anti-obésique* regimen has been suggested as the principal and
general cause of obesity, since it has been proved that it is
the substances that fat is generated, in man, as well as in the
animal. Since with regard to the latter we see this effect produced
under our eyes, in the trade of fat cattle to which it has
been applied, we may conclude with certainty, that an abstinence, more
rigid from all mealy food, will have the effect of reducing

"Heaven!" exclaim my readers, of both sexes, "see what a
this professor is: he condemns in one word everything we
eat of fine bread from Liwet's, those biscuits from Achard's, those
macarons—and all those good things which are made with flour
and sugar, and of flour, sugar and eggs. He does not
condemn potatoes, nor macarones. Who would ever expect this from
a man who appeared in every other respect so amiable?"

"It is that," I ask, putting on a very wry face, which I assume
for the occasion. "Well then, eat as long and as much as you like, get
some ugly, heavy, asthmatic, and die, if you choose of fat:
upon it, you shall appear in my second edition. But, what
if this seems to terrify you, and you pray to avert the blow:
I shall lay down a rule for you, and prove that there
are enjoyments reserved for you on this earth where we live but
one. You like bread: well then you shall eat rye bread; it has
been since extolled by the excellent Cadet de Vaux; it is less

strengthening, and certainly not so palatable, which makes it difficult not to eat too much. For to be sure of ourselves, we must avoid temptation; bear this well in mind, it is worth remembering.

"Are you fond of soup; take it then, *a la gaulienne*, with vegetables, such as cabbages, herbs &c. but I forbid bread and pea soup.

"You may partake of everything at the first course, with few exceptions, such as rice and hot pastry. Eat, but eat with discretion; if you do not wish to satisfy a want hereafter, which will be a great deal unless you make it now.

"The second course is about to appear, and now all your calculations will be put to the test. Avoid all farinuous substances, whatever form they may be presented. You have roast meat and vegetables of which you can partake; and since you will not touch sweetmeats, prefer chocolate cream, and orange jellies, &c.

"Now comes the dessert. More danger; but, if up to this point you have acted prudently, you have nothing to fear.

"Have nothing to do with the ends of the table (they are provided with cakes, more or less ornamented) take neither macarons; you have all kinds of fruit, jams, and many other things of which you will know how to select, if you follow my directions.

"After dinner I would advise you to take coffee and liqueur. I would also recommend occasionally both tea and punch.

"For breakfast, rye bread by all means, chocolate rather than coffee. However, I do not object to coffee on milk, and strong; no eggs, but everything else as you please. But breakfast can never be too early. When breakfast is late, dinner is late, and before it is properly digested, which does not however prevent you from dining; and this habit of eating without an appetite leads to marked obesity, in as much as it is of frequent occurrence.

Continuation of the regimen.

Up to this I have traced the outlines of a system which you should adopt when threatened by obesity; I will now add a few precepts as a remedy for it when you are attacked.

"Drink every summer, about thirty bottles of *sedlitz-water* in a large glass in the morning, two before dinner, and as much before going to bed. Use at dinner light white wine such as those of the Rhine. Shun beer as you would the plague. Eat frequently radishes, chokes, pepper and salt, asparagus, celery, and cardoons. In cases of doubt be guided by some doctor who has adopted this system; and whatever time you begin to practice it, you shall long feel fresh, lively, active and in good health, in a word fit for anything.

"Having thus placed you on your road, it is but right to warn you of the dangers to which you are exposed, lest that carried out too great zeal in guarding against obesity, you might overdo it by running into the opposite extreme.

"The danger to which I wish to draw your attention, is the use of acids, which are often recommended by ignorant physicians, which experience has often proved to be most pernicious."

Dangers attending the use of acids.

is a very dangerous doctrine prevalent amongst women which every year causes the death of many young persons, and, that acids, especially vinegar, are a preservative against

doubt, the frequent application of acids makes us thin, but it is not so to our freshness, health and life itself; and although it is the mildest of them all, there are few stomachs that can stand a long time.

is a fact which cannot be too well known; there are few of us who could not furnish me with examples in support of it; I will select the following, as it somewhat relates to myself

In 1766, I was residing at Dijon, studying a course of law in the Faculty of chemistry under M. Guyton de Morveau, then Secretary-general, and a course of domestic medicine under M. Lavoisier, perpetual secretary of the Academy, and father of the Duke of Angoulême.

I obtained a feeling of friendship for one of the handsomest persons I ever remember to have seen; I say a *feeling of friendship*, which is strictly true, and at the same time surprising, for I was not at all disposed for stronger and more endearing ties.

This friendship, which we must take for what it was, and not for what it was likely to become, was characterised from the first moment of acquaintance, by great familiarity, and we enjoyed that confidence in each other which seemed very natural to us both; our conversation and whisperings without end, did not alarm mamma, for she was struck by the appearance of innocence and simplicity, worthy of the tenderest ages. Louise then, was very handsome, and she was particularly remarkable for that just proportion of classical fulness and grace of figure, which the eye delights to dwell on, and artists are fond of copying.

Although I was but her friend, I was by no means insensible to the charms which she unconsciously displayed; and perhaps they attracted, without my suspecting it, to that chaste sentiment which drew me to her. Let this be as it may, one evening, after talking with Louise with more attention than usual, "my dear friend," she said to me, "you are unwell; it seems to me that you have got thinner." "Oh! no," she replied with a melancholy smile, "I am not thinner, and if I am somewhat thinner than usual, I can, in that respect, afford to lose a little." "Lose!" replied I earnestly, "you must not lose or gain, remain as you are, charming creature," and she repeated such phrases, as a friend of twenty has always at his com-

At this time, I looked upon the young girl with interest and admiration, and I soon observed her complexion become pale, her cheeks grow yellow, and her beauty gradually decaying. Oh! how fragile is beauty! At last, I accompanied her to a ball, where, as usual, I prevailed upon her to rest herself during the country-dances, and availing myself of this opportunity, I extracted from her the confession, that, annoyed by the pleasantries of

some of her friends, who assured her that before two months would be as large as St. Christopher, and aided by the others, she contrived to become thin by taking, every morning, a large glass of vinegar; she added, that up to that moment no one knew anything of what she had been doing but myself.

I shuddered on hearing this confession, I felt the extent of the danger, and I lost no time in acquainting her mother of the day, who was as much alarmed as myself, for she is her daughter. No time was let pass in assembling her friends, and consultations, and medical aid was immediately called in to no purpose! her health was irremediably undermined at the moment when her friends were beginning to suspect the hopes of her recovery were gone.

Thus, for having followed imprudent advice, after being brought to the frightful state that accompanies consumption, the poor Louise fell asleep for ever, when scarcely eighteen years of age.

She died casting a painful look on that future, which was to be her for ever; and the idea of having, though unconsciously, hastened her own life, hastened her dissolution, and added to the horrors of her last moments.

She was the first person I ever saw dying, for she breathed her last in my arms, at the moment when, according to her wish, I raised her up to show her the light of day for the last time.

About eight hours after her death, her afflicted mother begged me to accompany her in a last visit which she wished to pay to the remains of her daughter; and we observed with surprise that her whole countenance had assumed a bright extatic expression which we never remarked before. I was somewhat astonished, but her mother drew from it a consoling omen. But it seems to be a rare occurrence. Lavater alludes to it in his *Treatise on Physiognomy*.

Anti-Obesique Belt.

Every *Anti-Obesique* regimen ought to be accompanied by a precaution which I had forgotten, and with which I should have commenced: it consists in wearing, both night and day, a belt to support the abdomen, tightened moderately.

In order to comprehend the necessity of it we should bear in mind that the vertebral column which forms one of the coats of the abdominal wall, is firm and inflexible; whence it results, that the weight of weight that the intestines acquire, when they are turned out of their vertical line by the presence of too much flesh, rests upon the external coatings which compose the skin of the abdomen, and from their facility of distending themselves indefinitely, they have elasticity enough to fall back into their usual position when the strain is removed, if they were not assisted by mechanical support, which, resting on the dorsal column itself, opposes it and prevents it.

* Mirabeau said, when speaking of an excessively large skin, "that God only created him to show to what an extent the skin could be distended without breaking."

ilibrium. Thus, the belt has the double effect of preventing men from yielding to the actual weight of the intestines, and the strength necessary to contract itself when the pressure is shed. The belt should never be discontinued; otherwise the pressure produced during the day will be counteracted by leaving it tight; it is not very inconvenient, and we soon become accustomed to it.

The belt, which is also useful, as it seems as a monitor to warn us when we have eaten sufficient, ought to be made with great care; the pressure should be moderate, and always the same: that is it should be so made as to contract in proportion as the pressure is increased.

We need not wear it all our lives; we may leave it aside without inconvenience when we have gained the object in view, and that we have remained stationary for some weeks, provided we observe a proper and proper system of diet. It is now six years since I wore

Cascarilla.

Cascarilla is a substance which I believe useful as a remedy for obesity; many observations have strengthened me in this. However I am not opposed to any one doubting it, and I call on the opinion of doctors to it.

The substance is cascarilla.

Twelve of my acquaintances suffered from long and unremedied obesity; some of them were cured by old women's remedies, such as powders, &c.; others by the continued use of cascarilla, and always produced its effect.

One of the first class, who were victims to obesity, became as usual when recovered from the fever, while the others lost the superfluous flesh; which justifies me in thinking, that the effect was produced by the application of cascarilla, for there is no difference between them but the mode of treatment.

My medical theory is not opposed to this result; for, on the one hand, cascarilla may very probably so promote the circulation as to rouse and reverse those gaps destined for the generation of fat; and on the other hand, it is known that there is in cascarilla a portion of oil which may fill up those capsules, or cups, intended in ordinary medicine for the reception of the oily congestions. It is even probable that the two causes conspire and assist each other.

It follows from these data, which any one may verify, that I think it safe in recommending the use of cascarilla to all those who encumber themselves with superfluous flesh. Thus, *dummodò in omni medicatiōnis genere doctissimi facultatis professores*, that after the first month of a proper system, whoever wishes to become thin will do well to take, during one month, every second day at eleven o'clock in the morning, two hours before breakfast, a glass of white wine without water, into which is diluted a table-spoonful of good red cascarilla, and that good will result from it. These are the remedies which I recommend for an inconvenience as general as it is. I have adapted them to our human

weakness, modified by the state of society in which. And in this, I am supported by this experimental truth, that the more rigorous a regimen be the less effect it will have if it is badly carried out, or not carried out at all.

Great efforts are very uncommon, and if we wish to have the directions attended to, we must propose nothing to man which will find it difficult to accomplish; and when in our power we should be an agreeable one.

Leanness is that state of the individual whose muscles are not being swelled by fat, exposes the form and angular frame.

There are two kinds of leanness; the first is that which is being caused by the natural disposition of the body, accompanied by health, and the perfect action of the organic system. The second is that which is caused by the weakness of the organs, or the defective action of others, and gives us a thin and wretched appearance. We have known a woman of middle size who weighed only sixty-five pounds.

Man does not suffer much inconvenience from leanness; it does not render him less vigorous; on the contrary, he is much more active. The father of the young woman mentioned, although as thin as herself, had sufficient strength to take a heavy chair with his teeth, and throw it backwards, passing it over his head.

But it is a terrible affliction for woman, who values beauty more than her life, and beauty consists principally in the roundness of form and the graceful curve of the features. The most exquisite toilet, the most fashionable dressmaker, cannot hide certain defects, or dissemble certain angles; and as we have said of a thin woman, however beautiful she may appear, every pin she takes from her dress lessens her charms.

For excessively thin women there seems to be no cure, or at least the cure should be taken in hands by the physician, otherwise the process may be so long that the recovery will be too late.

But we do not see why it should be more difficult to cure those women who are born thin than it is to fatten them, and if more time is necessary, it is because women have comparatively a much smaller stomach, and cannot long submit to a rigorous regimen, which must be perseveringly observed, as in the case of domestic animals.

Nature, so varied in her works, has her moulds for thinness as well as for obesity.

se persons destined to be thin are shaped in a long
They have small, bony hands and feet, thin legs, the
sides emaciated, the ribs protruding, an aquiline nose,
shaped eyes, a large mouth, the chin pointed, and
air.

is the general appearance; some parts of the body
an exception, but this is very rare.

etimes we see very thin persons with very good appetites.
se whom we have been able to question on the subject
mitted that they digest badly, and that this is why they
remain in the same state.

thin persons are of any colour or form; they are
able for having nothing striking either in their features
manners; their eyes are dead, the lips pale, and their
appearance indicates weakness and a want of energy,
ing even bordering on suffering. In fine, it might be
them, that they seem to be but half finished, but half

rin tells us that—

ery thin woman wishes to get fatter: it is a wish I heard
d a thousand times; it is therefore to pay a last tribute
to this all-powerful sex, that I shall endeavour to substitute
ns for those attractions of silk and calico, which we see dis-
in such profusion in our fashionable shops, to the great
of austere critics, who pass them by with a surly counte-
and avoid those shadows of pride and ambition, with as
re as if the reality were before them.

whole secret of acquiring a plumpness of figure, consists in a
system of diet; we need only eat, and choose our food.

this regimen doctors' prescriptions with regard to repose and
ay be disregarded, and we are equally sure of gaining the
view. For if you do not take exercise, you will be disposed
at; if you take exercise, it will equally dispose you to get fat,
you will eat more, and when the appetite is judiciously satis-
only is our strength restored, but we acquire new strength
is necessary to acquire it.

a sleep much, sleep makes you fat; if you sleep but little,
ation will be quicker, and you will therefore, eat more.

ose, then, who are anxious to acquire a plump, round figure,
y necessary to point out the system of diet they ought to
and this cannot be a difficult task, after the principles we
eady laid down.

ve this problem, then we should introduce nothing into the
which it will not bear without fatigue, nor to the assim-
gans, any substance which cannot be converted into fat.

then endeavour to trace what would be the daily food of a
pposing that she fancied to become one of us mortals.

General Rule—To eat a good deal of very fresh bread, and care to use the soft part.

To take before eight o'clock in the morning, in bed if not, a bowl of soup with bread, or *pâtes*, not too much, that it be digested, or if preferred, a cup of good chocolate.

To breakfast at eleven o'clock on eggs, *pâtes*, or chops, are indispensable; a cup of coffee would be no harm.

The dinner-hour may be regulated, so that the breakfast be digested before going to table; for we often hear it said, very injurious, or at least does no good, to take a meal preceding one is digested.

After breakfast, a little exercise should be taken by the nature of their occupation permit it, for business about the city, ladies should go to the Bois de Boulogne, the Tuileries, the dress-makers', their milliners', to the fashionable shops, and to their friends, to talk about all they may have seen. I hold that such conversation and meetings are highly calculated to produce a salutary effect from the pleasure they afford.

For dinner, soup, meat, and fish, at discretion, together with macarones, sweet pastry, creams and charlottes, &c.

At dessert, Savoy biscuits, cakes, and other mixture of food, eggs, and sugar.

This regimen, though apparently limited, is susceptible of great variety;—it admits of the entire animal kingdom, and care should be taken to vary the nature, preparation and seasoning of the food to be used, and to render them palatable by every means in our power, in order to prevent that dislike, which is always an irresistible barrier to our deriving any ultimate benefit from our food.

Beer should be preferred for drink; if not, Bordeaux wine from the South of France.

Acids should be avoided, except salad, which is always salutary.

Fruit might be sweetened, when it is susceptible of it; it should not be taken too cold, and we should breathe fresh air at the time the pure air of the country, we should also eat grapes in season; and care should be taken not to exhaust ourselves.

We should generally go to bed at eleven o'clock, and not later than one in the morning, on extraordinary occasions.

By adhering to this system with exactness and perseverance, we shall soon recover our natural strength; health will be improved, luxury will be promoted by both, and the voice of praise and gratitude shall resound in the ears of the people.

Sheep, calves, oxen, fowl, carp, crabs and oysters, are the food whence I draw the following maxim:—*Everything that fattens, provided its food be well and properly selected*

But perhaps the impatient reader will ask how the feast of repast be prepared so as to comprise, in a supreme dish, that constitutes the pleasures of the table for Fat and Thin.

"I shall answer this question—collect yourself, then, my dear reader, pay attention: it is Gasterea herself, the fairest of the Muses, who inspires me; I shall be more intelligible than an oracle, and my words shall go down to future generations.

the number of guests not exceed twelve, so that the conversation be general and uninterrupted; let them be so selected, that of different professions, of the same taste, and on such terms of equality as will render it unnecessary to have recourse to that formality of introduction.

The dining room should be well lighted, and the table-cloth and service unexceptionable, and the temperature of the room should be between thirteen and sixteen degrees of Réaumur's thermometer.

The men be naturally witty, without affectation, and the women without being coquettes.*

The dishes should be exquisite, but not too numerous, the wines of the best quality each in its own degree.

The order in which the former should be served is from the substantial to the light and delicate; and for the latter, to begin with sparkling wines, and end with the sweetest and most perfumed.

The dinner being the last act of the day, should not be hurried, the guests should consider themselves as travellers who are to meet together at the same destination.

The room intended for the guests should be large enough to admit the use of cards for those who cannot dispense with it, and leave sufficient for such as wish to discuss the topics of the day.

The guests should be induced to remain by the pleasure of each other's society, and cheered by the hope that the evening will not pass without other enjoyments.

The tea should not be too strong, and the toast properly buttered, the punch should be made with great care.

The guests should not retire before eleven o'clock, but all should be seated before twelve.

By one has partaken of a repast uniting all those conditions, the boast of having assisted at his own deification; and the more favourable conditions that have been omitted, or neglected, the less will be the pleasure.

I have said that the pleasure of the table might be considerably increased, and I am about to prove it by giving a true and circumstantial account of the longest repast I have ever assisted at; I intend to do so *bon bon* for the reader to recompense him for his kindness in reading this work. Here it is.

I have resided in the Rue du Bac, a family of my relations, composed of a doctor, aged seventy, a captain seventy six, and their daughter Jeanette seventy-four. I frequently visited them, and was received in the most friendly manner.

"The-by," said Doctor Dubois, to me one day, standing on his toes and leaning on the shoulder, "you are a long time talking about your *fondue* (eggs beaten up with cheese), "you are continually getting water from our teeth with it, and it is high time to put an end to it. We shall go some day and breakfast with you, the captain and I, and we shall see what it is made of." (It was I think in 1801, that I made this attack on me,) "With the greatest pleasure," re-

I am writing in Paris in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal and the Chaussée d'Antin.

cloth, and the three covers, at each place two dozen of a bright and golden lemon.

At each end of the table was a bottle of wine car which appeared from the cork to be very old.

Alas ! I have seen those oyster breakfasts disappear us, which were formerly so common and so gay, v eaten by the thousand ; the oysters disappeared with ate them by the gross, and the knights who were n them ; I regret them, but as a philosopher. If tin changes in governments, what influence has it not customs.

After the oysters, which were considered very g kidneys, a dish of rich liver with truffles, were served came the *fondue*.

The ingredients of this dish were collected in a placed on the table, with a contrivance for cooking, h of wine ; I immediately set to work, and my two co sight of my movements. They were delighted with th and begged of me to give them the receipt, which I ting two anecdotes which the reader will find elsewhere

Then came the fruits in season, with sweetmeats, ar Moka—*à la dubelloy*—a method which was then b generally adopted, and then two sorts of liqueurs, o for deterging, the other, of an oily nature, for soothir

Breakfast over, I proposed to my guests to take a and for that purpose to take a turn round my apa though far from elegant, is large and comfortable, s the more pleasing to my friends, as the ceiling and g the middle of the reign of Louis XV.

I showed them the original cast of the bust of my ha Madam Reiamier, by Clinard, and her portrait in Augustin, which so pleased them that the doctor, witl kissed the portrait, and the Captain took a liberty wit which I rebuked him ; for if all the admirers of the much, this bosom so volutuously formed, would soon state as the top of St Peter in Rome which has has

is scientific journey they did not forget my kitchen. I showed the economical pot for boiling meat, my roasting shell, the spit by clock-work, and my evaporating machine. They examined the greatest minuteness, and were the more surprised as themselves had everything dressed after the manner of the

just two o'clock as we entered the drawing room. "This is two o'clock," said the doctor, "there it is two o'clock, the hour sister expects us to dinner! we must be off immediately. It is late. I am very anxious for my dinner, but I must have my soup; it is an old habit of mine, and when I pass the day taking it, I exclaim with Titus, '*diem perdidit*.'" "My dear sister," said I, "why go so far for what you have at your hand? send word to my cousin that you will stop with me, and that I will do me the pleasure of taking your dinner with me, for which I claim your indulgence, because it will not have all the merit of *promptu*, as it must be dressed in a hurry."

On this subject the two brothers deliberated with their eyes, and finally consented. Then I sent word to the faubourg Saint Germain, and gave directions to the cook; who, in reasonable time, out of his own resources, and partly by the aid of the neighbouring restaurateurs, served us up a very comfortable and tempting dinner.

I was highly amused and gratified at seeing the coolness and assurance with which my two friends sat down to table, unfolded their napkins, and prepared for work.

I experienced two surprises which I myself did not think of at the moment; for I treated them to Parmesan, (cheese from Parma), which I made them take a glass of pure Madeira. These are novelties then lately introduced by Prince Talleyrand, of our statesmen, to whom we are indebted for so many *bon mots* delicate and profound, on whom the attention of the public has been concentrated with marked interest, whether in power or in poverty.

My dinner passed off very well, both as regarded the substantial and their necessities; and my friends were as amiable as they

At dinner I proposed a game of piquet which was objected to; I preferred the *far niente* of the Italians, said the captain; and we formed a little circle round the fire.

Notwithstanding the pleasure the *far niente* afforded us, I concluded that nothing adds more charms to conversation than some occupation, when it does not absorb the attention too much, so called tea.

It was then a novelty to the French of the old school; however it was accepted. I made it in their presence, of which they took advantage with the more pleasure as they never looked upon it but as

My experience has taught me that one act of civility begets another, and when once we have complied with a request, we lose the pleasure of refusing. Thus it was almost with an air of authority, I proposed to finish with a bowl of punch.

"But you will be the death of us," said the doctor, "make us tipsy," said the captain, to which I only replied calling for lemons, sugar and rum.

I made the punch then, and while I was so engaged, prepared, very thin, delicately buttered and salted to perfection.

Here they protested, saying they had eaten quite enough, that they could not touch it; but as I well knew how simple preparation is, I replied, that I only wished them enough of it.

Shortly after as the captain had taken the last cut, I was looking if there remained any more, or if more was being made, which I directed to be done immediately.

However the time passed quickly, and it was just eight of my time-piece. "Let us go," said my guests, "we have a little salad with our good sister, whom we have not seen for many days."

I made no objection to this proposition; faithful to my hospitality towards the two amiable old men, I accompanied them to their carriage, and saw them depart.

It may be asked, perhaps, if we did not feel a few moments of ennui during this long sitting.

I reply in the negative; the attention of my guests was kept up by the perfection of the *fondue*, by the variety of the apartment, by some novelties in the dinner, by the tea, particularly by the punch, of which they had never taken before.

Besides, the doctor was familiar with the genealogy of all Paris; the captain had spent a portion of his life in the army, or as ambassador at the court of Parma; we had travelled much, we conversed without pretensions, and each other with pleasure; it is not so difficult to make time agreeably and rapidly.

The next morning I received a note from the doctor, stating that the little revelling of the night before did them no harm; on the contrary, after a most refreshing sleep, they were cheerful, and ready for another.

If we have interested the reader sufficiently to consult the pages of the *Physiologie du Gout* to study for themselves, they will there find ample repayment in wit, and learning, and sense and profound knowledge of men and things.

ART. IV.—THE GOOD PEOPLE.

Tales, Now First Collected: To which are prefixed Two Dissertations on Pigmies and Fairies. By Joseph Ritson.
London: Payne and Foss.

THE GOOD PEOPLE:" so, reader, we call the Fairies in
l. Our country has been famous for them; we have
em of all kinds, from the Merrows and Fir-Darrigs and
unes, to the little rogues who, as Sam Lover sings,
n laughing eyes.*

decline of the Good People may be said to have begun
he National schoolmasters came in. Now their gentle
s past for ever, and we may say with Dryden—

"now the swain

Returning late, may pass the woods in vain,
And never hope to see the nightly train.
In vain the dairy now with mint is dress'd,
The dairy-maid expects no fairy guest
To skim the bowls, and after pay the feast.
She sighs, for ah! and shakes her shoes in vain,
No silver penny to reward her pain."

what a grand life they had; how poets sung of them,
children loved them, how painters idolized them, how
d men of undoubted genius have written their history,
st but not least, a Bishop of Oxford and Norwich, quaint
chard Corbet, wrote *The Fairy's Farewell*.

have, ourselves, always loved the fairies, and what we
of them we now propose to tell our readers.

sw well Lover sings this the reader shall judge:—

As Cupid one day
Hide and seek went to play,
He knew where to hide himself, sly and secure;
So, away the rogue dashes
To hide 'mid the lashes
That fringe the bright eyes of sweet Kitty Maclure.
She thought 'twas a fly
That got into her eye,
So she wink'd—for the tickling she could not endure;
But love would not fly
At her winking so sly,
And still lurks in the eye of sweet Kitty Maclure.

The term "*fairy* mythology" adopted by Mr Keightley to signify the popular mythology of the Teutonic and we in England give it this title, because in our language the name *fairies* has become the common appellation of the popular creed. We therefore think that Mr Keightley has quite lost sight of the object of his book, when its title is a misnomer, when he makes an exhibition of himself in running wild among the Persians and Arabs, whose superstitions we are, if necessary, prepared to supply, when he knows nothing beyond the shreds and patches to be picked out of a grammar or a dictionary. We could also do without the *fairy* mythologies of Greece and Italy, and have an especial objection to either a *fairy* mythology of the Jews or a *fairy* mythology of the Hottentots. It is granted that the Greeks and the Persians are both branches of the great Indo-Teutonic stock, and, therefore, that there is every reason to believe, if we could trace their popular superstitions far enough back, that we should find in them a great agreement with those of the Teutons in the west. But as we are not believers in the transmission of these superstitions from one people to another, and as the particular causes which have long been constantly producing changes in the mythology of the Greeks and the Latins, and again in that of the modern nations, are so very different from those which have produced ours, upon our own, we imagine that to attempt a comparison of them is but more knowledge of each than we at present have, and can be but a vain and useless labour. We need rather supply the popular mythology of their countries,—such books as Mr Croker has written for Ireland—the only one that has done justice to the superstitions of the peasantry of our islands. There is much yet to be gathered: none has been accomplished towards collecting the *faeries* of Scotland and Wales; and as for England, where there is still room for a good harvest, there has been done— But it is easier and more flattering to our vanity to invent schemes, than to gather together materials which may lead to the truth.

Mr. Keightley tells us at some length how, after a long consideration of the subject, he has come to the conclusion that the tales and stories which have during ages floated in the air of every country, some are, as it were, "geological formations."

grown up with the people themselves, some have come by transmission from other countries, and some by other

All this is very true, and indeed only amounts to the same as saying, in familiar English, that they came one from another. But, then, Mr. Keightley claims this as a discovery and makes a book on the subject, in which he certainly does not establish the proposition, but he makes no great progress towards giving any answer, much more a general answer, to those most important questions, — what? how? when? and why? How much of the volume to which we allude hardly belongs to the subject of the present article, in which we intend to confine ourselves to popular mythology, and to the popular mythology of our own country; yet we hope to shew, that it is by investigating this mythology in one country, and by examining historically the changes, which it has there undergone, and the causes to which we attribute those changes, that we are most likely to find satisfactory answers to those questions, and to place the subject in a clearer light. Perhaps we may at some future time be enabled to return to the volume which has occasioned these observations. We will observe, however, in passing, that there are many grounds than its author seems to suspect for believing that the Tell to be a mythic personage, at least as far as he is concerned in shooting the apple off his son's head. Sprenger, an early writer on these matters, in his *Malleus Maleficarum*, has a chapter on the "Sagittariis Maleficis," where he relates the same story of a magician of Rorbach, in the diocese of Worms; and, if our memory be not very treacherous, we have read in some of these older works on spirits and magic of a wood-spirit, mentioning whom some such observation as the following was made — "this is the hobgoblin who shot the apple off the child's head."

Mr. Keightley will find, too, from the excellent old collection of those three worthies, *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough,*

that we cannot forbear saying a word or two on Mr. Keightley's observations, because he makes so much parade of them. He asserts that he has proved, that the name Oberon, in French, is the German name of the fairy king; yet he has but taken it on the authority of Grimm, who has shown, not merely that the word Elberich did take that form in the Middle Ages, but that it could not have taken any other! He says, that he has discovered why Shakspeare gave the fairy queen the name of Titania — we can assure him, that a tolerably advanced boy in our public schools would stand in peril of dire birch if he could not make the discovery at a very short notice. We will only add, that the account of the origin and meaning of the word *fairy* is, at best, a very meagre and most unsatisfactory performance.

and *William of Cloudeslee*, that legend was also current in the early period in England.

The memorials of the days of Anglo-Saxon history are unfortunately few. The only work which we possess with any degree of certainty to so early a period of the history or rather of the history of their forefathers before the Conquest here, is the poem of *Beowulf*, of which an excellent edition was published by the late Mr. Kemble; and this poem has been much interpolated by Christian transcribers, but has been reduced to the state in which it has come down to us. The chief exploit of the hero, Beowulf the Great, is the combat with the two monsters Grendel and his mother; both of which are of the evil beings of old times, dwellers in the fen waters; and both, moreover, as some Christian bard has taken care to inform us, of "Cain's kin," as were also the elves, the elves, and the orcs (eðenas, and ylfe, and orcnes). The haunt of the Grendels was a lake in the middle of a dreary morass; it was overshadowed by the thick branches of an ancient wood, and by night the surface of its waters was covered with flame.

"They keep the secret land,
the refuges of the wolf,
the windy promontories,
the fearful path of the fen;
there where the mountain-stream
under the darkness of the promontories
rushes downwards—
the flood under the earth.
It is not hence [from Heorot]
a mile distant
where that lake standeth,
over which hang
the rinded thickets,
the wood fast with its roots
overhangeth the water:
There by night to any one
an evil wonder appears,
fire on the flood."

When, after the death of the son, Beowulf and his companions pursued the mother into her retreat, they found the water full of sea-drakes and serpents (*wyrm-cynnes*) and the nicers lying on the banks. To Beowulf these were no antagonists; in one of his exploits by sea, the nicers—were nicers in the sea as well as in the lakes—had,

ged him out of his boat, and carried him to the
ere the desperate struggle between them ended with
of nine of his opponents. We learn little from the
e form, or magnitude, or nature of these "heathen
they are called, except that against them weapons,
f men, were useless; and Beowulf's sword, when it
: Grendel's blood, melted like ice.

exploit of Beowulf was against another personage
mythology, a dragon, or fire-drake, that sat brood-
s heaps of treasures of the olden days. During the
its guardian, the "heathen hoard" had been plun-
when the fire-drake awoke, and discovered that the
s cares had been visited, he paced furiously about
e of his den in search of the intruder. He then
ascertain the extent of his loss, and at night he
, and in revenge spread devastation through the
The house of the dragon was a tumulus under a
ear the waves of the sea.

e surviving conqueror, the companion of Beowulf,
rtally wounded in the combat, entered it,—

"He, exulting in victory, saw there
a multitude of costly gems,
gold glittering
heavy upon the ground,
a wonder on the wall;
and in the den of the dragon —
the old flier in the twilight—
platters standing,
the vessels of men of old
no longer living,
fretted with ornaments:
there was many a helmet
old and rusty,
many an armlet
skilfully bound together.

So also he saw raised there
an ensign, all of gold,
high over the hoard,
the most wonderful of handy works,
locked together by magic arts;
from which the light shone forth,
so that he might scrutinise
the whole bottom of the cave."

Popular superstitions are not easily removed ; and with the introduction of Christianity the Anglo-Saxons did not cease to believe in the existence and operations of the elves and the nicers, the orcs and the giants ; nor did they cease to trust in the effects of charms and incantations, or to revere wells and fountains. The preachers of the faith of their Redeemer saw nothing in that faith which was contrary to the belief which they had sucked in even with their mother's milk ; for though it asserted the unity of God, yet it did not deny the existence of spirits. It was impossible, however, that so great a change should be made as the total subversion of the previously established religion of a country, without affecting in some measure even the superstitions of the peasant ; and we find accordingly that the Christian Anglo-Saxons tried to account for the existence of these beings in a way very different from that of their Pagan forefathers. They attempted to rationalise the belief in the elves which they found already established ; and they defined their pedigrees and functions, and limited their powers, on principles which varied according to the proportion wherein Christianity or heathendom ruled in their minds. Hence we hear at one time of the Elfin descendants of the first murderer, Cain, who were fated to wander over the wastes and fens, the terror and scourge of mankind ; at another, of the spirits unworthy of heaven, yet too good for hell, who were allowed or compelled to inhabit the air, and the water, and the earth. Just the same influence did Mahomedanism exert on the popular creed of the easterns—the beings with which it had peopled water and earth and air became a race of Peris, beautiful, and to a certain degree happy, and permitted even to approach the gates of paradise and to behold the joys within, joys which they could only hope to partake of after ages of penitence.

The belief of the monks themselves in these spirits will account for the silence with which they are passed over in the homilies and religious discourses of the time. When they preached against heathendom, instead of attacking the superstitions of their countrymen, they broke out into declamations against the heathen practices of the Greeks and Romans. A manuscript homily, bearing the inviting title *De falsis diis*, told us much about Saturn, and Jupiter, and Venus, and their evil deeds, but of elves and nicers not a word. Another homily in the same collection is directed against witchcraft and magic,

is more tempting even than the former. We learn from much about the witch of Endor, but of native superstitions and only the following short and scattered notices. "Every" says the writer, "who uses witchcraft either by fowls, y sneezings, or by horses, or by hounds, he is no Christian, he is a notorious apostate." "I am ashamed, he says, mention all the scandalous witchcrafts that men practise ugh the devil's teaching, either at spousals, or at the unisation of marriage, or in brewing, &c." "Some men so foolish, that they bring their offering to firm rocks, and to trees, and to well-springs, as witches teach. And they not understand how foolishly they do; or how the dead s or the dumb tree can help or save them, which them- s never stir from the place where they stand." "Now a s woman goes to the high way, and drags her child ugh the earth, and thus gives both herself and her offspring e devil."

he monks, however, were not content with giving a diffe- account of the origin and nature of the elves, but they ce transformed them into devils, whose business it was ague and tempt frail mortality. They moreover adopted opular stories, and turned them into saints' legends; and re extensive knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon fairies may ps be gathered by a careful perusal of the legends of the o-Saxon saints, than all the other books together can afford It only need be borne in mind, that in the transformation lves, when mischievously inclined, became devils; when ficient, angels. The fends and wilds are in Beowulf con- ly peopled by troops of elves and nicers and worms (dra- and serpents). So in the saints' legends are they ever haunts of hobgoblins (dæmones); and many and fierce the struggles between them and the hermits, before the : succeeded in establishing themselves in their deserted ca. St. Guthlac built him a mud-cot in the isle of Croy- ca, a wild spot, then covered with woods and pools and y marshes. The isle had hitherto been uninhabited by ; but many a goblin played among its solitudes, and very ling were they to be driven out. They came upon him body, dragged him from his cell, sometimes tossed him in air, at others dipped him over head in the bogs, and then him through the midst of the brambles; but their efforts vain against one who was armed like Guthlac, for he carried

to the combat "*scutum fidei, lorica spei, galeam arcum paenitentiae, sagittas psalmodiae.*" St. Botulf his residence Ykanho, a place not less wild and s Croyland itself, which had hitherto, his historian te only the scene of the "fantastic illusion" (faery say) of the goblins, now to be banished by the intru holy recluse.* At his first appearance they attempt him with horrid noises; but finding him proof a attacks (for he was not worse armed than Guthla deavoured to move him by persuasive expostula long time," they said, "we have possessed this s had hoped to dwell in it for ever. Why, cruel thou forcibly drive us from our haunts? Thee have neither injured nor disturbed. What seek dislodging us? and what wilt thou gain by our When we are already driven from every other co world, thou wilt not let us stay quietly even in th Botulf made the sign of the cross, and the elve departed.

Sometimes these goblins were more obliging to new neighbours, and directed them where to dig for though it appears that they seldom gained much after "heathen gold." Godric, at a later period cell in the wilds of Durham, and was often trou spiritual enemies. On a time, however, one of the by night, and told him where he would find a hid Godric was not, it appears, an avaricious man; but he might do some good with the money which v vealed to him, and to work he went with pickaxe When, however, he had dug a considerable depth are not told that he obtained a sight of the pro sure—he was terror struck by seeing come out o troop of little black dwarfs, who, with a laugh of d at him little smoking balls. Godric dropped his s it is almost needless to add, never sought trea

* The place chosen by Botulf, and its inhabitants, are bed in the legends of saints in English verse; of whi good old MS. in the library of Trin. Coll., Cant.

"A stede ther was in wyldernysse, that me clyped TH
That ful was of luther thynges, the men this by seye,
For deuelen and luther gostes here eyse hadde ther,
And her wouyge al at wylle, for non men ther nere.

others, the following anecdote is related of Godric's
 tters with the spirits. It must be premised that Godric
 garden before his cell, which was on the banks of the
 and which it was his daily labour to tend. Once when
 with digging, he had stopped to rest himself, a strange
 suddenly made his appearance, and looked earnestly at
 t for some time. Then he spoke, and accused the good
 idleness, and told him that he did not work half so
 the saints of former times used to work. The saint,
 first thought it had been a messenger from God sent to
 him in his duty, answered, "Do you then first set me
 ple." And he gave him the spade, and left him, for
 then his customary hour of devotion, and he promised
 n soon and see how much work he had done. The
 man took the spade, and worked, says the legend, most
 sly; and when Godric returned, he was astonished to
 it in the space of an hour his new labourer had dug as
 round as he himself could dig in eight days. "There,"
 e stranger, "that is the way to work." But Godric
 ghtened, for he was now sure that it could not be a
 an; and indeed appearances were much against him,
 was dark and hairy, and somewhat tall; and, which
 d oddest of all, though he had worked so hard, yet he
 no signs of weariness, and did not even sweat. Then
 went to his cell, and concealed a little book in his
 and returned and said, "Now tell me who thou art,
 y thou hast come here?" "Do you not see that I am
 like yourself?" was the answer. "Then," said Godric,
 are a man, tell me if you believe in the Father, and
 , and the Holy Ghost, and join with me in adoring the
 of our Lord." But the goblin said, for a goblin it
 e enough, "Be not solicitous about my belief, for it is
 ern of yours." Godric now became more suspicious
 fore; he took the book out of his bosom—it contained
 of our Lord and of the Virgin and of St. John—and
 ed it suddenly against the other's mouth, telling him if
 ved in God to kiss it devoutly; on which the goblin
 at him and vanished. Godric, like a pious man,
 with holy water the ground which had thus been dug,
 it lie uncultivated for seven years.*

er authorities for the superstitions of the Anglo-Saxons are
 ous spells and counter-charms, which are still extant, and
 und on the margins of other books; the civil laws; and,
 rticularly, the ecclesiastical laws and the penitentiali.

Some may think, perhaps, that we speak incautiously of elves and nicers, when no such names occur in the writings from which we quote. But here, fortunately, steps in to our aid an important passage of the poet which assures us that in the twelfth century elves were as busily employed among the wilds, wherever they had not been driven out by the powerful weapons of the heroes, as they had been even in the time of the heroic Beowulf. In describing a lake in Scotland, he says (MS. Cott. C. 125):

"That is a wonderful lake
Set in middle earth,
With fen and with reed,
With water very broad,
With fishes and with fowls,
With ugly things,
That water is immeasurably broad;
Nicers bathe therein;
There is play of *elves*
In the venomous pool."

It was an elf, too, which, in Robert of Gloucester's story, have been the father of the far-famed Merlin; and Vortiger inquired of his sages what kind of being it was, they said.

"That ther beth in the eir an hey, fer fro the ground
As a maner gostes, wygtes as it be,
And me may born ofte on erthe in wyldes stades y
And ofte in monnes fourme wynnmen heo cometh
And ofte in wynnmen forme thei cometh to men
That men clepeth *elune*."

For our extensive knowledge of the English literature of the twelfth century we are indebted chiefly to two writers, Geoffrey of Tilbury, and the Cambrian Giraldus. The tales found in the writings of Giraldus are mostly Welsh, but that account they are none the less valuable to us, for they enable us to compare the Welsh superstitions of that time with the English; and it appears from the comparison that they hardly differed from each other. We are told

* In the fifteenth century, in the *Promptuarium Parvum*, the word nicker still occurs, and is used to explain the word *nicer*. It is a singular instance of the tendency of the monks to turn the elves into devils, that this word is now only preserved in the phrase "Old Nick," which is given to the arch-fiend himself.

ers, that Giraldus was author of a topography and itinéraire of England, as well as of Wales and Ireland—a work which would be to us invaluable; but we have sought carefully in all the manuscript collections where it was supposed to be preserved, and we have been obliged, much against our expectations, to conclude that—if such a work has been written by him on any better grounds than hearsay—now it is no longer in being. From Giraldus and Gervase of Tilbury we form a very tolerable outline of the popular belief of the twelfth century. We have in them not only the spirits which dwelt in the wild woods and the waters, the dragons, too, and the giants, but we have also the elves which entered people's houses and carried off the new-born children from their cradles, the fairies of the land of faery; and, which is still more curious, we have the domestic elves, the dwarfs which laboured zealously in the service of the family to which they had attached themselves, and those "mad-merry" sprites whose business was in playing mirthful tricks on the deluded peasantry. There are also the fairies which lie scattered through the *Otiai Imperialia* of the twelfth century, which have been told over and over; but Giraldus has not made much use of them, and his account of the familiar spirits is extremely curious. They made their presence known by their mischievous pranks, and they continually plagued them by cutting holes in their shoes, and playing other such mischievous pranks. Sometimes they would talk with the people of the house; and if they were displeased or mischievously inclined, they scrupled not to do so in their presence all their secrets and private actions, and to the shame and confusion of many who were so exposed. When any attempt was made to exorcise them, they threw dirt and mud at the priests themselves; and Giraldus thinks, from the inefficacy of the exorcisms of the church in driving them away, that the power of the priests was only efficient against spirits of a malignant nature. These hob-goblins sometimes appeared in the form of a red boy, and one in Pembrokeshire, where they were very common, took up his abode in the house of one Elidor Stake, in the form of a red boy, who called himself Simon. Simon began—"impudently," says our author—by taking the keys from the butler, and usurping his office. As a result, he was himself so provident a butler, that, while he was in the office, every thing seemed to prosper. He never needed to be told to do any thing; but whatever his master or

mistress were thinking of calling for, he brought it in saying "You want so and so; here it is." Master knew all about their money and their secret hoards; did he upbraid them on that account, for he hated not than avarice, and he could not bear to see money in holes which might be employed in good and charitable use. There was nothing, on the contrary, he liked better than plenty to eat and drink to the rustics; and he used his master that it was right he should be free in giving those things which by their labours he himself obtained. Simon was an excellent servant: but he had one fault: he never went to Church, and he never uttered a single word," (*nec verbum aliquid Catholicum unquam profert*). One remarkable thing was, that he never slept in the night, though he was always at his post by daybreak; however, he was watched, and found to take up about the mill and the mill-dam. The next morning he came to his master, delivered up his keys, and left after having filled the post of butler for about a year. (Girald. Cam. Itin. lib. i. pp. 824, 853.)

From the time of Giraldus, we have plenty of material for a history of the fairy superstitions of our country. The author of the French poem on the deposition of Richard I. (of which there is a copy in the Harleian MS., No. 1316), in the prose part of it, accuses the king, among other things, of being given entirely to "prophecies, phantoms, and sorcery" ("car il sont deus en leur pays, que en prophecies en fanthomes et sorcellerie ent tresparfaitement, et en usent très volentiers."). Not only in the old chronicles, both those which have been published and those which still remain in MS., were fairy tales introduced among the severer records of history. We find there, for instance, a series of stories of kings who have at different times had interviews with the illustrious Merlin, where he abode under the influence of faery, exactly to the Kyffhäuser legends which Mr. Thoms in his paper has given from Büsching; and we would willingly refer to him that he will do a service by collecting them into that part of his "Lays and Legends" which will deal with the superstitions of our own country. We must not notice as we pass on, that in the year 1344, a certain Thomas of Walsingham, a certain Saracen physician,

Warren (or Guarene) to ask of him permission to kill a serpent which was troublesome in his possessions on the Welsh coast, at the village of Bromfield, near the town of Ludlow. The serpent was overcome by the incantations of the Welsh men; but some words which were dropped by the latter, gave rise to the suspicion that large treasures lay concealed in the Earl's den. The men of Herefordshire, taking the hint, went by night, at the instigation of a Lombard, called Peter, to dig for the gold; and they had just reached it, when the retainers of the Earl Warren, having discovered what was going on, fell suddenly upon them and put them in prison. The Earl, says the historian, was no little gainer by the affair. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, two circumstances tended to encumber and confuse, in our literature of the fairy mythology of England—the introduction of the romance poetry, and of the mythic tales of Greece and Italy. These causes acted together in the metrical romances, and formed so large a portion of the poetry of that age. We find that Mr. Keightley has most unadvisedly made a separate class of his fairy mythology on the fairies of romance; and instead of considering them as a mere modification of the popular mythology of the country to which they belong, he seems to think that the fairies of the romances, whether of England, France, or Germany, all belong to one peculiar and individual

kind. Much of the popular mythology of the French was probably borrowed, and I suspect also is the case with that of the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, essentially Teutonic: and Grimm has long ago observed that the Oberon (Auberon) of French stories is in name and person the Elberich of German poetry. The French, with their romance poetry, brought into English literature their own popular mythology, as modified in character by the fertile imagination of their poets; and the English imitators of those poets naturally adopted the forms which were thus presented to them. These romances, indeed, were not altogether abhorrent to their own notions, and we cannot suppose they would find much difficulty in accepting, as a tale of their own elves, the lai of Sir Launfal, where they were accustomed to listen to the adventures of King Arthur and his knights "by the Huntley banks," which was altogether an English romance legend. But, even in Sir Launfal itself, we have evidence that the English bards thought they were talking of their own legends, and actually altered and made additions in the cir-

cumstantial parts of the story they were translating dance with that notion.

Many of the stories which were current at this time more perhaps than has generally been supposed—were on Grecian and Roman models; and we may point to instance, one of the tales in the *Seven Sages*, printed “The Two Dreams,” the plot of which is substantial as that of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. Several of the Grecian mythology at first sight bore a resemblance to elves and fairies; and hence translators both into Anglo-Saxon and into the English of later times, have sometimes used latter names as a sort of equivalent for them, just as the translator of the Roman *sacerdotes* by the Saxon *biscop* follows no more that those translators considered the *Keightley* thinks they did, that the nymphs of Greece were elves and fairies, in the strict sense of the word, than that Alfred thought the heathen priests were Christian bishops. However, we find instances of stories adopted as legends of faery; and some people have heard the story of Orpheus, who by the power of his music rescued his wife from the regions below, took it for his own fairies, and invented the beautiful little romance of *Orfeo and Herodys*, a poem which in its English dress contains not one incident which is inconsistent with the natural history; and indeed the writer—the translator we may suppose—the form of the names shews that it came from the French; was so certain of this, that he looked over his history and discovered that Thrace, which had somehow been changed into the French story, was none other than an old name for the good and ancient city of Winchester, where Sir Launfal reigned.

The mention of Sir Launfal, Sir Orfeo, and Sir Ersildoun, naturally brings our mind to the fairy world, which has been quite as ill treated by Mr. Keightley, in the same way, as the fairies of romance. The consideration of the underground residence of the fairies as a part of the natural history, would lead us into long and curious investigations for which now we have not room. The elves have always been in the country and dwellings under ground as well as above ground, and in several parts of England the belief that they went to their subterraneous abodes through the barrows where the bones of our forefathers of ancient days is still

were other ways, however, of approaching the elves' y, and one of the commonest was by openings in the and caverns, as we find in the poem of Sir Orfeo and tale of Elidurus, told by Giraldus. The great cave of ak of Derby was also a celebrated road thither, and e of Tilbury has preserved a tale how William Peverell's erd ventured once to descend it in search of a brood-sow ; w he found beneath a rich and cultivated country, and cutting the corn. The communication, however, has long topped up ; and those who go now to explore the won- the cavern find their progress stayed by the firm, impene- rock. The stories of this subterranean land underwent the changes as the other part of the system, and among onks formed the groundwork of such legends as the of Furseus and Drihthelm, and the far-famed pur- of St. Patrick. The mixture of the monkish with the ythic stories is nowhere more conspicuous than in the of "True Thomas," which Jamieson has printed from in the Public Library, Cambridge : we quote from the self because the printed copy is not very correct. The en says to Thomas, after they have passed a long dreary der ground.*

"Sees thu yonder is fayr way,
That lyes ouer yonder mounteyne?
Yonder is the way to heven for ay,
When synful soulis have duryd ther payne.

Seest thu now, Thomas, yonder way,
That lyse low under yon rise?
Wide is the way, the sothe to say,
Into the joyes of paradyse.

Sees thu yonder thrid way,
That lies ouer yonder playne?
Yonder is the way, the sothe to say,
Ther [*where*] sinfull soules shall drye
ther [*suffer their*] payne.

Sees thu now yonder fourt way,
That lyes ouer yonder felle?
Yonder is the way, the sooth to say,
Vnto the brennard fyre of hell.

Sees thu now yonder fayre castell,
 That stondis vpon yonder fayre hill ?
 Off towne and toure it berith the bell ;
 In mydul erth is ther non like ther till.

In faith, Thomas, yonder is myne owne,
 And the kyngus of this countre."

We now approach a melancholy period in the history of Irish mythology—a period when the superstitions of the people governed the minds of judges and rulers, and at the same time the merciless arm of fanaticism too often brandished the sword of justice. Two superstitions—astronomy and witchcraft—have always been found connected with Irish mythology. The elves and other spiritual beings were supposed to be variously affected by different things and different combinations of things, and certain noises, as the ringing of bells, were sufficient in many instances to drive them away, while even the possession of particular herbs and stones was enough to defend the bodies and properties of men from depredations. The agate, for instance, among the Anglo-Irish, had various virtues ; if a man had it about his person, his house, no fiend could remain there (*ne maí féon d'wesan*), and the man who carried it constantly with him was proof against all witchcraft and magic.

Again, by certain spells, the performance of certain actions was attended by particular combinations of words, the efficacy of charms which had been worked by means of these spells could be dissolved. Other things and ceremonies were believed to be so potent as to bind down these spirits, and put them under the disposal of those who possessed or performed them. To know these things, and how to perform these actions, was what might be expected, the ambition of many ; and those who arrived at that wisdom, became magicians and astrologers, cunning, but sometimes weak and deluded men.

The astrologers made greater transformations in the popular creed than had been effected by any other cause—without any other means, after astrology had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries been reduced to an extensive system ; for the new and artificial divisions of the spirits of earth, air, fire, and water, into tribes, and legions, which were placed under different dominations, bearing names such as the *elementals*, which the peasant were never accustomed to. Thus we

old Scott—to take a few names from among a host—the spirit *Paymon* is of the power of the air, the six—in the rank of thrones, subordinate to *Corban* and *s.* *Bathin* is of a deeper reach in the source of the fire, second after Lucifer's familiar, and hath not his fellow for grandeur and affableness in the whole infernal hierarchy. *Barma* mighty potentate of the order of seraphims, whom twenty of infernal spirits do obey." The incantation which must own these spirits is, as might naturally be expected, a very long thing; and when, after various ceremonies performed, they first make their appearance, they address the magician, in his own language of course,—"*Gil pragma burthton macharmak* : to which the magician must boldly answer, *Berald, Corath, Kermiel*," and so forth. Good Reginald continually livens the recital of all these formidable proceedings by the following pleasant story of a worthy monk, Sir John, who desired to utter some most efficient exorcism against the members of a miller's weir.*

It was, that a certain Sir John, with some of his company, went abroad a jetting, and in a moonlight evening robbed a miller's weir, and stole all his eels. The poor miller made his moan to Sir John himself, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so soon be a thief, and all his confederates, with bell, book, and candle, they should have small joy of their fish. And therefore the next day Sir John got him to the pulpit, with his surplice on his back, and his stole about his neck, and pronounced these words following to the audience of the people:

'All you that have stol'n the miller's eelis,
Laudate dominum de celis;
 And all they that have consented thereto,
Benedicamus domino.

'saith he, 'there is sauce for your eeles, my masters!'"

The following passage of an old writer, whose notions, like many of his contemporaries, were moulded in the magical doctrines of the age, will shew sufficiently the connection between that "science" and the fairy mythology. He speaks of the different orders and classes of spirits.

The spirits of the earth keepe for the most part in forrests and woods, and doe hunters much noyance; and sometime in the broad

* p. 150, fol. 20.

fields, where they leade trauellors out of the right way, or with deformed apparitions, or make them run mad through melancholy, like Aiax Telamonius, and so proue hurtful to others, and dangerous to others. * * * The vnder-earth spirits are such in dens and little cauernes of the earth, and hollow creuices, that they may diue into the bowels of the earth at pleasure; these dig metals and watch treasures, which they can transport from place to place, that none should haue vnder them; they raise windes that vomit flames, and shake the foundations of buildings: they daunce in rounds in pleasant launds and gardens, with noyses of musick and minstrallie, and vanish away any comes neere them: they will take vpon them eny similitude of a woman, and terrifie men in the likeness of dead men's faces the night-time."*

Similar ideas are evidently the groundwork of the spell, from the "History of Friar Bacon," which is printed in Mr. Thom's *Prose Romances*. The fairies, it was supposed, were always believed to be dwellers in dens, and caves, and trees; and it was them whom the astrologer conjured by his glass, or crystal, to direct him to the hidden treasures which they only knew.

" Now the owle is flowne abroad,
For I hear the croaking toade;
And the bat that shuns the day
Through the darke doth make her way.
Now the ghostes of men doe rise,
And with fearful hideous cryes,
Seeke revengement (from the goode)
On their heads that spilt their blood.
Come some spirit, quicke! I say,
Night's the devil's holyday,
Where ere you be, in dennes, or lake,
In the ivy, ewe, or brake.
Quickly come, and me attend,
That am Bacon's man and friend."

The witch differed from the astrologer in this, that he was over the spirits was believed to be the result of a spell, with the spirit of darkness, whereby he bound himself to her for a time, on condition that he should afterwards be her master for ever. The witches were among the peasantry, while the astrologer was in rather more refined society, in the course with the spirits. But they had no invention of the spirits, and there seems to be little room for doubting that

* Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Deuill*

story of their dealings, which we find them made to concoct at their trials, was all put into their mouths by others ; when we do find an instance where, instead of being asked *they* believed and had done and seen so and so, the question "What had they done or seen ?" Whatever confession is may be traced to the fairy superstitions which they had bred from their childhood. One new circumstance was brought in with the witchcraft of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—the power of fairies to enter into people, and possess them. It is not difficult to see whence and how this notion came, and we might point out a hundred instances ; but we will only mention one, which seems to have allusion to the merry and mischievous Puck. It is observed of the celebrated Surrey demoniac,—“ He stands upon his head, dances upon his knees, and runs of all fours like a dog and barks. He seems sometimes extremely heavy, and other times light, and was thought to be possessed with a *very ludicrous spirit*.”*

Our space forbids further quotation than one more, with which to conclude our short survey of the history of the fairyology in England ; It is an extract from “ A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts,” written “ by George Wier, minister of God’s word in Maldon” (1593). The dialogue is spiritedly written, and gives a curious view of the popular belief at that time. The interlocutors are Samuel, Daniel, and the wife of Samuel. Samuel and Daniel have been in their walk in the fields.

Sam. * * These witches, these euill-fauored old witches, doe bewitch me !

Dan. What ! doe you take yourselfe to be bewitched ?

Sam. No, no ; I truste no euill spirite can hurt me ; but I heare much harme done by them ; they laine men, and kill their cattle they destroy both men and children. They say there is scarce a towne or village in all this shire, but there is one or two witches at least in it. In good sooth, I may tell it to you as to my friend,

I goe but into my closes I am afraide ; for I see now and then a cat, which my conscience giueth me is a witch, or some witches e, shee stareth so vppon me. And sometimes I see an euill dogge runne through my yard ; and there is a foule great catte times in my barne, which I haue no liking vnto.

Dan. You neuer had no hurt done yet, had you, by any witch ?

* Hutchinson’s *Hist. Essay on Witchcraft*, p. 125.

"*Sam.* Trust me, I cannot tell; but I feare me I haue be two or three in our towne which I like not, but especially a woman. I haue been as careful to please her as euer I was to mine own mother, and to giue her euer anon one thing or another, yet methinks shee frownes at me now and then. And I haue which eate his meate with his fellowes, and was very thinking ouer night, and in the morning he was starke dead. His wife hath had fiue or sixe hennes euen of late dead. And his neighbours wishe me to burne some thing aliuie, as a henne, for that others will me in time to seeke helpe at the handes of some man, before I haue any further harme. I would be glad to do the best.

"*Dan.* Haue you any cunning man hereabout that do

"*Sam.* There is one, they say here, a twenty miles off, which hath holpe many. And thus much I know, there is no more of my acquaintance but two miles hence which had great loss of two or three kine, six hogs (he would not haue tooke fiftie shillings for a hog for them), and a mare. He went to that same man, and him hee suspected an old women in the parish. And I told him that he shewed him her in a glasse, and tolde him shee was either a hog or four impes—some call them puckerles; one like a gnat, another like a weasell, an other like a mouse—a vengeance, and that it is great pittie the countrey is not ridde of them—and that he should doe. It is halfe a yeare agoe, and he neuer hurt since. There is also a women at R. H., fiue-and-twenty miles hence, that hath a greate name; and great resort thither unto her. A neighbour of mine had his childe taken lye in bed of ten yeares olde, and such a paine in her backe, that shee could not sit vpright. He went to that woman; she told him that shee was a bad neighbour—the childe was forespoken as he suspected, and if he would goe home, and bring her some of the clothes that the child lay in all night, shee would tell him certainly. He went, and put a table-napkin about her necke all night, and in the morning hee tooke it with him; and she told him the girle was bewitched, and so told him what hee should doe: and he had reason, for the girle is as wel at this day, and a pretty quicke girle. And another of my neighbours had his wife much troubled, and hee would not tell her, to her, and shee told him his wife was haunted with a fiend, and hee would not tell what shee bad him doe, but the woman is merry at this day. I haue heard—I dare not say it is so—that shee weareth a gowne of Saint John's Gospel, or some part of it. * * If I had beene of one [cunning person], I should haue gone ere this to her, and I am glad that I met with you. * * We haue a schoolmaister here, a good prettie scholler, they say, in the Latine tongue, one that is gone to my house euen now; I pray you let me entreate him to shew thither, you two may reason the matter.

"*Dan.* Well, I will goe with you.

"*Sam.* Wife, I haue brought an olde friend of mine; I bid him welcome,

"*The Wife.* He is verie welcome. But trulie, man, I am not so patient with you, and halfe out of patience, that you goe not to

under same olde beaste ; I haue another hen dead this night. Men can seek remedy. Here is M. B. tells me, that the goode all the laste weeke could not make her butter come. She staid until she had got her husbund out to the woman at R. H. ; when he came home they did but heat a spit red hotte, and thrust creame, vsing certaine wordes that she willed him, and it kindly as anie butter that ever she made. I met the olde morning, Lord how sowerlie she looked upon me ! and as she went : I heard part of her words. ' Ah ! ' quod she, ' I haue an honest man to your husband ; I heare how he doth vse the trueth, husband, my stomacke did so rise against her, that I haue found in my heart to haue flowen upon her and scratched her, but that I feared she would be too strong for me. It is a shame to queane.' "

I will only add that, in looking back to the fairy mythology of our days, it is the more necessary to take into consideration causes that have produced changes in the form of our superstitions, because our only source of information is the literature of the times, which generally came from those who were most apt to garble the superstitions of their country. In them, therefore, the changes are by far greater and more perceptible than they would be at the same time in their original repositories—the oral legends of the peasant. On the whole, the causes, which did effect them would act slowly and gradually ; and many of the tales of Gervase and Giraldus may well be compared with those which we can still gather from the more retired parts of England, where perchance the influence of the master, who is abroad, has not yet shewn his face, and where the baneful effects of political agitation on men's minds have not been felt. The old tale tells us :—

A fairy may be defined as a species of being partly material, partly spiritual ; with a power to change its appearance, and be, to all intents, visible or invisible, according to its pleasure. In the old tale, as attested by Peck, Robin Good-fellow, a well-known fairy, proclaims that he had played his pranks from the time of Merlin, who was a contemporary of Arthur.

Peck uses the word *faërie* as well for the individual, as for the fairy world or system, or what we should now call *fairy-land* or *fairyism*. If we know nothing, it would seem, of *Oberon*, *Titania*, or *Mab*, but of the fairy world.

"PLUTO, that is THE KING OF FAËRIE,
And many a ladie in his campaigne,
Following his wif, THE QUEEN PROSERPINA, &c."

(*Merchante's Tule*, l. 10101.) From this passage of Chaucer, we may see that he cannot help thinking that his *Pluto* and *Proserpina* are the true progenitors of *Oberon* and *Titania*."

In the progress of *The Wif of Bath's Tale*, it happens

"— In his way . . . to ride
In all his care, under a forest side,
Whereas he saw upon a dance go
Of ladies foure-and twenty, and yet mo.
Toward this ilke dance he drow ful yerne,
In hope that he som wisdom shulde lerne,
But, certainly, er he came fully there,
Yvanished was this dance, he wiste not wher."

These ladies appear to have been *fairies*, though not stated of their size. Milton seems to have been upon this for his "Forest-side."

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a fairy addresses the weaver,

"Hall, mortal, hail!"

which sufficiently shows she was not so herself.

Puck, or Robin Goodfellow, in the same play, calls

"— king of shadows"—

and in the old song, just mentioned,

The king of ghosts and shadows:—

and this mighty monarch asserts of himself and his subjects

"But we are SPIRITS of another sort."

The fairies, as we already see, were male and female equally clear that they pro-created children.

Their government was monarchical, and Oberon, Fairy-land, must have been a sovereign of very extensive dominion. The name of his queen was Titania, both are mentioned in *speare*, being personages of no little importance in the world where they in an ill humour, thus encounter:

"Obe. Ill met by moonlight, proud TITANIA.

Tita. What, jealous OBERON? Fairy skip hence;
I have forsworn his bed and company."

That the name [OBERON] was not the invention of a dramatist is sufficiently proved. The allegorical Spenser, king Henry the eighth. Robert Greene was the author of a work entitled "The Scotishe History of James the fourth." with a pleasant comedie presented by Oberon, king of the fairies. He is likewise a character in the old French romances *Bourdeaux*, and *Ogier le Danois*; and there even occurs upon his own exploits: "*Roman de Auberon*." While, however, Shakspeare had for the name TITANIA, it does not appear as if he was the first to call her so. He himself, at least as well as many others, gives to the queen of fairies the name of Titania, though no one, except Drayton, mentions her as the wife

"O then, I see, Queen MAE hath been with you,
She is the fairy's midwife, and she comes
In shape no bigger than an agate-stone
On the fore-finger of an alderman,
Drawn with a team of little atomies
Attendant upon a nose as they lie asleep:

Her waggon spokes made of long spinners' legs;
 The cover, of the wings of grasshoppers;
 The traces, of the smallest spider's web;
 The collars, of the moonshine's wat'ry beams;
 Her whip of cricket's bone; the lash, of film;
 Her waggoner, a small grey-coated gnat,
 Not half so big as a round little worm
 Prick'd from the lazy finger of a maid;
 Her chariot is an empty hazel-nut,
 Made by the joiner squirrel, or old grub,
 Time out of mind the fairy's coach-makers.
 And in this state she gallops night by night,
 Through lovers' brains and then they dream of love.—
 ————This is that very MAN,
 That plats the manes of horses in the night;
 And bakes the elf-locks in foul sluttish hairs,
 Which, once untangled, much misfortune bodes.”

nson, in his “Entertainment of the queen and prince at
 ” in 1603, describes to come “tripping up the lawn a bevy
 attending on MAB, their queen, who, falling into an artificial
 was there cut in the path, began to dance around.”
 same masque the queen is thus characterized by a satyr :

“This is MAB, the mistress fairy,
 That doth nightly rob the dairy,
 And can hurt or help the churning,
 (As she please) without discerning.
 She that pinches country wenches,
 If they rub not clean their benches,
 And with sharper nails remembers
 When they rake not up their embers;
 But, if so they chance to feast her,
 In a shoe she drops a tester.
 This is she that emptys cradles,
 Takes out children, puts in ladies;
 Trains forth midwives in their slumber,
 With a sieve the holes to number;
 And thus leads them from her boroughs,
 Home through ponds and water-furrows.
 She can start our franklin's daughters,
 In 'their' sleep, with shrieks and laughter,
 And on sweet St. Agnes' night,
 Feed them with a promis'd sight,
 Some of husbands, some of lovers,
 Which an empty dream discovers.”

they tell you, have frequently been heard and seen, nay,
 e are some living who were stolen away by them, and
 even years. According to the description they give, who
 o have seen them, they are in the shape of men, ex-
 ttle. They are always clad in green, and frequent the woods
 ; when they make cakes (which is a work they have been
 d at) they are very noisy; and when they have done they
 mirth and pastime. But generally they dance in moon-
 en mortals are asleep, and not capable of seeing them, as
 served on the following morn; their dancing places being
 nguishable. For as they dance hand in hand, and so make
 their dance, so next day there will be seen rings and cir-
 e grass.

circles are thus described by Browne, the author of
 pastorals :

—“A pleasant meede,
Where fairies often did their measures treade,
Which in the meadow made such circles greene,
As if with garlands it had crowned beene.
Within one of these rounds was to be scene
A hillock rise, where oft the fairie queene
At twy-light sate, and did command her elves,
To pinch those maids that had not swept their shelves;
And further, if by maidens' over-sight,
Within doores water were not brought at night,
Or if they spred no table, set no bread,
They should have nipe from toe unto the head;
And for the maid who had perform'd each thing,
She in the water-pail had leave a ring.”

The same poet, in his “Shepherd's Pipe,” having in *Cleves's Tale of Jonathas*, and conceiving a strange unnatural for that stupid fellow, describes him as a great favorer of fairies, alleging that

“Many times he hath been scene
With the fairies on the greene,
And to them his pipe did sound,
While they danced in a round,
Mickle solace would they make him,
And at midnight often wake him
And convey him from his roome,
To a field of yellow troome;
Or into the meadowes, where
Mints perfume the gentle aire,
And where Flora shreds her treasure,
There they would begin their measure.
If it chanced night's sable shrowds
Muffled Cynthia up in clouds;
Safely home they then would see him,
And from brakes and quagmires free him.”

The fairies were exceedingly diminutive, but it must be remembered that we shall not readily find their actual dimensions. They are small enough, however, if we may believe one of queen Titania's attendants, to conceal themselves in acorn shells; speaking of this to the king and queen, she says:

“But they do square; that all their elves for fear,
Creep into acorn cups and hide them there.”

They, uniformly, and constantly wore *green* vests, and for this reason they had some reason for changing their dress. Of this we meet with many proofs; Thus in *The Merry Wives*

“Like urchins, ouphes, and fairies green.”

In fact we meet with them of all colours: as in the *Tempest*

“Fairies, black, grey, green, and white.”

That *white*, on some occasions, was the dress of a fairy, we learn from Reginald Scot. He gives a charm “to go invisible to these three sisters of fairies,” *Milid, Achilia, Sibylla*, and says, “you that you doo appeare before me visible, in forme of faire women, in *white* vestures, and to bring with you to me of invisibilitie, by the which I may go invisible, at my pleasure and pleasure, and that in all hours and minutes.”

It was fatal, if we may believe Shakspeare, to speak of invisibility, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, is made to say to the fairies; he that speaks to them shall dye.”

were accustomed to enrich their favourites ; as we learn from *A Winter's Tale* : " It was told me I should be rich by lies." They delighted in neatness, could not endure sluts, and hated fibsters, tell tales, and divulgers of secrets, whom they mildly and severely be-pinch, when they little expected it. They were generous and benevolent on the contrary, to young women of elegant description, procuring them the sweetest sleep, the pleasiest dreams, and on their departure, in the morning, always slipshod in their shoe.

They are supposed by some to have been malignant, but this, it was mere calumny, as being utterly inconsistent with their character, which was singularly innocent and amiable. In Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*, prays, on going to sleep,

" From fairies, and the tempters of the night,
Guard me beseech you."

There have been the *Incubus* she was so afraid of. Old Gervase of the twelfth century, says, in a more modest language than we : " *Vidimus quosdam dæmones tanto zelo mulieres amare quod dila prorumpunt ludibria, et cum ad concubitum earum accedunt eas opprimunt, nec ab aliis videntur.*"

Let, too, notices this imputed malignity of the fairies :

" ——— Then no planets strike,
No FAIRY takes, nor witch has power to charm."

Also, in *The Comedy of Errors* :

" A fiend, a FAIRY, pitiless and rough."

They were amazingly expeditious in their journeys : Puck, or Good-fellow, answers Oberon, who was about to send him on an expedition :

" I'll put a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes."

The same goblin addresses him thus :

" Fairy king, attend and mark,
I do hear the morning lark.
Obe. Then my queen, in silence sad,
Trip we after the night's shade,
We the globe can compass soon,
Swifter than the wand'ring moon."

After place Puck says :

" My fairy lord this must be done in haste;
For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,
And yonder shines aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to church-yards, &c."

Then Oberon replies :

" But we are spirits of another sort:
I with the morning's love have oft made sport;
And, like a forester, the groves may tread.
Even till the eastern gate, all fiery red,
Opening on Neptune, with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt-green streams."

Compare, likewise, what Robin himself says on this old song of his exploits.

They never ate :

"But that it eats our victuals, I should think,
Here were a fairy."

says Belarius at the first sight of Imogen, as Fidele.
They were humanely attentive to the youthful d
Guiderius, at the funeral of the above lady :

"With FEMALE FAIRIES will his tomb be haunted."

Or, as in the pathetic dirge of Collins on the same o

"No wither'd witch shall here be seen,
No goblins lead their nightly crew ;
The FEMALE FAYS shall haunt the grove,
And dress thy grave with pearly dew."

This amiable quality is, likewise, thus beautifully allu
same poet :

"By FAIRY HANDS their knell is rung,
By FORMS UNSEEN their dirge is sung."

Their employment is thus charmingly represented by
in the address of Prospero :

"Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,
And ye, that on the sands, with printless foot,
Do chase the ebbing Neptune, and do fly him
When he comes back ; you demy-puppets, that
By moon-shine do the green-sour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites ; and you whose pastime
Is to make midnight mushrooms ; that rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew" —

In *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, the queen, T
desirous to take a nap, says to her female attendants :

"Come now a roundel, and a fairy song ;
Then, for the third part of a minute hence ;
Some, to kill cankers in the musk-rosebuds ;
Some war with rear-mice, for their leathern wings,
To make my small elves' coats ; and some keep back
The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots, and wonders,
At our quaint spirits : Sing me now asleep ;
Then to your offices, and let me rest."

Milton gives a most beautiful and accurate description
green-coats of his native soil, than which nothing can be
pily or justly expressed : he had certainly seen them, in th
with "the poet's eye :

"——— fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth
Wheels her pale course, they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear ;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds."

The impression they had made upon his imagination
appears from his "Vacation Exercise," at the age of nine

" Good luck befriend thee, son; for, at thy birth,
The FAIRY LADIES daunc't upon the hearth;
The drowsie nurse hath sworn she did them sple,
Come tripping to the room where thou didst lie;
And sweetly singing round about thy bed,
Strew all their blessings on thy sleeping head."

de Bourdelon, in his "Ridiculous Extravagances of M. describes "The fairies, of which," he says, "grandmothers tell so many tales to children; these fairies," adds he, "who are affirmed to be blind at home, and very clear-abroad; who dance in the moonshine when they have nothing to do; who steal shepherds and children, to carry them up to the elves, &c."

Fairies have already called themselves *spirits*, *ghosts*, or *shadows*, consequently, THEY NEVER DIED; a position, at the same time, which there is every kind of proof that a fact can require. The editor of Johnson and Steevens's edition of *Shakspeare*, in 1785, wrote a little, upon his dunghill, at having been able to turn the poem upon his adversary, by a ridiculous reference to the allegories of the poet, and a palpably false one to Tickell's Kensington-gardens," he affirms, 'will show that the opinion of fairies dying prevails in the present century,' whereas, in fact, 'it' is found, on the first glance into the poem, to maintain the direct reverse:

" Meanwhile sad Kenna, loath to quit the grove
Hung o'er the body of her breathless love,
Try'd every art (vain arts!) to change his doom,
And vow'd (vain vows!) to join him in the tomb.
What could she do? THE FATES ALIKE DENY
THE DEAD TO LIVE, OR FAIRY FORMS TO DIE."

But, however, of the public detection of his falsehood, he omitted it in the next edition, without having a single word to say in his defence; though he had still the confidence to represent "a misfortune to the commentators of *Shakspeare*, that so much of their [invaluable] time is obliged [for the sake of money] to be employed in explaining [by absurdity] and contradicting [by unfounded conjectures and assertions;"] which, in fact, would be contradicted if they were, as is by no means true), though he was strong enough to contradict, he was unable to explain, and did not, in the end, understand, contenting himself with an extract altogether at variance with the purpose, at second hand.

In fact, after all, is so positively proved, that no editor or commentator of *Shakspeare*, present or future, will ever have the folly or presumption to assert "that in *Shakspeare's* time the notion of fairies was generally known."

He informs us (in Harrington's translation, b. 10, s. 47) that

———" (either aunclent folke believ'd a lie,
Or this is true) a FAIRIE CANNOT DIE."

in, (b. 43, s. 92):

" I AM a FAIRIE, and, to make you know,
To be a fayrie what it doth import,
WE CANNOT DYE, how old so ear we grow,
Of paines and harmes of ev'rie other sort
We tast, onelle NO DEATH WE NATURE OW."

Beaumont and Fletcher, in *The Faithful Shepherdess*:

"A virtuous well, about whose flow'ry banks
The nimble-footed fairies dance their rounds,
By the pale moonshine, dipping oftentimes
Their stolen children, SO TO MAKE 'EM FREE
FROM DYING FLESH, AND DULL MORTALITY."

Puck, *alias* Robin Good-fellow, is the most active dinary fellow of a fairy that we anywhere meet with, and we find him nowhere but in our own country, and, perao only in the south. Spenser, it would seem, is the first his name of Puck :

Ne let the *Pouke*, nor other evill spright,
Ne let Hob-goblins, names whose sense we see not.
Fray us with things that be not."

"In our childhood," says Reginald Scott, "our m have so terrified us with an oughe divell, having horn fier in his mouth, and a taile in his breech, eies like a like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a niger, and ing like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when erie Bough! and they have so fraied us with bull-b witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, sy the cansticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps jurors, nymphes, changeling, *Incubus*, ROBIN GOOD spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the bell wain, the puckle, Tom Thombe, Hob goblin, Tom Tumbler, such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shade know this by the waie," he says, "that heretofore Robin and Hob goblin, were as terrible, and also as credible as hags and witches be now . . . And in truth, they walking spirits have no reason to denie Robin Good whom there hath gone as manie, and as credible witches; saving that it hath not pleased the translator to call spirits by the name of Robin Good-fellow."

"Your grandam's maides," he says, "were woont milke before '*Incubus*,' and his cousine, Robin Good-fel ing of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at mid have also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, i good-wife of the house, having compassion of his nak clothes for him, beesides his messe of white bread an was his standing fee. For in that case he saith, What

"Hemton hamten,
Here will I never more tread nor stampen."

Robin is thus characterised in the *Midsummer Night* a female fairy :

"Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite
Call'd Robin Good-fellow; are you not he
That fright the maidens of the villagery,
Skim milk; and sometimes labour in the quern,
And bootless make the breathles housewife churr;
And sometime make the drink to bear ne barm,
Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
Those that Hob-goblin call you, and sweet Puck,
You do their work, and they shall have good luck."

the questions Robin thus replies :

— "Thou speak'st aright.
I am that merry wanderer of the night.
I jest to Oberon, and make him smile,
When I a fat, and bean-fed horse beguile,
Neighing in likeness of a filly foal;
And sometimes lurk I in a gossip's bowl,
In very likeness of a roasted crab;
And when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
And on her wither'd dewlap pour the ale.
The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,
Sometime for three-foot stool mistaketh me,
Then slip I from her bum, down topples she,
And 'rails or cries,' and falls into a cough,
And then the whole quire hold their hips and laugh.
And 'yexen' in their mirth, and neeze and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there."

his exclamation in this play, is *Ho, Ho, Ho!*

"*Ho, Ho, Ho!* Coward why comest thou not?"

Robin, the Collier of Croydon :

"*Ho, Ho, Ho,* my masters! No good fellowship!
Is Robin good-fellow a bug-bear grown,
That he is not worthy to be bid sit down?"

The song, printed by Peck, he concludes every stanza with
Ho!

that the bowl of curds and creame were not duly set out for
Good-fellow, the frier, and Sisse, the dairy-maid, why then
the pottage was burnt to next day in the pot, or the cheeses
not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat
could have good head. But if a Peter-penny, or an house-
lere behind, or a patch of tythe unpaid,—then 'ware of
gars, spirits, &c."

A rollicksome spirit thus describes himself in Jonson's masque of
restored: "Robin Good-fellow, he that sweeps the hearth and
keeps the clean, riddles for the country-maids, and does all their
mudgery, while they are at hot-cockles; one that has conversed
with our court-spirits ere now." Having recounted several
attempts he had made to gain admittance, he adds: "In
vain, when all invention, and translation too, failed me, I e'en
knuck and stuck to this shape you see me in of mine own, with
my *canles*, and came on confidently." The mention
of *broom* reminds us of a passage in another play, *Midsummer
Dream*, where he tells the audience,

"I am sent with *broom* before,
To sweep the dust behind the door."

likewise one of the *dramatis personæ* in the old play of *Wily
Iv*, in which he says "Tush! fear not the dodge: I'll rather
show my flashing red nose and my flaming face, and come wrapp'd
in f-skin, and cry *bo, bo!* I'll pay the scholar I warrant thee."
The character, however, in this piece, is so diabolical, and so dif-
ferent from anything one could expect in Robin Good-fellow, that it
is worthy of further quotation.

He appears, likewise, in another, intitled *Grim, the Croydon*, in which he enters "in a suit of leather close to his face and hands coloured russet colour, with a 'flail.'"

He is here, too, in most respects, the same strange and personage that he is represented in *Wily Beguiled*; only a single passage which reminds us of his old habits

"When as I list in this transform'd disguise,
I'll fright the country people as I pass;
And sometimes turn me to some other form,
And so delude them with fantastic shows.
But woe betide the silly dairy-maids,
For I shall meet their cream-bowls night by night."

In another scene he enters, while some of the other characters are at a bowl of cream, upon which he says;

"I love a mess of cream as well as they,
I think it were best I stept in and made one;
Ho, ho, ho, my masters! No good fellowship?
Is Robin Good-fellow a bug-bear grown,
That he is not worthy to be bid sit down."

Here, reader, we part company; and as good old Robin says in *The Nymphida*, of "Queen Mab and her ligions," we say of ourselves—

"And to the fairy-court they went,
With mickle joy and merriment,
Which thing was done with good intention."

We have brought the reader to the fairy court, and leave him, to whistle *The Wedding March* if he be good; if not, "never look gash or grim at me, man—if ye ken how to turn the buckle o' your belt behind you," and then, like that practical philosopher, *Uncle Toby*, "Lillibulero" till next Number, when we shall perhaps have some account of Pygmies, Witches, and other "Night Fears."

ART. V.—FOUR AMERICAN AUTHORS.

Characteristics of Literature. By Henry T. Tuckerman.
New York: Putnam, and Co.

have, from time to time, endeavoured to interest our
by sketches of the authors of various countries, and
voted two papers to the works of American Poets;* and
propose, in our present paper, to consider, in a variety
es, four American Authors, Washington Irving, George
t, William H. Prescott, and Henry W. Longfellow.
Washington Irving, although so obviously adapted by natu-
owments for the career in which he has acquired such
ce, was educated, like many other men of letters, for
al profession; he, however, early abandoned the idea
tice at the bar for the more lucrative vocation of a
nt. His brothers were established in business in the
New-York, and invited him to take an interest in their
with the understanding that his literary tastes should be
l by abundant leisure. The unfortunate crisis in mer-
affairs that followed the peace of 1815, involved his
and threw him upon his own resources for subsistence.
apparent disaster is owing his subsequent devotion to
e. The strong bias of his own nature, however, had
indicated this destiny; his inaptitude for affairs, his
ty to the beautiful, his native humor, and the love he
hibited for wandering, observing, and indulging in day-
would infallibly have led him to record his fancies and
. Indeed, he had already done so with effect in a series of
which appeared in a newspaper of which his brother was
His tendency to a free, meditative, and adventurous life,
firmed by a visit to Europe in his early youth. Born in
of New-York on the 3rd of April, 1783,† he pursued
ies, his rambles, and his occasional pencraft there until
when ill-health made it expedient for him to go abroad.

IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. VI., No. 18, p. 193, No.

1.
house in which Mr. Irving was born stood at No. 131
street. It was replaced in 1846 by one of the "Washington

He sailed for Bordeaux, and thence roamed over beautiful portions of Southern Europe, visited Switzerland, Holland, sojourned in Paris, and returned home. During his absence he seriously entertained the idea of being a painter; but subsequently resumed his law, and was admitted to the bar. Soon after, however, a number of Salmagundi appeared, an era in American literature, and in December, 1809, was published "Knickerbocker's History of New-York." He afterwards edited the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. In the autumn of 1814 he joined the staff of the Governor of New-York, as aid-de-camp, with the title of colonel. At the close of the war he embarked for Liverpool, with a view of making his fortune in Europe; but the financial troubles intervening proved a remarkable success which had attended his literary career, being an encouragement to pursue a vocation which he did not less than taste, now urged him to follow, he entered the career of authorship. The papers which were published under the title of "The Sketch-Book," at once gained the sympathy and admiration of his contemporaries. They originally appeared in New-York, but attracted immediate notice in England, and were republished there in 1820. During there five years, Mr. Irving again visited Europe, and returned to bring out "Bracebridge Hall" in London, 1822. The next winter he passed in Dresden, and the following spring put "Tales of a Traveller" to press, and soon after went to Madrid and wrote the *Life of Columbus*, which appeared in 1828. In the spring of that year he visited the South of Spain, and the result was the *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, which was published in 1829. In the same year he revisited that region, and collected materials for his "Alhambra." He was soon after appointed Minister of Legation to the American Embassy in London, which he held until the return of Mr. McLane in 1831. In 1830 England he received one of the fifty-guinea gold medals conferred by George IV. for eminence in historical literature, and the degree of LL.D. from the University of London. His return to New-York in 1832 was greeted by a large number of friends, which were gathered his surviving friends, and all the prominent men of his native metropolis. The following summer he accompanied one of the Commissioners for removing the Indians from the tribes west of the Mississippi. The fruit of this

ic "Tour on the Prairies." Soon after appeared "The Tour of the Old and Newstead Abbey," and "Legends of the Old Castile of Spain." In 1838 he published "Astoria," and "The Adventures of Capt. Bonneville." In 1839 he published several papers to the "Knickerbocker Magazine." In 1842 he was appointed Minister to Spain. On his return to his own country in 1846, he began the publication of a new edition of his works, to the list of which he has since added "The Life of Goldsmith," and "Mahomet and his Successors;" and is now engaged upon a revised Life of Washington. His works should be filled by the reader's imagination with the scenes of his travels, and the coloring incident to so varied, honorable, and congenial a life. In all his wanderings, his eye was fixed upon the scenes of nature, and cognizant of their every beauty; his memory brooded over the traditions of the past, and he caught and reflected every phase of humanity. With the habits of a poet and the habitudes of an artist, he thus brought over the rural districts of merry England, the melancholy of romantic Spain, and the exuberant wilderness of the West, gathering up their most picturesque aspects, their most affecting legends, and transferring them, with the most vivid colors of his genial expression, into permanent memorials. Every quaint outline, every mellowed rural perspective that leads the sight into the mazes of the forest, the amusing still-life or characteristic human attribute that excites wonder, sympathy, and merriment, he has preserved and preserved, and shed over all, the sunny glow of a kindly heart, and the freshness of a natural and unforced attraction of a modest character,—a combination which has been happily characterized by Lowell in the Fable

Irving? thrice welcome warm heart and fine brain,
 bring back the happiest spirit from Spain,
 with gravest sweet humor, that ever were there
 when Cervantes met death in his gentle despair;
 don't be embarrassed, nor look so beseeching,
 don't run directly against my own preaching,
 but just laughed at their Raphaels and Dantes,
 sitting you up beside matchless Cervantes;
 let me to speak what I honestly feel,
 let a poet-heart add the fun of Dick Steele;
 let all of Addison, minus the chill,
 let the whole of that partnership's stock and good-will;

Mix well, and while stirring, hum o'er, as a spell,
 The 'fine old English Gentleman,' simmer it well;
 Sweeten just to your own private liking, then strain
 That only the finest and clearest remain.
 Let it stand out of doors till a soul it receives
 From the warm lazy sun loitering down through groves
 And you'll find a choice nature not wholly deserving
 A name either English or Yankee—just Irving."

The eminent success which has attended the publication of Irving's works, teaches a lesson that we hope will not be lost on the cultivators of literature. It proves that all men of enlightened taste intuitively feel, but are constantly forgotten by perverse aspirants for literary fame, that is—the permanent value of a direct, simple, and unadorned style. It is not only the genial philosophy, the humor and pathos of Irving, which endear his works, but and secure for them an habitual interest, but it is the permanent interest afforded by a recurrence to the unalloyed clear, and flowing style in which he invariably expresses himself.

The place which our author holds in national literature can never be superseded. His name is indissolubly connected with the dawn of American recognised literary culture. He was always regarded his popularity in England as one of the most charming traits of his reputation, and that, too, for reasons which narrow critics once assigned as derogatory to national spirit. His treatment of English subjects in a candid and unpretentious manner in which he revealed the life of his adopted country to her prosperous offspring, mingled as it was with the life of her own scenery, touched a chord in the hearts of her people which responds to all that is generous in sympathy and national association. If they regard Irving with national pride, it is partly on account of his cosmopolitan tone of mind and liberality, among others, in which he greatly resembles Goethe. He is, indeed, worthy of a true American writer that, in his country and a particular region thereof as a national sentiment, he can see and feel the characteristic and beautiful, not only in old England, but in romantic Italy, the phlegmatic Dutchman and the mercurial Southerner. He can find an equal place in his comprehensive range from the local wit of Salmagundi to the serious historical enterprise which achieved a classic fame in Columbus, and from the simple grief embalmed in the

Son" to the observant humor of the "Stout Gentleman," bespeaks not only an artist of exquisite and versatile skill, but a man of the most liberal heart and catholic taste.

Reputations, in their degree and kind, are as legitimate subjects of taste as less abstract things,—and in that of Washington Irving there is a completeness and unity seldom realized. It accords, in its unchallenged purity, with the harmonious character of the author and the serene attractions of his home. By temperament and cast of mind he was ordained to be a gentle minister at the altar of literature, an interpreter of the latent music of nature, and the redeeming affections of humanity; and with a consistency not less dictated by good sense than true feeling, he has instinctively adhered to the sphere he was specially gifted to adorn. Since his advent as a writer, an intense style has come into vogue; glowing rhetoric, bold verbal tactics, and a more powerful exercise of thought characterize many of the popular authors of the day; but in literature as in life, there are various provinces both of utility and taste; and in this country and age, a conservative tone, a reliance on the kindly emotions and the refined perceptions, are qualities eminently desirable. Therefore as we look forth upon the calm and picturesque landscape that environs him, we are content that no fierce polemic, visionary philanthropist, or morbid sentimentalist has thus linked his name with the tranquil beauties of the scene; but that it is the home of an author who, with graceful diction and an affectionate heart, celebrates the scenic charms of the outward world, and the harmless eccentricities and natural sentiment of his race. The true bias of Irving's genius is artistic. The lights and shadows of English life, the legendary romance of Spain, the novelties of a tour on the Prairies of the West, and of adventures in the Rocky Mountains, the poetic beauty of the Alhambra, the memories of Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey, the quaint and comfortable philosophy of the Dutch colonists, and the scenery of the Hudson, are themes upon which he expatiates with the grace and zest of a master. His affinity of style with the classic British essayists served not only as an invaluable precedent in view of the crude mode of expression prevalent half a century ago in America, but also proved a bond in letters between that country and England, by recalling the identity of language and domestic life, at a time when great asperity of feeling divided the two Nations.

The circumstances of American daily life, and the i the national destiny, amply insure the circulation of p and practical ideas ; but there is little in either to wholesome attachment to the past, or inspire dis feeling and imaginative recreation. Accordingly, w that this literary pioneer is not only an artist of the but one whose pencil is dipped in the mellow tints o ary lore, who infuses the element of repose, and the ness of fancy into his creations, and thus yields ge freshment and a needed lesson to the fevered min countrymen. Of all his immortal pictures, however, precious to his countrymen is that which contains the old Baltus Van Tassell, especially since it has been re ornamented by Geoffrey Crayon ; and pleasant as it i imagination as Wolfert's Roost, it is far more dea hearts as Sunnyside

And the legends which he has so gracefully wove every striking point in the scene, readily assimilate character, whether they breathe grotesque humour, superstition, or pensive sentiment. We smile habitu with the same zest, at the idea of the Trumpeter's proboscis, the valiant defence of Bearn Island, and which the pedagogue cuts on the dorsal ridge of old der ; and, inhaling the magnetic atmosphere of Sk low, we easily give credit to the apparition of the Horseman, and have no desire to repudiate the friar of the Duyvel's Dans Kamer. The buxom charms o Van Tassel, and the substantial comforts of her pater house, are as tempting to us as they once were to t unate Ichabod and the successful Brom Bones.

The mansion of this prosperous and valiant family celebrated in his writings, is the residence of W Irving. It is approached by a sequestered road, hances the effect of its natural beauty. A more tra protected abode, nestled in the lap of nature, never a poet's eye. Rising from the bank of the river, wh of woodland alone intercepts, it unites every rural the most complete seclusion. From this interestin is visible the broad surface of the Tappan Zee ; th slope to the water's edge, and are bordered by woode a clear brook ripples near, and several neat paths lea dowy walks or fine points of river scenery. The hou

a graceful combination of the English cottage and the Dutch farm-house. The crow-stepped gables, the tiles in the hall, and the weathercocks, partake of the latter character; while the white walls gleaming through the trees, the smooth and verdant turf, and the mantling vines of ivy and clambering roses, suggest the former. Indeed in this delightful home-stead are tokens of all that is most characteristic of its owner. The simplicity and rustic grace of the abode indicate an unperverted taste,—its secluded position a love of retirement; the cottage ornaments remind us of his unrivalled pictures of English country-life; the weathercock that used to veer about on the Stadt-house of Amsterdam, is a symbol of the fatherland; while the one that adorned the grand dwellings in Albany before the revolution, is a significant memorial of the old Dutch colonists; and they are thus both associated with the fragrant memory of that famous and unique historian Diedrich Knickerbocker. The quaint and the beautiful are thus blended, and the effect of the whole is singularly harmonious. From the quietude of this retreat are obtainable the most extensive prospects; and while its sheltered position breathes the very air of domestic repose, the scenery it commands is eloquent of broad and generous sympathies.

Not less rare than beautiful is the lot of the author, to whom it is permitted to gather up the memorials of his fame, and witness their permanent recognition;—the first partial favor of his cotemporaries renewed by the mature appreciation of another generation; and equally gratifying is the coincidence of such a noble satisfaction, with a return to the cherished and picturesque haunts of childhood and youth. It is a phase of life scarcely less delightful to contemplate than to enjoy; and we agree with a native artist who declared that in his many trips up and down the Hudson, he never passed Sunnyside without a thrill of pleasure. Nor, if thus interesting even as an object in the landscape, is it difficult to imagine what moral attractions it possesses to the kindred and friends who there habitually enjoy such genial companionship and frank hospitality. To this favored spot, around which his fondest reminiscences hovered during a long absence, Mr. Irving returned, a few years since, crowned with the purest literary renown, and as much attached to his native scenery as when he wandered there in the holiday reveries of boyhood. And here, in the midst of a landscape his pen has made attractive

in both hemispheres, and of friends whose love sur-
 highest meed of fame, he lives in daily view in scenes
 endeared—by taste, association, and habit;—the old
 blossoms on the green bank in spring, the brook that
 along the grass, the peaked turret and vine-covered
 that modest yet traditional dwelling, the favor-
 watered by the romantic Pocantoro, and, above all, the
 river of his heart.

We are strongly tempted to record some of the char-
 dotes which fall from his lips in the hour of genial con-
 ship; to revert to the details of his personal career,
 remarkable coincidences by which he became a spectator
 of the most noted occurrences of the last half of
 his personal intercourse with the gifted and renowned
 hemispheres; the fond admiration manifested by his
 men in making his name familiar as a household
 their ships and steamers, their schools, hotels, and
 the beautiful features of his domestic life; the
 reverence with which he is regarded by his relatives
 immediate friends and neighbours;—the refined
 tone of his truly "Sunnyside" hospitalities, so
 enlivened by his humorous and historical reminiscences—
 considerations warn us from these seductive topics—
 cherished hope that the reminiscences thus briefly alluded
 yet be gathered up by his own hand; the other our
 of his delicacy of feeling and sensitive habit in regard
 sonalities. In a letter to the editor of the "Knickerbocker
 Magazine," Mr. Irving, under the character of
 Crayon, gives an account of his purchase of the Van
 estate, now called "Sunnyside," and a characteristic
 tion of the neighbourhood, which abounds in some of the
 happiest touches of his style. This letter was the com-
 ment of a series of articles published in the Knickerbocker,
 which, excepting his "Life of Washington," are the best
 published writings. It appeared in the Knickerbocker
 March, 1839, from which we extract it.

"To the Editor of the Knickerbocker.

"Sir: I have observed that as a man advances in life, he
 to a kind of plethora of the mind, doubtless occasioned
 accumulation of wisdom and experience upon the brain.
 is apt to become narrative and admonitory, that is to say,
 telling long stories, and of doling out advice, to the small

great annoyance of his friends. As I have a great horror of becoming the oracle, or, more technically speaking, the 'bore' of the domestic circle, and would much rather bestow my wisdom and tediousness upon the world at large, I have always sought to ease off this surcharge of the intellect by means of my pen, and hence have inflicted divers gossiping volumes upon the patience of the public. I am tired, however, of writing volumes; they do not afford exactly the relief I require; there is too much preparation, arrangement, and parade, in this set form of coming before the public. I am growing too indolent and unambitious for any thing that requires labor or display. I have thought, therefore, of securing to myself a snug corner in some periodical work, where I might, as it were, loll at my ease in my elbow chair, and chat sociably with the public, as with an old friend, on any chance subject that might pop into my brain.

"In looking around, for this purpose, upon the various excellent periodicals with which our country abounds, my eye was struck by the title of your work—'THE KNICKERBOCKER.' My heart leaped at the sight.

"DIEDRICH KNICKERBOCKER, Sir, was one of my earliest and most valued friends, and the recollection of him is associated with some of the pleasantest scenes of my youthful days. To explain this, and to show how I came into possession of sundry of his posthumous works, which I have from time to time given to the world, permit me to relate a few particulars of our early intercourse. I give them with the more confidence, as I know the interest you take in that departed worthy, whose name and effigy are stamped upon your title-page, and as they will be found important to the better understanding and relishing divers communications I may have to make to you.

"My first acquaintance with that great and good man, for such I may venture to call him, now that the lapse of some thirty years has shrouded his name with venerable antiquity, and the popular voice has elevated him to the rank of the classical historians of yore, my first acquaintance with him was formed on the banks of the Hudson, not far from the wizard region of Sleepy Hollow. He had come there in the course of his researches among the Dutch neighbourhoods for materials for his immortal history. For this purpose, he was ransacking the archives of one of the most ancient and historical mansions in the country. It was a lowly edifice, built in the time of the Dutch dynasty, and stood on a green bank, overshadowed by trees, from which it peeped forth upon the Great Tappan Zee, so famous among early Dutch navigators. A bright pure spring welled up at the foot of the green bank; a wild brook came babbling down a neighbouring ravine, and threw itself into a little woody cove, in front of the mansion. It was indeed as quiet and sheltered a nook as the heart of man could require, in which to take refuge from the cares and troubles of the world; and as such, it had been chosen in old times, by Wolfert Acker, one of the privy councillors of the renowned Peter Stuyvesant.

"This worthy but ill-starred man had lead a weary and worried life, throughout the stormy reign of the chivalric Peter, being one of those unlucky wights with whom the world is ever at variance, and

who are kept in a continual fume and fret, by the wicked mankind. At the time of the subjugation of the province of English, he retired hither in high dudgeon; with the bitter determination to bury himself from the world, and live here in quietness for the remainder of his days. In token of his resolution, he inscribed over his door the favorite Dutch maxim in Rust' (pleasure in repose). The mansion was then 'Wolfert's Rust'—Wolfert's Rest; but in process of time was vitiated into Wolfert's Roost, probably from its quaint look, or from its having a weather-cock perched on every gable. This name it continued to bear, long after the unlucky Wolfert was driven forth once more upon a wrangling world, by the termagant wife; for it passed into a proverb through the hood, and has been handed down by tradition, that the Wolfert's Roost was the most hen-pecked bird in the country.

"This primitive and historical mansion has long since passed through many changes. At the time of the sojourn of Diedrich Verbocker, it was in possession of the gallant family of the Verboeckers, who have figured so conspicuously in his writings. What has given it peculiar value, in his eyes, was the rich treasure of historical facts here secretly hoarded up, like buried gold; for it was that Wolfert Acker, when he retreated from New Amsterdam, took off with him many of the records and journals of the previous reign pertaining to the Dutch dynasty; swearing that they should never fall into the hands of the English. These, like the lost books which had baffled the research of former historians; but these were found by the indefatigable Diedrich diligently deciphering. He was a sage in years and experience, I but an idle stripling; yet he despised my youth and ignorance, but took me kindly by the hand, and led me gently into those paths of local and traditional lore, which I was so fond of exploring. I sat with him in his little study in the Roost, and watched the antiquarian patience and perseverance with which he deciphered those venerable Dutch documents, more than Herculean manuscripts. I sat with him by the side of the foot of the green bank, and listened to his heroic tales of the worthies of the olden time, the paladins of New Amsterdam. He accompanied him in his legendary researches about Tarnegat, Sing-Sing, and explored with him the spell-bound recesses of the Dutch Hollow. I was present at many of his conferences with the old Dutch burghers and their wives, from whom he derived those marvellous facts not laid down in books or records, but which gave such superior value and authenticity to his historical narratives, others that have been written concerning the New Netherlands.

"But let me check my proneness to dilate upon this favorite subject. I may recur to it hereafter. Suffice it to say, the interview was long, continued for a considerable time; and in company with the worthy Diedrich, I visited many of the places celebrated in Dutch history. The currents of our lives at length diverged. He remained in the country to complete his mighty work, while a vagrant fancy led me to wander about the world. Many, many years elapsed, before I returned to the parent soil. In the interim, the venerable historian of the Netherlands had been gathered to his fathers, but his name

own His native city, that city in which he so much delighted, creased all manner of costly honors to his memory. I found every thing imprinted upon new-year cakes, and devoured with eager appetite by holiday urchins; a great oyster-house bore the name of Knickerbocker Hall; and I narrowly escaped the pleasure of being carried off by a Knickerbocker omnibus!

Proud of having associated with a man who had achieved such success, I now recalled our early intimacy with tenfold pleasure, and sought to revisit the scenes we had trodden together. The most important of these was the mansion of the Van Tassels, the home of the unfortunate Wolfert. Time, which changes all things, moves slowly in its operations upon a Dutchman's dwelling. I found it venerable and quaint little edifice much as I had seen it during the life of Diedrich. There stood his elbow-chair in the corner of the room he had occupied; the old fashioned Dutch writing-desk at which he had labored over the chronicles of the Manhattoes; there was the iron chest, with the archives left by Wolfert Acker, many of which, however, had been fired off as wadding from the long duck of the Van Tassels. The scene around the mansion was still the same; the green bank; the spring beside which I had listened to the legendary narratives of the historian; the wild brook babbling to the woody cove, and the overshadowing locust trees, half hidden by the prospect of the Great Tappan Zee.

I looked round upon the scene, my heart yearned at the recollection of my departed friend, and I wistfully eyed the mansion he had inhabited, and which was fast mouldering to decay. I thought struck me to arrest the desolating hand of Time; to rescue the historic pile from utter ruin, and to make it the closing scene of my wanderings; a quiet home, where I might enjoy 'the last days' for the remainder of my days. It is true, the fate of the unfortunate Wolfert passed across my mind; but I consoled myself with the reflection that I was a bachelor, and that I had no termagant to dispute the sovereignty of the Roost with me.

I have become possessor of the Roost! I have repaired and redecorated it with religious care, in the genuine Dutch style, and have adorned and illustrated it with sundry reliques of the glorious days of New Netherlands. A venerable weather-cock, of portly Dutch proportions, which once battled with the wind on the top of the Stadt-huis of New Amsterdam, in the time of Peter Stuyvesant, now crowns its crest on the gable end of my edifice; a gilded horse, in the shape of a pellop, once the weather-cock of the great Vander Heyden Palace of Albany, now glitters in the sunshine, and veers with every wind, on the peaked turret over my portal: my sanctum sanctorum chamber once honored by the illustrious Diedrich, and it is his elbow-chair, and his identical old Dutch writing-desk, that I have preserved in this rambling epistle.

There, then, have I set up my rest, surrounded by the recollection of my early days, and the mementos of the historian of the Manhattoes, that glorious river before me, which flows with such majesty and grandeur, and which has ever been to me a river of delight. Thank God I was born on the banks of the Hudson! I think

it an invaluable advantage to be born and brought up in the neighbourhood of some grand and noble object in nature ; a river or a mountain. We make a friendship with it, we in a manner consecrate ourselves to it for life. It remains an object of our predilections, a rallying point, to call us home again after all our wanderings. 'The things which we have learned in our childhood,' says the English writer, 'grow up with our souls, and unite themselves to them ;' and it is with the scenes among which we have passed our early years, that we influence the whole course of our thoughts and feelings ; I can trace much of what is good and pleasant in my own character, to my early companionship with this glorious compound, to my early communion with this glorious element. In the warmth of my youthful enthusiasm, I used to cherish its moral attributes, and almost to give it a soul. I admired its bold, honest character ; its noble sincerity and perfect truthfulness. There was no specious, smiling surface, covering the dangerous and perfidious rock ; but a stream deep as it was broad, and with honorable faith the bark that trusted to its waves.

It is simple, quiet, majestic, epic flow ; ever straight forward, but indeed, it turns aside for a moment, forced from its course by rising mountains, but it struggles bravely through them, and at last resumes its straightforward march. Behold, though, the blemish of a good man's course through life ; ever simple and direct, or if, overpowered by adverse circumstances, he errs, it is but momentary ; he soon recovers his onward march, his noble career, and continues it to the end of his pilgrimage.

"Excuse this rhapsody, into which I have been betrayed by the revival of early feelings. The Hudson is, in a manner, my last love ; and after all my wanderings, and seeming infidelities, I turn to it with a heart-felt preference over all the other rivers of the world. I seem to catch new life, as I bathe in its ample bosom, to inhale the pure breezes of its hills. It is true, the romantic age is past, that once spread illusions over every scene. I cannot picture an Arcadia in every green valley ; nor a fairy land in the distant mountains ; nor a peerless beauty in every vale among the trees ; but though the illusions of youth have faded from the landscape, the recollections of departed years and departed pleasures shed over it the mellow charm of evening sunshine.

"Permit me then, Mr. Editor, through the medium of your Review, to hold occasional discourse from my retreat, with the business of the world have abandoned. I have much to say about what I have felt, and thought, through the course of a varied and restless life, and some lucubrations, that have long been encumbering my portfolio ; together with divers reminiscences of the venerable men of the New Netherlands, that may not be unacceptable to those who have taken an interest in his writings, and are desirous to know what that may cast a light back upon our early history. Let your readers rest assured of one thing, that, though retired from the world, I am not disgusted with it ; and that if, in my communings with nature, I prove very wise, I trust I shall at least prove very good-natured.

Which is all at present, from

Yours, etc.,

GEOFFREY CRAWFORD

Indians called the finest of New England rivers, the Connecticut, River of Pines. The summer tourist to the White Mountains, ascending or descending its valley, finds a reason for the name remaining, until he reaches its upper reaches where occasional groves of pines remind him of the forest and its significance. A broad, tranquil stream, it flows through much of the most characteristic scenery of the North-east, from out the "crystal hills,"—from the shadow of Mount Cocoonook, "throne of the Great Spirit," as the Indians call it, Mount Washington, dividing New Hampshire from Massachusetts, the granite from the green,—beneath graceful Mount Adams to Mount Washington, through wide-waving grain-fields, cascading over the rocks in its sole important cascade at Fall Falls, then into a broader and more open landscape as it enters Massachusetts, making at Northampton its famous Great Ox-bow. At Springfield the railways from the north quarter meet upon its banks, and its calm breadth here, the low clustering foliage of its shores, and the bold cliff of Mount Tom glimmering in the hazy noon, which is the scene of the arrival at Springfield, gives the tone to the day's impression. The traveller southward follows the stream toward Northampton and New Haven; the northern traveller clings to its banks until he reaches Northampton.

Northampton, in the heart of Massachusetts, Northampton is one of the most beautiful of country towns. Looking over a rich and richly cultivated landscape, the view from Mount Adams is of the same quality as that from the Londoner's view of the River of Pines. Gentle green hills, fair and fertile meadows, and the River of Pines. That river is not classic Thames, nor grotesque Strawberry Hill, nor historic Hampden Court, nor the villa at Twickenham, nor stately Bushy Park, tell of the musing eye of the singularly artificial and amusing English scene. The River of Pines laves its peaceful banks with Indian lore. Terrible traditions of the fights of the early settlers of New England haunt the stream. Life in its neighbourhood is not old enough to be artificial. Like much American pastoral scenery, which seems the theatre of tranquil life and a long Arcadian antiquity, the escape of the Connecticut, so far as it is suggestive, is to the observer only of the dull monotony of savage life; but,—irresistibly as the stream flows to the sea,—

bears imagination forward to the history that shall be of all scenery in the world, the American landscape to the future. The best charm of the European lies much in its reference to the past. Human interest vests it all.

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea."

But that sea is not only a sublime waste of water, but has an inherent character of every grand natural feature, but it sparkles all over with another spell. And this is undeniable. The pass of Leonidas is more interesting than the Notch of the White Mountains, because man is absent of nature, and wherever human character has entered with natural beauty, it becomes an inseparable element of enjoyment in the scene, and an element which enhances the dignity of the landscape. Thus in Concord, the river's bank where the battle was fought, is not so tranquil, but how much lovelier—not as water is beautiful, but as feeling and inspiration, which is the immortal landscape—for the remembrance of the human action consecrates it, and its significance and results.

No man, of course, grieves that American scenery is generally invested with this character. Born upon a continent, heaped at intervals with the inarticulate ruins of extinct races, yet races which have left no historic traces, never be more than romantically interesting, America has written upon the literature and history of the world. The grandeur of Egypt, the grace of Greece, the heroism of Rome, their charms, and the lands illustrated by that various character fail to fascinate them. But at present the landscape is like the Indian himself. It is grand but silent; it speaks only with speechless implication. Foreign critics complain that Americans are enamored of foreign scenery, and despise their own wealth. But their admiration for the old world is their homage to that human genius which has made the American story as splendid. Seeing what it has else accomplished, we perceive more truly what, in a sphere so stately and so great, it will yet accomplish. A Greece more Greek and a Rome more Roman, is the possible future of America. Why are Europeans jealous of the American's delight in the Parthenon—in the Italian pictures? Shall they not honor the power that ornamented the old lands and times?

its future blossoming for America's own glory? Were American we would say, "We prospectively honor ourselves in respecting the old world. And if, sometimes, youth of a sensitive and delicate temperament, fully capable of enjoying to the utmost the resources of Europe, and requiring the successes of art and the conveniences of an old civilization for the happiest play of his powers, for the galleries, the societies, the historic shores, it will be pardoned to him, in consideration that he is an heir of our capacity for that condition. He shows what will be,—he shows that only the genius of creation, but not appreciation, is part of our constitution. When, however, peculiarity takes the form of a querulous fastidiousness, and, in Broadway, sighs for the Boulevards, and, regarding St. Peter's, sneers at the Capitol, it is foolish and offensive. But, on the other hand, we shall not only improve our nationality by perpetually visiting Europe or reading Mr. Schoolcraft's *Legends*, or refusing to acknowledge the positive superiorities of other countries and times. Eclectically eclectic in our origin, we shall be so in our development. Foreign critics treat us as if we had not a common ancestry with them, but were descended from the Indians. They say to us,—How are you ever to have a nationality, if you do not assert all your traditions and devote yourselves to loving and imitating Europe? The question is fair, but the implication is unjust. They forget, especially the English critics, that confidence is not absolute and final, but only relative. We have the same history and language with them. Their men of letters are peculiarly ours, more, that is, than Italian and French. Their events and men, and our literature, which they so arrogantly insist must be national, necessarily has a family likeness to their own. Many of our books imitate English books just as they imitate each other. The reason is in the similarity of language and the similarity of habit of thought. No American need tremble lest the grandeur of his thoughts should fail to be expressed in Art and Literature. Homer, or Poet along whose lines shall flash and roar the boundless sea; some Plato, or Catholic Philosopher, in whose calm wisdom the breadth of a continent shall repose; some artist, who shall passionately dash upon immortal canvas the vigor of our topics, and realize in new and unimagined forms the hints of forest and prairie—these must all be, or the progressions of human and national development as they appear in literature, will not be fulfilled."

Still as an American we would say, "Certaining from Hologke, no man grieves that the is not the classic Thames, nor that the Gre is unadorned by Strawberry Hill. Nor do that he regrets upon the hill the absence of the composed the court of 'the first gentleman in E that of the Dutch royalty of his three predecessors nately for us, this law of association works both way Walpole in the country, tormenting it with his fa cies, is almost as incongruous a spectacle as Beau seaside. But it is the glowing line of history in figures are insignificant, that imparts the charm. T of extreme refinement marks the pleasant view from Hill. It is akin in impression to that of the 'lovely ladies.' It is in landscape what they are in so pastoral peace broods over the valley of the River Golden plenty waves in its meadows. Gentle mountains around, covered with green woods. A fresh sweetness purity every where breathe a benediction. If no history inspires the mind of the spectator, there is also no faint tificiality, none of the nameless sadness which haunts of King Charles's Beauties. This is Nell Gwyn, orange-girl, her youth and heart sweeter than the fruit not the painted and brocaded lady, not the frail b St. Albans."

Looking from the piazza of this house at Round eye grasps grim Monadnoc at the north, and the Y of Connecticut, made poetic by distance. A tr friendly landscape,—somewhat lurid in the early h Indian fires and desolations,—a broad, fair river,—a fine and suggestive emblem of National condition and it is pleasant to associate with Northampton the ment of the work that records American history in which secures its final permanence. It is fortunate written now, while the outlines are not lost in the tiquity, and by one who, to an original, clear and perception of the great principles which appear in th ment of the race, has added the ripeness of rich s long foreign residence, and that invaluable practical ance with men and affairs, which has made his own of contemporary history. Best of all for the pu ineradicable Americanism of the historian imparts

the page. It is not only a History of America, it is American History. There is a wild vigor and luxuriantness in its style of treatment, a proud buoyancy of spirit as if it shared the energetic career of the country it describes. The intellectual habit evident throughout is precisely what is required of a historian, not so romantic as to limit the truth to a sweet and captivating legend, nor so academic as to bury truth in colorless masses the hosts of historic facts. It has the vigor, the sober, scholastic air. The historian has not curiously gathered flowers, and offered them to us pressed,—but with his strong hands he gathers all the bounties of the field and offers them before us, wet with morning dew.

His present duty is not with the work, but with the circumstances which the work has made interesting. Born near Boston, Massachusetts, Mr. Bancroft was the son of the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, one of the most distinguished Unitarian ministers of the last half century. In his house the religion that came from his lips by his children was of that grave and sober order which, once permeating the young mind, influences the man's life for ever after. Freedom of inquiry,—the freest liberty of moral investigation, was the golden rule of the old man's life. "Prove all things," was the earnest exhortation of his preaching, sure that otherwise there would be little good to hold fast. When, in the declining years of his life, an intellectual and moral excitement, known as Transcendentalism, prevailed in New England, and many men of his own persuasion fancied that the foundations of society were at last succumbing, the old clergyman went his quiet, unperplexed, sympathized with the spirit, although not with the result of the investigation, and assured his alarmed followers that the errors, if such they were, would necessarily pass away and that all grain of truth grew in husks.

At seventeen years of age the historian went to Germany to study at Göttingen. Like all ardent and serious New England youths, his interest in theological speculations was intense, and he often preached to the quiet German country congregations around Göttingen, in their native tongue. This was the puritanical inheritance of his native land. The parishes were parishes, and the minister the high priest. It was so from the earliest times, and the feeling in the matter survived until a quarter of a century since, clearly attested the fact that the emigration of the pilgrims and the

settlement of New England was a religious one. Possibly, seen from Göttingen, the theological tract of New England might lose some of their awful proportions. In the pleasant pulpits of Boston the observer might not see the Cotton Mathers, and other clerical Boanerges, nor trace in their limpid discourse the fire of Puritan preaching. But the spirit of inquiry was kindled by the father, the pastor of the quiet country town, to preserve the inquirer by neither exaggerating nor diminishing. The young man pursued his studies with ardent direction. His penetrant mind, contrasting the European of education with American, perceived where the latter was and what it was necessary to do to elevate its standard of matter. Of singular intellectual restlessness, his mind wandered and darted through the fields of scholastic culture, and sweets, quite ignorant yet of their probable or final result.

During his residence in Germany, the young American student, bringing to the Savans of that country the honor and fame they did not know to exist, was doubly welcomed. In Berlin he knew Schleiermacher, Wolffe, and Savigny; in Jena that he first saw Goethe. The old man was waiting in his garden in the morning, clad with German costume in heavy loose coat and trowsers, without a waistcoat, in the imperial presence which is preserved in all the state pictures, and talked pleasantly of many things as they passed. Lord Byron was then at the height of his fame. Goethe spoke of him with interest, and said, although without passion or feeling, that the English poet had modelled his *Marion Faustus*. In this remark, however, Goethe showed more pride of the author than the perception of the critic. The theme attempted in both poems is precisely the one that fascinates all genius of a certain power, and the treatment of these especial instances reveals all the differences of the two.

Afterwards, in Italy, our student saw Lord Byron. He first met him on board an American vessel at Leghorn, and to which the poet had been invited. When he mounted the side of the ship, Byron's eye fell upon a group of ladies, and he wavered a moment, saying afterwards that he feared they were English, toward whom, at that time, he was not friendly. He advanced down the deck, however, to learn that the dreadful cloud of muslin enveloped not Americans, and fell into animated conversation.

"Ah! Lord Byron," said one of the fairest of the group, "when I return to America no one will believe that I have only seen you. I must carry them some tangible proof of good fortune. Will you give me the rose in your button-"

The "free and independent" address did not displease the poet, and he gave the rose.

On leaving the vessel, Lord Byron asked Mr. Bancroft to call on him at his villa, Montenero, near the city, to which, a day or two after, he went. They talked of many things, Lord Byron continually asking endless questions of America. He denied the influence of Goethe about *Manfred*, and said that he had never read Faust. He had just written the letter upon Pope, and, in conversation, greatly extolled his poetry. Without saying much of important or memorable things, Byron was a fluent and agreeable talker. It was in the year 1821, and he was writing *Don*.

"People call it immoral," said he, "and put *Roderick* out of their libraries." So of Shelley: "They call him a rebel," said Lord Byron, "but he is more Christian than the whole of them." When his visitor rose to leave, the poet showed him a volume containing the last cantos he had then written of the poem, and wrote his name in them, as a remembrance, "from Noel Byron." But Ambrosia was that day allotted to a young American, for as they passed slowly through the garden, the host bade him tarry a moment, and leaving the Countess Guiccioli, he immediately returned with the Countess Guiccioli. She, smiling, and gliding into the mazy music of Italian speech, became an attentive listener on, delighted. Again he rose to go, but a servant threw open a door and discovered a collation spread in an adjoining room. Perhaps the poet pleased himself with the opportunity of graciously and profusely entertaining his foreign guests in the ambassadorial person of his guest. "That is all," he said, upon reading in some tourist's volume that a list of the English Bards and Scotch Reviewers had been sent by him at Niagara. The modesty of his American guest might recognise in the cordiality of his reception and the poet Lord Byron's acknowledgment of his American

In 1822 Mr. Bancroft returned home, and served for a time as Greek tutor in Harvard College. During his long residence in Europe he had matured his projects to raise the standard of education in America, and in the following year

he, with Mr. Cogswell, Librarian of the Astor, commenced the famous Round Hill School at Northampton. Three brothers Sheperd, descendants of the old New England divine, had built three neighbouring houses upon the estate. Gradually they had all passed into the hands of one of the sons, who was willing to sell them, and they became the site of the school. The estate comprised about fifty acres. The school was immediately filled by young men from every part of the country, and took rank directly among the finest in America. Mr. Bancroft devoted himself with unremitting ardour to the enterprise. The system of study pursued at the school, in the world was introduced, and the scheme was, in a few years, completely successful. Unhappily, however, there was no Oxford and no Cambridge for this Eton. The course of study was so high and entire that the graduates of Round Hill were well fitted to enter the advanced classes of any College in America. By a singular provision of College Laws, those who entered the advanced class were held to pay for the preceding year's tuition. Thus did the studies in any college carry the student forward to a proportioned result. Shrewd men did not want to send their son to college for their son's education. Besides, it was a solitary and possibly some wild whim thought the shrewd men of America. A deeply-dyed German student. Thus, although in a few years successful, it did not promise to achieve the desired result. A very perfect blossom, which will yet not ripen into fruit. Mr. Bancroft's interest in it, therefore, gradually decayed.

Meanwhile he had served other aims by translating the friend Heeren's History of Greece, and had been long engaged in writing and preparing the material for a History of the United States. In 1827 he was married at Springfield, and in 1828 he returned to Northampton resumed his connection with the School as a teacher, and presently withdrew from it altogether. The house represented in the engraving, its frontispiece to the first volume of the History was written, and was published in 1834. The historian then removed to Springfield, where he resided two years, completing and publishing another volume there.

It was a favorite maxim of Ariosto, and of Lord Byron, that every man of letters must mix in affairs, if he would acquire a profound influence upon men. Only by contact with the world, does man learn to know man. The wandering Hero, the poet Shakspeare, the statesmen Milton, Lord Bacon, the philosopher and councillor Goethe, Michael Angelo planning fortifications,

ce, Leonardo da Vinci designing drains for the Lom-
 plains, are names upon their side. It is easy to see how
 able to a historian must be this practical intercourse
 men and affairs, of whose development history is the re-
 Mr. Bancroft's political career, therefore, is not only a
 kable illustration of the successes opened in a republic to
 y and energy, but it has necessarily had the profound-
 fluence upon his work. A man who makes part of the
 y of his own time can better write that of another.
 e still resident at Northampton, he was, quite unwittingly
 his part, elected a representative to the General Court, but
 engagements prevented his taking his seat. Other positions
 offered him, which he declined. Appointed Collector of
 n in 1838, by President Van Buren, Mr. Bancroft
 ight to his new duties an intelligence and zeal which se-
 the acknowledgment of great ability from very deter-
 opponents. He was again married at this time; and,
 g the engrossing engagements of his office, he labored
 ntly upon the third volume of the history, which was
 shed in 1842. In the year 1844 he was nominated for
 rnor by the democratic party. He was not elected,
 ough receiving a larger vote than had ever before been
 l upon the purely democratic issue. Party spirit did not
 any prominent man, and plenty of hard things were said
 g the contest. But in the excited moments of political
 ence, although great talent is often conceded to opponents,
 rity and kindness of heart are too often denied. Through-
 a canvass of great acerbity of feeling, the democratic nomi-
 was in New-York, engaged in examining, often for more
 the twelve hours of day, the documents illustrative of
 rica's early history, which Mr. Brodhead had then just
 ight from Holland for the Historical Society of his State.
 1844 Mr. Polk was elected President, and summoned
 Bancroft to Washington as Secretary of the Navy, and
 e autumn of 1846, he crossed the ocean as Minister to
 land. When Rubens, the painter, resided in England as
 ch Ambassador, a company of diplomats one day called upon
 and found him, palette in hand, at work before his easel.
 Ah!" said they, "Monsieur the Ambassador is playing
 ter."
 No, gentlemen," responded the artist, "the painter is
 ing Ambassador."

So our historian played Ambassador, and played Upon leaving Washington he said to the President should devote his energies to the modification of the tion Act, and his success in the effort is one of the umphs of Mr. Bancroft's political career. He did as a stranger in London, but the scholars there, learned representatives of other countries, were already pondents of the American scholar, and loyal to the the American Historian. We have had no American tative more genuinely American. Still devoted to the life,—by personal intercourse with eminent men and amination of all material accessible in England, by correspondence with other parts of Europe, especially and frequent visits to Paris to explore its libraries and its archives, the History of the United States went 1849 Mr. Bancroft returned to America and his residence in New-York. The fourth volume of tory, comprising the French war and the beginning Revolution, was immediately prepared for the press lished by his old publishers, in Boston, in the spring Its success, after so long and highly-wrought expect- entire, and confirmed the satisfaction that the histo- country was to be recorded by a mind so sagacious, zant of the national ideas, so respective of the nation so affluent in historic lore, so moulded by interce- attrition with great times, and their greatest men, s of expression at once rich, vigorous, and characteristic.

Mr. Bancroft's time is now divided between the cit- seaside. Early in the summer he repairs to New- works at the concluding volumes of his history; it- noble record of great deeds, and will comprise the first- the greatest epoch of modern times. Nor is it possible- how late a date the work will be continued. The grea- independence once achieved, the consequent organizati- tails can hardly be properly or copiously treated, until- can clearly trace the characteristic operation of- through a somewhat longer course of years.

The true idea of a home includes something more- place to live in. It involves elements which are in- It means a particular spot in which the mind is d- the character trained, and the affections fed. It

in of association, by which mute material forms are to certain states of thought and moods of feeling, that our joys and sorrows, our struggles and triumphs, are chronicled on the walls of a house, the trunk of a tree, the alleys of a garden. Many persons are so unhappy to pass through life without these sweet influences. Their dwellings are wandering and nomadic, and their temporary places of abode are mere tents, though built of brick or wood. The child is brought home to one house, the child is born in another, and dies in a third. As we walk through the unexpressed desires of one of our cities, and mark their dreary monotony of front, and their ever-changing door-plates, how few are the houses are there that present themselves to the eye as the symbols and indications of home. These, we instinctively, are mere parallelograms of air, with sections and divisions at regular intervals, in which men may eat and sleep, but not live, in the large meaning of the term. But a cottage-house, however small and plain, if it be only well situated, as in the shadow of a patriarchal tree, or on the banks of a stream, or in the hollow of a sheltering hill, has more of the sense of home than many a costly city mansion. In the cottage a portion of nature seems to have been subdued and tamed to the uses of man, and yet its primitive character remained unchanged; but, in the latter, nature has been smothered and buried, and a huge brick monument erected to her memory. We read that "God setteth the solitary in families." The significance of this beautiful expression dwells in its last word. The solitary are not set in hotels or boarding-houses, but in communities or phalansteries, but in families. The sense of solitude is to be lightened by household affections, not by mere aggregation. True society—that which the soul craves and the character needs—is only to be found in the home, and what are called the cares of housekeeping, from which so many selfishly and indolently shrink, when lightened by mutual forbearance and unpretending self-sacrifice, become sources of endearment and instruments of moral and spiritual growth.

The partial deprivation of sight under which Mr. Prescott long labored, is now a fact in literary history almost as well known as the blindness of Milton or the lameness of Scott. And many magnify in their thoughts the extent of his loss,

and picture to themselves the author of "Fe-Isabella" as a venerable personage, entirely ignorant of the "dark steps" which require a constant "guiding hand." They are greatly surprised when they see this ideal image embodied in a figure retaining a more than common share of the lightness of movement, and a countenance full of animation, which betrays to a casual observer the want of visual perfection. The weight of this trial, to a man of literary tastes, has been balanced in Mr. Prescott's case by great compensations. He has been happy in his life, into which he was born, happy in the home he loved, happy in himself, and happy in the troops of loving and admiring friends whom he has gathered around him. He has been happy in the early possession of that leisure which has enabled him to give his whole energies to literary labors, free from distraction or interruption, and, most of all, happy in his genial temper, his cheerful spirit, his cordial friendship, and that disposition to look on the bright side of men and things which is better not only than house and land, but than power and fame. It is his privilege, by no means universal, to be best valued where most known. He has received the graceful tribute which his intimate friend Mr. Everett paid to him, in the preface to his History of Spain, that his "honors will always be dearest to those who have known the discouragements under which they have been won, and the modesty and gentleness with which they have been accepted, but an expression of the common feeling of all who know him.

To come down to smaller matters, Mr. Prescott was fortunate in the merely local influences which have shaped and trained his mind and character. His lines have fallen in pleasant places. His father, who removed from Scotland to Boston when he himself was quite young, lived for many years in a house in Bedford-street, now swept away by the change, the effect of which, in a place of limited space like Boston, is to crowd the population into constant contact. It was one of a class of houses of which few specimens are now left in that densely settled peninsula. It was built of brick, painted yellow, was square in form, and had two rooms on either side of the front door. It had no architectural merit, and no architectural pretension; but it was itself and was not imprisoned in a block, had

of land between the front door and the street, and a reasonable amount of breathing-space and elbow-room at the sides and in the rear, and was shaded by by some fine elms and horse-chesnuts. It had a certain individual character and expression of its own. Here Mr. Prescott the elder, commonly known and addressed in Boston as Judge Prescott, lived from 1817 to 1844, the year of his death. Mr. Prescott the younger, the historian, upon his marriage, did not leave his father's house to seek a new home, but, complying with a kindly custom more common in Europe, at least upon the Continent, than in America, continued to reside under the paternal roof, the two families forming one united and affectionate household, which, in the latter years of Judge Prescott's life, presented most engaging forms of age, mature life, and blooming youth. As Mr Prescott's circle of research grew more and more wide, the house was enlarged by the addition of a study to accommodate his books and manuscripts, and here fame found him living when she came to seek him after the publication of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." No one of those who were so fortunate as to enjoy the friendship of both the father and the son ever walks by the spot where this house once stood, without recalling, with a mingling of pleasure and of pain, its substantial and respectable appearance, its warm atmosphere of welcome and hospitality, and the dignified form, so expressive of wisdom and of worth, of that admirable person who so long presided over it. This house was pulled down a few years since, soon after the death of Judge Prescott: his son having previously removed to the house in Beacon-street, in which he now lives during the winter months.

Few authors have ever been so rich in dwelling-places as Mr. Prescott. "The truth is," says he in a letter to his publisher, "I have three places of residence, among which I contrive to distribute my year. Six months I pass in town, where my house is in Beacon-street, looking on the common, which as you may recollect, is an uncommonly fine situation, commanding a noble view of land and water."

There is little in the external aspect of this house in Beacon-street to distinguish it from others in its immediate vicinity. It is one of a continuous but not uniform block. It is of brick, painted white, four stories high, and with one of those swelled fronts which are characteristic of Boston. It has the usual proportion and distribution of drawing-rooms, dining-room and chambers, which are furnished with unpretending elegance, and

adorned with some portraits, copies of originals illustrative of Mr. Prescott's writings. The main portion of the interior consists of an ample library. Mr. Prescott to the rear of the house, and common to the drawing-rooms. It is an apartment of noble proportions, filled with a choice collection of books, historical, which are disposed in cases of richly and highly-polished oak. This room, which is much adapted to the social arrangements of the household, is not that in which Mr. Prescott does his hard literary work. A much smaller apartment, above the library and communicating with it, is reserved for study—an arrangement similar to that adopted by Walter Scott at Abbotsford.

Mr. Prescott's collection of books has been made with special reference to his own departments of inquiry, and it is very rich. It contains many works which cannot be found in any other private library, at least, in America. Among these, he has a large number of manuscripts, amounting in aggregate to not less than twenty thousand folio volumes. Illustrative of the periods of history treated in his works, many manuscripts have been drawn from all parts of Europe, as from the States of Spanish origin in the New World. He has also many curious and valuable autographs of kings and popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Nor is the interest of this apartment confined to books and manuscripts. Over the window at the north end there are two swords suspended, and crossed like the clasped hands. One of these was borne by Col. Bunker Hill, and the other by Capt. Lizeen, grandfather of Mrs. Prescott, who commanded the ship of war *Falcon*, which was engaged in firing upon the British troops on that occasion. It is a significant and suggestive sight; from which a thoughtful mind may draw out much for reflection. These swords, once waving in hostile combat, but now amicably lying side by side, symbolize not only the union of families once opposed in deadly struggle, but the hope and trust, the mood of peace which is destined to unite the two great nations which, like parted streams, have found their source to the same parent fountain.

On entering the library from the drawing-room, one sees at first no egress except by the door through which he had just passed; but, on his attention being called

space in the stored shelves, he is, if a reading man, and by some rows of portly quartos and goodly octavos, neatly bound, bearing inviting names, unknown to Lown-Brunet. On reaching forth his hand to take one of them, he finds that while they keep the word of promise, they break it to the hope, for the seeming books being but strips of gilded leather pasted upon a flat board and stamped with titles, in the selection of which, Mr. Prescott has indulged that playful fancy which, though it can appear in his grave historical works, is constantly animating his correspondence and conversation. It is, in short, a door, opening at the touch of a spring, and concealed by a sash when shut. A small winding staircase leads from the room of moderate extent above, so arranged as to give all the advantage of light to the imperfect eyes of the historian. Here Mr. Prescott gathers around him the books and manuscripts in use for the particular work on which he may be employed, and few persons, except himself and his secretary, are admitted to his studious retreat.

As regards to situation, few houses in any city are superior to this. It stands directly upon the common, a beautiful level ground, tastefully laid out, moulded into an exhibition of variety of surface, and only open to the objection of being cut up by the intersecting paths which the time-habits of the thrifty Bostonians have traced across it. Mr. Prescott's house stands nearly opposite a small sheet of water to which the tasteless name of Frog Pond is so inveterately attached by long usage, that it can never be divorced from it. In a few years, since the introduction of the Cochituate water, a fountain has been made to play here, which throws up an arch of sparkling silver, springing from the bosom of the pond, like a palm tree from the sands, producing, in its beauty, a far finer effect than the costly architectural fountain of Europe, in which the water spurts and fizzles amid a dense crowd of sprawling Tritons and flopping dolphins. A beautiful spectacle may be seen in the long afternoons, before the midsummer heats have browned the grass, when the crystal plumes of the fountain are waving in the breeze and the rich, yellow light of the slow-sinking sun is in the air and throws long shadows on the turf, and the pond is sprinkled, far and wide, with well-dressed and unnumbered crowds—a spectacle in which not only the eye

but the heart also may take pleasure, from the evil it furnishes of the general diffusion of material comfort and intelligence.

The situation of the house admirably adapts it to winter residence. The sun, during nearly his whole day, plays on the walls of the houses which occupy the western part of Beacon-street, and the broad pavement in the coldest weather, clear of ice and snow, and offering a fine promenade even to the long dresses and thin shoes of so many perverse wives and daughters will bring them into the streets. Here, in the early days of winter, the timid crocus and snowdrop peep from the soil, and the iron hand of winter has been lifted from the city. Besides the near attraction of the Common, which is beautiful in all seasons, this part of Boston, from its position, commands a fine view of the western hills, including a range of graceful and thickly-peopled hills, from the line and Roxbury. The brilliant winter sunsets add to the greatest advantage. The whole western sky is filled with rich metallic lights of orange, yellow, and yellow-green. The lines of the hills in the clear, frosty air, are sharply defined against this glowing back-ground; the wind-harps of the trees send forth a melancholy music, and the faint stars appear one by one as the shrouding veil of daylight is withdrawn. A walk at this hour along the western Common offers a larger amount of the soothing and cheering influences of nature than most dwellers in cities can command.*

In this house in Beacon-street, Mr. Prescott lived nearly half the year, engaged in literary research, and finished

* The beauty of American winter sunsets is, so far as we know, peculiar to that country. It depends upon a combination of circumstances found nowhere else; a low temperature with a brilliant and transparent atmosphere: the climate of Sweden with that of Italy. In northern Europe, the tone of coloring is subdued, and the short days of winter leave but little light. In Italy, the beauty of the winter sunsets is essentially that of the summer. In both, the coloring is what we call warm. But there is something peculiarly spiritual in the light of American winter sunsets, in which the frost is on all the clouds and vapors of earth, and the western sky is like a vault of crystal, through which the glory of some star is shining.

studies in the society of a numerous circle of friends, his possession, in which no man is more rich. No man in America is so exclusively a man of letters. His energies are not at all given to the exciting and ephemeral claims of the passing hour, but devoted to those researches the results of which have appeared in his published works. He is strongly social in his tastes and habits, and his manners and conversation in society are uncommonly free from that stiffness and coldness which are apt to creep over the countenance of studious men, and retains more youthful ease and unreserve than most men, whatever be their way of life, carry into middle age.

He is methodical in his habits of exercise as well as in his study, and is much given to long walks, as in former years he was to long rides. These periods of exercise, however, are not interrupted. From his defective sight he has acquired the habit (not a very common one) of thinking without the pen, and a smooth period has been wrought and polished in the exercise of the brain while in the saddle or on foot.*

The occupants of most of the houses in that part of Boston in which Mr. Prescott lives, are birds of passage. As soon as the season of the short-lived summer puts off the countenance of the sun, and puts on that of a foe, one by one they take flight. House after house shuts up its green lids, and consigns itself to a three or four months' sleep. The family distribute themselves among various places of retreat, suburban or marine, more or less remote. Mr. Prescott escapes the noise, dust and heat of Boston at this season, and takes refuge for some weeks in a cottage at Nahant. "This place," he writes to his publisher, "is a cottage—indeed, my daughter Emeline Stuart Wortley calls in her 'Travels' 'a charming country villa' at Nahant, where for more than twenty years I have passed the summer months, as it is the best spot in New England. The house stands on a bald point overlooking the ocean, so near that in a storm the spray comes over the piazza, and as it stands on the extreme

Mr. Prescott inherits from his father a taste for riding and horseback riding alone. For many years, during the life of the latter, they were in the habit of riding before breakfast. Their horses were brought to the door at the same time, and they would start off, but one would take the right hand and one the left. This habit, so little in unison with his otherwise social tastes, is often the subject of playful banter among his friends.

point of the peninsula, is many miles out at sea. more than one printed account of Nahant, which is able watering-place, from the bold formation of the its exposure to the ocean. It is not a bad place-girt citadel—for reverie and writing, with the m winds and waters incessantly beating on the rocks beaches below. This place is called ‘Fitful Norna’s was not wilder.’

The peninsula of Nahant, which Mr. Prescott briefly described, is a rocky promontary running from the mainland of Lynn, to which it is connected by a straight beach, some two or three miles in length, divided into two unequal portions by a bold headland called Little Nahant. It juts out abruptly, in an adventurous and defying attitude, laid down on a map of a large scale, it looks like an arm with a clenched fist at the end of it. Thus goes the sea to battle with the waves on the stormy New-England coast. It is built of the strongest materials which the land Nature can furnish. It is a solid mass of the hardest granite rock, over which a thin drapery of soil is thrown. At the southern extremity this wall of rock is broken into angular forms, and seamed and scarred with the marks of innumerable conflicts. A lover of Nature in her sternest aspect can find few spots of more attraction than this promontary to the south-easterly storm. The dark ridges of the rapid waves, upon the broken cliffs with an expression so like that of rage, that it is difficult to believe that they are not conscious of what they are about. But in an instant the great waves are broken into splinters of snowy spray, which glides over the rocky points and hang their dripping and sparkling curtains along the sheer wall, the dazzling white contrast with the reddish brown of the rock, as does the movement with the monumental calm. One is never weary of watching so glorious a spectacle, for though the elements remain the same, yet, from their combination, there is a constant variety of form and movement. Nature never repeats herself. As no two pebbles on a beach are identical, so no two waves ever break upon a rock in precisely the same manner.

The beach which connects the headland of Little Nahant with the mainland of Lynn, is about a mile and a half long and curved into the finest line of beauty. At its widest there is a space of some fifty yards wide, left by the sea.

ing waters. This has a very gentle inclination, and has been hammered upon so long by the action of the waves as hard and smooth as a marble floor, presenting an inviolable field for exercise, whether on foot, in carriages, or on horseback. The wheels roll over it in silence and leave no indentation behind, and even the hoofs of a galloping steed make but a momentary impression. On a fine breezy afternoon, in the month of June, when the tide is favourable, this beach presents a most interesting spectacle, for the whole gay world of the place is congregated here; some in carriages, some on horseback, and some on foot. Every kind of carriage that American ingenuity has ever devised is here represented, from the old fashioned stage coach, with its air of solid, church-and-state respectability, to the sporting-man's wagon, which looks like a vehicular anachronism, with all wheels and no body. The inspiriting influence of the scene extends itself to both bipeds and quadrupeds. Boys and girls race about on the fascinating wet sand, so that their nurses, what with the waves and what with the horses' hoofs, are kept in a perpetual frenzy of apprehension. Sober business men, taking their "constitutional," involuntarily quicken their pace, as if they were really walking for pleasure, and not for exercise. The well-fed family horse pricks up his ears and lifts his feet lightly, as if he felt a sense of pleasure in the coolness and moisture under them. Fair ladies dash across the beach at full gallop, their veils and dresses streaming on the breeze, attended by their own flying gulls in the smooth watery mirror of the yellow sands. Let the waves curl and break in long lines of dazzling foam and spray upon the beach as if they enjoyed their own restless life, and sprinkle the bay with snowy sails for the setting sun to play upon, and cover the whole with a bright blue sky dotted with drifting clouds, and all these elements make up a scene so animating, that a man must be very moody or very morose not to feel his heart grow lighter as he gazes upon it. The position of Nahant, and its convenient distance from New York, make it a place of much resort in the hot months of summer. There are many hotels and boarding-houses; and a large number of cottages, occupied for the most part by families, the heads of which come up to town every day and remain in the evening. The climate and scenery are so marked, that they give rise to very decided opinions. Many pronounce it delightful, but some do not hesitate to call it detest-

able. No place can be more marine and less rural. There are no woods and very few trees. There are none of the sights and ocean sounds. It is like being out at sea in a ship that does not rock. As every wind blows off the coast, the temperature of the air is very low, and the clear green sea looks cold enough in a hot August noon to make one shiver and chatter, so that it requires some resolution to venture into a bath, and still more to repeat the experiment. The peculiaristic climate of Nahant may be observed in one of the most not uncommon on the coast of New England, where the east wind sets in after a hot morning. The sea has a chill steel blue surface, and the air is so cold that it is not comfortable to sit still in the shade, while the sky, the green grass, the dusty roads, and the sunshine bright and clear as moon beams, give to the eye a strangely deceptive impression of heat. Under the calm light of a broad full moon the sea puts on a strange and unearthly beauty. The sea has a silver gleams, and its phosphoric foam is in vivid contrast with the inky shadows of the cliffs. The ships dart away into the luminous distance, like spectral forms. In the deep blue the sullen plunge of the long, breaking waves becomes suggestive to the spirits. The roofs of the cottages glow with a spiritual light, and the white line of the dusty roads leads into a path of pearl.

The cottage which Mr. Prescott occupies at Nahant is of wood, two stories in height, and has a spacious porch running round it, which in fine weather is much used as a supplementary drawing-room. There is nothing remarkable in its external appearance. Its plain and unassuming aspect provokes neither criticism nor admiration. It is one of the finest in the whole peninsula. It stands at the extremity of a bold, bluff-like promontory, and its position gives it the command of a very wide horizon. The sea makes up a large proportion of the prospect, and no vessel that sails into or out of the harbour of Boston is within range of the eye, there is never a moment in which the view is not animated by ships and canvas. The point where the steamer which plies between Boston and Nahant comes and receives her passengers, and the Swallow's Cove, the lions of the place, are both within a stone's throw of the cottage.

Mr. Prescott resides at Nahant from eight to ten w

a refreshing and restorative influence in its keenly bracing. This, though a season of retirement, is by no means of indolence, for he works as many hours every day and accomplishes as much, here, as in Boston, his time of study comparatively free from those interruptions which in a city will so often break into a scholar's seclusion. As at Nahant falls within the travelling season, he receives many of the strangers who are attracted to his presence by literary reputation and the report of his amiable manner, and this tribute to celebrity, exacted in the form of hours from him as from every distinguished man in our country, rising and inquisitive age, is paid with a cheerful good-bye, which leaves no alloy in the recollections of those who have thus enjoyed the privilege of his society.

Prescott's second remove—for if Poor Richard's saying is truly true he is burnt out every year—is from Nahant to Pepperell, and usually happens early in September. His home at Pepperell is thus described by him in a letter to his mother.

The place at Pepperell has been in the family for more than a century and a half, an uncommon event among our New-England people. The house is about a century old, the original building having been greatly enlarged by my father and since by me. It is here that my grandfather, Col. John Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, was born and died, and in the village church-yard he lies buried under a large slab, containing only the record of his name and age. My father, Wm. Prescott, the best and wisest of his name, was born here and passed his earlier days here, and, from my own knowledge, not a year has passed that I have not spent more or less of my time in these shades, now hallowed to me by the recollection of my hours and friends that are gone.

The place, which is called 'The Highlands,' consists of about two hundred and fifty acres, about forty-two miles from Nahant, on the border-line of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It is a fine rolling country; and the house stands on a high ground that descends with a gentle sweep to the Nissitucket, a clear and very pretty river, affording picturesque views of the winding course. A bold mountain chain on the north, among which is the Grand Monadnock, in New Hampshire, forms a dark frame to the picture. The land is well studded with trees—oak, walnut, chestnut, and maple—distributed in

clumps and avenues, so as to produce an excellent effect. The maple, in particular, in its autumn season, when the leaves are there, makes a brave show with its gay livery whetted by the frost."

To possess an estate like that at Pepperell, which has come down by lineal descent through several successions of all of whom were useful and honorable men in the country of their generation, is a privilege not common any where, and not in a country like America, young in years and not in the habits of local attachments. Family pride may be a weakness, but family reverence is a just and generous sentiment. No man can look round upon fields of his own like those at Pepperell without a suggestive eye, the very forms of the landscape having caught an expression from the patriotism, the energy, the spirit, the integrity, and the intelligence which no other generation than a hundred years have been associated with them, and being conscious of a rush of emotions, all of which point in the same direction of honor and virtue.

The name of Prescott has now, for more than two hundred years, been known and honored in Massachusetts. The first of the name, of whom mention is made, was John Prescott, who came to the country in 1640, and settled in Andover. He was a blacksmith and millwright by trade—a man of athletic frame and dauntless resolution; and his strength and courage were more than once put to the proof in the contests which so often took place between the Indians and the early settlers of New England. He brought with him from England a helmet and suit of armour—perhaps an inheritance descended from some ancestor who had fought at the battle of Flodden-field—and whenever the Indians attacked the settlement he clothed himself in full mail and sallied out against them, and the advantages he is reported to have gained were probably quite as much owing to the terror inspired by his appearance as to the prowess of his arm.

His grandson, Benjamin Prescott, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was a man of influence and consideration in the colony of Massachusetts. He represented Groton for many years in the provincial legislature, was a magistrate, and an officer in the army. In 1735 he was chosen agent of the province to manage the claims of the colony in a controversy with New Hampshire respecting the boundary lines, but declined the trust on account of ill health. He had the small-pox, which was prevalent at the time

Edmund Quincy, who was appointed in his place, took disease and died of it. But in the same year, the messenger of fate found Mr. Prescott upon his own farm, engaged in peaceful labors of agriculture. He died in August, 1735, of a sudden inflammatory attack, brought on by over-exertion, on a hot day, to save a crop of grain from an impending shower. He was but forty years old at the time of his death, and the confidence he had long enjoyed among a community slow to bestow their confidence to the young, is an expressive tribute to his character and understanding. He had the further advantage of a dignified and commanding personal appearance. In 1736, the year of his death, he received a donation of about five hundred acres of land from the town of Groton for his services in procuring a large territory for them from the General Court, and the present family estate in Pepperell forms probably a part of this grant.

His second son was Col. Wm. Prescott, the commander of American forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill, who, after his father's death, and while he was yet in his minority, settled upon the estate in Pepperell, and built the house which is still standing. Up to the age of forty-nine, his life, with the exception of a few months' service in the old French war, was devoted to agricultural labors, and the discharge of those modest trusts which the influence of his family, and the confidence inspired by his own character, devolved upon him. Leaving the army at Cambridge immediately after the news of the Concord fight, it was his good fortune to secure a permanent place in history, by commanding the troops of his country in the battle, to which subsequent events gave a significance greatly disproportioned both to the numbers engaged in it and to its immediate results. At the end of the campaign of 1776, he returned home and resumed his usual course of life, which continued uninterrupted, except that he was present as a volunteer with Gen. Gates at the surrender of Burgoyne, until his death, in 1795, when he was in his seventieth year. He was a man of vigorous mind, not much indebted to the advantages of education in early life, though he preserved to the last a taste for reading. His judgment and good sense were much esteemed by the community in which he lived, and were always put to their service both in public and private affairs. He was of a generous temper, and somewhat impaired his estate by his liberal spirit and hearty hospitality. In the career of Col.

Prescott we see how well the training given by the i of New England fits a man for discharging worthily of war or peace. We see a man summoned from t and by the accident of war called upon to perform tant military service, and in the exercise of his d him displaying that calm courage and sagacious which a life in the camp is supposed to be necessary Nor was his a rare case, for as the needs of the re struggle required such men, they were always fo Nor is there any reason to suppose that Col. Presc ever looked upon his conduct on the seventeenth of J thing to be specially commended, but only as the p of a simple piece of duty, which could not have b without shame and disgrace.*

* The revolutionary annals of New England abound in characteristic anecdotes, illustrating the resolute spirit of most of which are preserved only in those town histories tain the results of minute investigation, applied to a limit and guided by a spirit of local pride and affection. The m march of the British troops out of Boston on the mornin 19, 1775, which flew like a fiery cross through New Engla Pepperell at about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Col. Pre diately summoned his company, and put himself at thei proceeded towards Concord, having been joined by a rei from Groton. A member of the company—Abel Pa ploughing in a distant field, and did not receive the alarm to start with his fellow soldiers; but as soon as he hear nis oxen in the field unyoked, ran home, seized his gun i and his best coat in the other, and set out upon a run companions, whom he overtook in Groton. After the d the Pepperell and Groton troops, these towns were left fenceless, but in a state of great uneasiness from a run proach of the British regulars. In this emergency, sever women of the neighbourhood met together, dressed themse clothes of their absent husbands and brothers, armed with muskets, pitchforks, and such weapons as they coul having elected Mrs. David Wright of Pepperell their co took possession of a bridge between Pepperell and Grot they resolved to maintain against foreign force or domesti A person soon appeared on horse-back, who was known to ous Tory. He was immediately seized by these resolute unhorsed and searched, and some treasonable correspondence in his boots. He was detained prisoner, and his despatch the Committee of Safety. For these anecdotes, as well as of the statements in the text, we are indebted to Butler's I Groton, an unpretending and meritorious work.

Judge Prescott, who died in Boston in the month of December, 1844, at the age of eighty-two, was the only child of Col. Prescott, and born upon the family estate at Pepperell. His son, in one of his previously quoted letters, speaks of him as 'the best and wisest of his name.' It does not become a stranger to their blood to confirm or deny a comparative estimate like this, but all who knew Judge Prescott will agree that he must have gone very far who would have found a wiser or a better man. His active life was mainly passed in the unambitious labors of the bar; a profession which often secures, in America, a fair share of substantial returns and much local influence, but rarely gives extended or posthumous fame. He had no taste for political life, and the few public trusts which he discharged were assumed rather from a sense of duty than from inclination. He was never a member of Congress, nor in any way connected with the general government, but was always content to move within the narrower sphere of his own State. As a practising lawyer, no person ever enjoyed in a greater degree the confidence of the community or the respect of the courts, and for many years his only difficulty was how to dispose of the great amount of responsible business intrusted to him, without injury to his health. This rank at the bar he had fairly earned both by a large measure and a happy combination of moral and intellectual qualities—by a good sense and sagacity which instinctively led him to the right, by invincible industry, by large stores of legal learning, by natural dignity of manner and a perfect fairness of mind which never allowed him to overstate the testimony of a witness or the force of an authority. To say that Judge Prescott was a man of sense and sagacity is not enough, for in him these qualities ripened into wisdom. As he was never called upon to manage public affairs upon a large scale, or to draw conclusions from a very wide range of observation, we can only reason from what we know to what we do not know, and infer that in the prime of his faculties he would have proved himself competent to the highest trust which his country could have imposed upon him; that, within his sphere of action and experience, his judgment commanded the greatest respect, was sought in the most difficult questions, and reposed upon with the utmost confidence. For the last thirty years of his life there was no one in Boston whose counsel was more solicited or more valued in important matters, whether public or private. He was not called upon,

like his father, to serve his country in war ; but to allow a peaceful life to show of what he was made, and the friends of Judge Prescott knew that he had the hereditary courage of his race, and that had duty required to face a bristling line of muskets, he would have done as much composure as he ever stood up before a jury in behalf of a client against whom an unjust current prejudice was setting.

The resources of his mind and the well-balancedness of his character, were strikingly seen in his decline after his retirement from the bar, which took place in consequence of failing health. The interval between life and the grave is apt to be a trying period with lawyers, as it is one of the burdens of the profession that they are obliged to spend half their time in learning what they wish to do at the moment it has served some particular end. The law is like an inn that is constantly receiving new guests and sending the old. Thus the mind of an old lawyer is apt to be like a warehouse, which is in part empty, and in part filled with goods of which the fashion has passed away. But it was not the case with Judge Prescott. His social tastes, his domestic affections, his love of general knowledge, and the interest he had taken in every thing which had interested the community in which he lived, had prevented his mind from becoming warped or narrowed by professional pursuits. When these were no longer permitted to him, he passed his days calmly and cheerfully into more tranquil employments. His books, his friends, his family, filled up his hours, and gave a healthy occupation to his mind. His interest in the world was not impaired, nor the vigor of his understanding relaxed by change.

The writer of this sketch had the privilege of a personal acquaintance with Judge Prescott during the last years of his life. His appearance at that time was dignified and impressive. His figure was tall, thin, and slightly stooped. His movements active, and his frame untouched by infirmities. His features were regular—in outline and proportion like the portraits of a kindred spirit, the late illustrious John Jay—and their expression benevolent and intellectual. His manners were simple, but marked by an air of high breeding flowing from dignity and refinement of character. He was a perfect gentleman, whether judged by a natural or

standard. A stranger, admitted to his society, would at once have been inclined to describe him by negatives. His conversation was not overbearing, his tone was not dogmatical, his manner was not loud. He was free from the bad national habit of making strong assertions and positive statements. He was not a great talker; nor was his conversation brilliant or pointed. One who had spent any considerable time in Judge Prescott's society, especially if he had had occasion to consult him or ask his advice, would have brought away other than merely negative impressions. He would have recalled the mild and tolerant temperance of his discourse, his penetrating insight, his freedom from prejudice, his knowledge of men so unalloyed by the bitterness, the hardness, the misanthropy with which that knowledge is so often bought, and the natural ease with which the treasures of a capacious memory were brought out, as the occasion demanded. He would have felt that he had been admitted to the presence of a person of eminent wisdom and worth, whose mind moved in higher regions than wit or eloquence alone can reach. Who can estimate too highly the privilege of having such a father—so fitted for the paternal office, that if his son had had the impossible boon bestowed upon him of being the parent of whom he would have been born, he could never have found a better guide, a wiser counsellor, a kinder friend, than he upon whom, in the providence of God, his trust was actually devolved.

Judge Prescott's life was as happy in its close as it had been during its continuance. On the morning of Sunday, September 8th, 1844, being then in his eighty-third year, he died suddenly and without pain, surrounded by his family and in the perfect possession of all his faculties. His death, though a natural one at his advanced age, was widely and sincerely mourned, and the expressions of feeling which it called forth were proportioned to the respect and veneration which he had long enjoyed while living.*

The widow of Judge Prescott, the mother of the historian, died on the 15th of March, 1852, at the age of eighty-four. She was a woman of great intelligence, and large, genial and active sympathies. To the last, free from winter's cold or summer's heat, her venerable form was constantly seen in the streets of Boston, as she went about on foot upon her errands of charity. She will be long remembered and sincerely mourned by the widow and the orphan, the poor and the friendless, the neglected and the forsaken. She retained her youthful energy and freshness of feeling in a remarkable degree to the last, and her animated smile and cordial greeting were always like the sunshine of youth and hope.

The town of Pepperell lies in the northern part of Middlesex, bordering upon the State of New Hampshire. Its inhabitants are mostly farmers, cultivating the soil with their own hands—a class of men which forms the wealth of a country, the value of whom we never estimate till we have been in regions where they do not exist. The soil is of that reasonable and moderate fertility common in New England, which gives constant returns for intelligent labor, and rewards it with fair returns—a soil very favorable to the growth of the plant, man, and animal. The character of the scenery is pleasing, without any claim to the striking or picturesque. The land rises and falls in a way that contents the eye, and the distant horizon is composed of some of those high hills to which, in a magniloquent language, the Bostonians give the name of mountains. The town derives its advantage of being watered by two streams, the Nashua and the Nissitisset. The former is a thrifty New England stream, which turns mills, furnishes water-power, and works for the benefit of a respectable way; the latter is a giddy little stream, which is little else than look pretty; gliding through quiet channels, fringed with alder and willow, tripping and singing over its shallowly shallows, and expanding into tranquil pools, growing into white water-lilies, the purest and most spiritual of flowers.

Mr. Prescott's farm is about two miles from the town, in a region which has more than the average of that quiet beauty characteristic of New England. The house stands upon rather high ground, and commands an extensive view of a gently-undulating region, mostly covered with grass land, which, when clothed in the "glad, light green" of the early summer, and animated with flying clouds, presents a fine and exhilarating prospect. As the land has been so long under cultivation, and as for many years the claims of taste and the harvests of the eye have not been looked in its management, the landscape in the neighbourhood of the house has a riper and mellow character than is usual in the rural parts of New England. At a short distance in front, on the opposite side of the road, sloping down to the meadows of the Nissitisset, is a small, conical knoll, on which are some happily disposed trees, so that the whole has the air of a scene in a park. The meadows and fields beyond are also well wooded with trees, and the morning and evening shadows

ese, as well as from the rounded heights, give character
pression to the landscape.

house itself has little to distinguish it from the better
New England farmhouses. It wears their common
of white, with green blinds; is long in proportion to
it, and the older portions bear marks of age. There
za, occupying one side and a part of the front. Since
rst built there have been several additions made to it—
cently, by Mr. Prescott himself—so that the interior
ing, irregular and old-fashioned, but thoroughly com-
and hospitably arranged, so as to accommodate a large
of guests. These are sometimes more numerous than
ily itself. There is a small fruit and kitchen garden
east side of the house, and on the west, as also in front,
sunny lawn, over which many young feet have sported and
d, and some that were not young.

great charm of the house consists in the number of fine
which it is surrounded and overshadowed. These are
elms, oaks, maples and butternuts. Of these last there
are remarkably large specimens. From these trees the
derives an air of dignity and grace which is the more
valuable from the fact that these noble ornaments to a ha-
bitation are not so common in New England as is to be desired.
The cultured population have not yet shaken off those trans-
pressions derived from a period when a tree was
regarded as an enemy to be overcome. Would that the far-
seeing fifty years ago had been mindful of the injunction
of the dying Scotch laird to his son, "Be aye sticking
to the tree, Jock; it will be growing while you are sleeping."
From a different aspect the face of the country might have
been made to wear. A bald and staring farmhouse, shivering
in the winter wind or fainting in the summer sun, without a
tree to cover its nakedness with, is a forlorn and un-
pleasing object, rather a blot upon the landscape than an em-
bellishment to it.

Behind the house, which faces the south, the ground rises
to a considerable elevation, upon which there are also several
trees. A small oval pond is nearly surrounded by a com-
pact group of graceful elms, which, with their slender branches and
lustrous foliage, suggest to a fanciful eye a group of wood-
smoothing their locks in the mirror of a fountain. At
a short distance, a clump of oaks and chestnuts, which look as

if they had been sown by the hand of art, have full of natural arbor, the shade of which is inviting feet. Under these trees Mr. Prescott has passed many hours, and his steps, as he has paced to and fro, are perceptible path in the turf. A few perches from towards the east, is another and larger pond, near a grove of vigorous oaks; and, in the same direction a mile farther, is an extensive piece of natural forest through which winding paths are traced, in which nature may soon bury himself in primeval shades of armed trees which have witnessed the stealthy steps of the hunter, and shutting out the sights and sounds of the world, hear only the rustling of leaves, the tap of a woodpecker, the dropping of nuts, the whir of a partridge, or the sentinel crow.

The house is not occupied by the family during the summer; but they remove to it as soon as the autumn and evenings proclaim that summer is over. The house is one which appears to peculiar advantage under a blue sky. The slopes and uplands are gay with the crimson of the maples, the sober scarlet and brown of the oaks, and the warm yellow of the hickories. A delicate vapor hangs in the air, wraps the valleys in dream, and softens all the distant outlines. The bracing breezes of the turf invite to long walks or rides, the warm noon is full for driving; and the country in the neighborhood with roads and lanes that wind and turn and make no end, come to an end, is well suited for all these forms of recreation. There is a boat on the Nissitisset for those who wish to make aquatic excursions, and a closet-full of books for those who wish to read. Among these are two works which seem in perfect preservation: the older portion of the house and its ancient library. Theobald's Shakspeare and an early edition of the works of both bound in snuff-colored calf, and printed on paper with age; and the latter adorned with those delicate plate engravings which perpetuate a costume of the past so absurd, that the wonder is that the wearers could be left off laughing at each other long enough to attend to the business of life. When the cool evenings come with something of a wintry chill in the air, the fires are kindled in the spacious chimneys, which anoint the ceilings with their restless gleams, and when they

the dying embers diffuse a ruddy glow, which is just the light of a ghost-story by, such as may befit the narrow rambling passages of the old farmhouse, and send a rosy cheek to bed a paler than usual.

Mr. Prescott is at Pepperell, a portion of every day is spent in study; and the remainder is spent in long walks or in listening to reading, or in the social circle of his friends and guests. Under his roof there is always house-room and room for his own friends and those of his children. In the morning he has followed the advice of some wise man—Dr. Johnson, perhaps, upon whom all vagrant scraps of wisdom are based—and kept his friendships in repair, making the friends of his children his own friends. There are many persons of the family, who have become extremely attached to the place, from the happy hours they have spent there. There may be seen upon the window-sill of one of the rooms a few lines in pencil, by a young lady whose beauty and talents make her a great favorite among her friends, expressing the sense of a delightful visit made there, some two or three years since. Had similar records been left by all, of the happy days passed under this roof, the walls of the house would have been thickly enough to hold them.

This sketch may be fitly concluded with the expression of the earnest wish that thus it may long be. May the future be the past. May the hours which pass over a house be filled by so much worth, and endeared by so much love, bring with them no other sorrows than such as the presence of God has inseparably linked to our mortal state—may they soften and elevate the heart, and, by gently weaning it from earth, help to “dress the soul” for its new home.

In reply to his publisher's request for a page of Mr. Prescott's manuscript, to be copied in fac-simile, the following interesting passage was received:

“NAHANT, July 9, 1852.

DEAR SIR:

As you desire, I send you a specimen of my autograph. The concluding page of one of the chapters of the ‘Conquest of Peru’—Book III., Cap. 3. The writing is not, as you may imagine, made by a pencil, but is indelible, being made with an apparatus used by the blind. This is a very simple affair, consisting of a frame of the size of a common sheet of letter-paper, with brass wires inserted in it to correspond with the number of lines wanted. On one side of this

frame is pasted a leaf of thin carbonated paper, so as to obtain duplicates. Instead of a pen, the writer uses a stylus, of ivory or agate, the last better or less so. Both difficulties in the way of a blind man's writing in the usual manner, arise from his not knowing when to stop, exhausted in his pen, and when his lines run into one another. Both difficulties are obviated by this simple writing. It enables one to do his work as well in the dark as in the light. Though my trouble is not blindness, but a disordered nerve of the eye, the effect, as far as this is concerned, is the same, and I am wholly incapacitated for writing in the usual way. In this manner I have written every word of this *review*. This *modus operandi* exposes one to some inconveniences; for, as one cannot see what he is doing on one side of the paper, any more than a performer in a dark room sees what he is grinding on the other side of the millstone, it comes very difficult to make corrections. This subject has been pretty thoroughly canvassed in the *review*, the blots and erasures to be made there before the work is written in pen or rather the stylus. This compels me to write in composition to the extent of a whole chapter, however long it may be, several times in my mind before setting it down at my desk. When there, the work becomes one of mere transcription than of creation, and the writing is apt to run off glibly. A letter which I received some years since from a French historian, Thierry, who is totally blind, urged me to cultivate the habit of dictation, to which he himself had recourse, and James, the eminent novelist, who has adopted this method, finds it favorable to facility of composition. But I, being too long accustomed to my own way to change, have never done so. In truth, I never dictated a sentence in my life for without its falling so flat on my ear that I felt almost inclined to send it to the press. I suppose it is habit.

"One thing I may add. My manuscript is usually written in a legible hand (I have sent you a favorable specimen) for the printer. It is always fairly copied by an amanuensis before it is sent to the printer. I have accompanied the autograph with explanations, which are at your service, if you think they will have interest for your readers. My *modus operandi* is of no merit of novelty, at least I have never heard of any other person who has adopted it besides myself.

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Very truly yours,

"WM. H. PRESIDENT."

"Once, ah, once, within these walls,
 One whom memory oft recalls,
 The Father of his Country dwelt;
 And yonder meadow, broad and damp,
 The fires of the besieging camp
 Encircled with a burning belt;
 Up and down these echoing stairs
 Heavy with the weight of cares,
 Sounded his majestic tread;
 Yes, within this very room
 Sat he in those hours of gloom,
 Weary both in heart and head."

calm afternoon in the summer of 1837 a young man
 down the elm-shaded walk that separated the old
 house, in Cambridge, from the high road. Reaching
 it, he paused to observe the huge, old-fashioned brass
 knocker, and the quaint handle,—relics, evidently, of an
 old colonial state. To his mind, however, the house and
 its signs of its age, were not interesting from the romance
 of antiquity alone, but from their association with the early
 days of the revolution, when General Washington, after the
 battle of Bunker Hill, had his headquarters in the mansion.
 His hand, perhaps, lifted this same latch, lingering as
 he paused in the whirl of a myriad emotions? Had he,
 standing in the calm summer afternoon, and watched the
 gleam of the broad river in the meadows—the dreamy
 landscape of the Milton hills beyond? And had the tranquility
 of the landscape penetrated his heart with "the sleep that
 comes of the hills," and whose fairest dream to him was a
 vision realized in the peaceful prosperity of his country?
 At least the young man knew that if the details of the
 past had been somewhat altered, so that he could not
 be quite sure of touching what Washington touched, yet
 what Washington saw—the same placid meadow—
 the same undulating horizon, the same calm stream.
 It is thus that an old house of distinct association, as-
 sumes a claim, and secures its influence. It is a nucleus of
 life—a heart of romance, from which pulse a thousand
 enchanting the summer hours. For although every
 country mansion is invested with a nameless charm, from
 its antiquity which imagination is for ever crowding with
 the thought of a stately and beautiful life, yet if there be
 clearly outlined story, even a historic scene peculiar

to it, then around that, as the bold and pictorial ground, all the imagery of youth and love and thousandfold variety of development is grouped. Every room has its poetic passage, every window its haunting beauty, every garden path its floating and fading form of perishable beauty.

So the young man passed on unaccompanied down the elm-shaded path, but the air and the scene were radiant phantoms. Imaginary ladies of a state of dress only possible in the era of periwigs, advanced with the solemnity of mob-caps to welcome the stranger. He, in courtiers, be-ruffled, be-wigged, sworded and laced, bowed audibly, with gracious bow, the spacious walk of the maidens, resident in mortal memory now, only to be seen and tawny duennas, glanced modest looks, and a new what new charm had risen that morning upon the what dull horizon of their life. These, arrayed in the dress of a poet's fancy, advanced to welcome him, for they knew whatever of peculiar interest adorned his life would blossom into permanent forms of beauty in the of genius. They advanced to meet him as the great cities of foreign and strange towns approach with submission the leader in whose eye flames victory, for he would do for them more than they could do for themselves.

But when the brazen clang of the huge knocker resounding, the great door slowly opened, and instead of a serving-man, but a veritable flesh and blood man, the hostess of the mansion invited the visitor to enter. He required for Mrs. Cragie. In answer the door of the mansion was thrown upon, and the young man beheld a woman, figure, majestically crowned with a turban, but with a burned a pair of keen gray eyes. A commanding deportment, harmonious with the gentlewoman's air, the ancestral respectability of the mansion, assured respect; while, at a glance, it was clear to see that she of reduced dignity condescending to a lower estate, the pride of essential superiority to circumstances, additional among women in the situation of the time. There was kindness mellowing the severity of her face, the visitor's inquiry if there was a room vacant in the house.

"I lodge students no longer," she responded firmly, possibly not without regret, — as she contemplated the visitor, that she had vowed so stern a resolution.

"But I am not a student," answered the stranger; "I am a professor in the University."

"A Professor?" said she inquiringly, as if her mind failed to conceive a Professor without a clerical sobriety of apparel, a cravat, or at least, spectacles.

"Professor Longfellow," continued the guest, introducing himself.

"Oh! that is different," said the old lady, her features relaxing, as if professors were, ex-officio, innocuous, and she need no longer barricade herself behind a sternness of demeanor. "I will show you what there is."

Upon she preceded the Professor up the stairs, and entering the upper hall, paused at each door, opened it, permitted him to perceive its delightful fitness for his purpose, — and then quietly closed the door with an air of expectation to the utmost — then quietly closed the door again, observing, "You cannot have that." It was most characteristic of her to decide hospitality. The professorial eyes glanced restlessly over the fine old-fashioned points of the mansion, marked by the wooden carvings, the air of opulent respectability in the interior, which corresponds in New England to the impression of nobility in old England, and wondered in which of the pleasant fields of suggestive association he was to be permitted to pitch his tent. The turbaned hostess at length opened the door of the southeast corner room in the second story, and, while the guest looked wistfully in, and awaited the customary "You cannot have that," he was agreeably surprised by a variation of the strain to the effect that he might occupy it.

The room was upon the front of the house, and looked over the meadows to the river. It had an atmosphere of fascinating beauty, in which the young man was at once domesticated, as if he had found his old home. The elms of the avenue shaded his windows, and he glanced from them, the summer lay asleep upon the landscape in the windless day.

"This," said the old lady, with a slight sadness in her voice, speaking of times for ever past and to which she herself properly belonged, — "this was General Washington's room."

A slight more pensive played over the landscape, in the eyes, as he heard her words. He knew that such a pre-eminence had consecrated the house, and peculiarly that room. He felt that whoever fills the places once occupied by the great

and good, is himself held to greatness and goodness by a sympathy and necessity sweet as mysterious. For ever after, his imagination is a more lordly picture-gallery than that of ancestral halls. Through that gallery he wanders, strong in his humility and resolve, valiant as the last scion of noble Norman races, devoting himself as of old knights were devoted, by earnest midnight meditation and holy vows, to

" Act,—act in the living Present !
Heart within, and God o'erhead !"

The stately hostess retired, and the next day the new lodge took possession of his room. He lived entirely apart from the old lady, although under the same roof. Her manner of life was quiet and unobtrusive. The silence of the ancient mansion which to its new resident was truly "the still air of delightful studies," was not disturbed by the shrill cackle of a country household. In the morning, after he had settled himself to the day's occupation, the scholar heard the faint and measured tread of the old lady as she descended to breakfast, her silken gown rustling along the hall as if the shadowy brocade of some elder dame departed, who failed to discover in the ghostly stillness of the well-known passage, that she had wandered from her sphere. Then, after due interval, if, upon his way to the day's collegiate duties, the professor entered the hostess's little parlor to offer her good morning or make some domestic suggestion, he found her seated by the open window, through which stole the sweet New England air, lifting the few gray locks that straggled from the turban, as tenderly as Greek winds played with Helen's curls. Upon her lap lay an open volume of Voltaire, possibly, for the old lady's mind entertained whatever was vigorous and free, — and from the brilliant wit of the Frenchman, and his icy precision of thought and statement, she turned to the warm day that flooded the meadows with summer, and which in the high tree-tops above her head sang in breezy, fitful cadences of a beauty that no denizen of the summer shall ever see, and a song sweeter than he shall ever hear. It was because she had heard and felt this breath of nature that the matron in her quaint old age could enjoy the page of the Frenchman, even as in her youth she could have admired the delicacy of his point-lace ruffles, nor have less enjoyed, by reason of that admiration, the green garden-walk of Ferney, in which she might have seen them.

at times, as the scholar studied, he heard footsteps upon the stairs, and the old knocker clanged the arrival of guests passing into the parlor, and, as the door opened and closed, he could hear, far away and confused, the sounds of stately conversation, until there was a prolonged and louder noise, a clanging, the jar of the heavy door closing, the dying echo of footsteps,—and then the deep and ghostly silence again closed over the small event as the sea ripples into calm over a sink-stone. Or more dreamily still, as at twilight the Poet sat in his darkening room—hearing the “footsteps of the Night,” he seemed to catch snatches of mournful music thrilling the deep silence with sorrow, and, listening intently, he heard distinctly the harpsichord in the old parlor, and knew that she was sitting, turbaned and veiled, where she had sat in the glowing triumph of youth, with wandering fingers was drawing in feeble and uncertain cadence from the keys, tunes she had once dashed from her in all the fulness of harmony. Or when, the summer evening the Poet’s arrival, the blight of canker-worms fell on the stately old trees before the house, and struck them fatally, so that they gradually wasted and withered away,—when the young man entered her parlor and finding her by an open window, saw that the worms were crawling over her and hanging from her white turban, and asked her if she were not disagreeable and if she would do nothing to destroy them, she raised her eyes from another book than Voltaire and said to him gravely, “Why, sir, they are our fellow-citizens, and have as good a right to live as we.” And as the Poet returned to his chamber, musing more than ever upon the Saturnan Time that so remorselessly consumes his own children, and picturing the gay youth of the grave old hostess, he could not but pause, leaning upon the heavy balusters of the stairs, and remember the tradition of the house, that once, the old hostess, like his own, lay waiting for death in her chamber, she sent for her young guests, like himself, to come and take last leave of her, and as he entered her room, and passing to her bedside, saw her lying stretched at length and swathed in the clothes closely around her neck, so that only her ghastly featured and shrunken face was visible,—the fading eye turned upon him for a moment and he heard from the withered lips his stern whisper of farewell,—“Young man, never marry, beauty comes to this!”

The lines of the Poet had fallen in pleasant places upon the old house and its hostess, and its many known associations, there was no lack of material for speculation. A country-house in New England was not only old, but by the character of its structure and history, suggests a life of more interest and dignity than that of a simple countryman "whose only aim was to store," is interesting in the degree of its rarity. To stand upon the high road before the Cragie House, even to know nothing of its story, would be struck by its quaintness and respectability, and make a legend, if he could not already made. If, however, his lot had been cast in this house, and he had been able to secure a room in the house, he would not rest until he had explored the traditions and occupancy, and had given his fancy moulds to run its images. He would have found in the chamber at Cambridge a freestone tablet supported by five pillars, which, with the name Col. John Vassal died in 1759, sculptured the words—*Vas-sol*, and the emblems, and the sun. Whether this device was a proud assertion of the family's power, or that the fortunes of the family should be always as

"A beaker full of the warm South,"

happily no historian records; for the beaker has long since been drained to the dregs, and of the stately family nothing remains. In the early part of the Poet's residence in the house, there lived an old black man who had been born, a slave, in the West Indies, during the last days of the Vassals, and who occasionally turned to visit his earliest haunts like an Indian to the grounds of his extinct tribe.

This Col. John Vassal is supposed to have built the house towards the close of the first half of the last century. In the iron in the back of one of the chimneys, there is a date 1759—which probably commemorates no more than the year of its own insertion at that period, inasmuch as the house would hardly commit the authentic withstanding the erection to the mercies of smoke and soot. History knows nothing before the exact date of the building of the Cragie House, but completely as before that of the foundation of Thebes. The house was evidently generously built, and Col. John Vassal, having lived there in generous style, died, and lies beneath a free-stone tablet. His son John fell upon revolution

as a royalist. The observer of the house will not be surprised at the fact. That the occupant of such a mansion should, in such a time of national troubles, side with the government was as natural as the fealty of a Douglas or a Howard to the king. The house, however, passed from his hands, and was purchased by the provincial government at the beginning of serious war with the mother country. After the battle of Buuker it was allotted to General Washington as his head quarters. It was entirely unfurnished, but the charity of neighbours filled it with necessary furniture. The south-eastern room upon the second floor, at the right of the front door, and now occupied as a study by Mr. Longfellow, was devoted to the same purpose by General Washington. The room over it, as Madame Cragie has since informed us, was his chamber. The room upon the first floor, in the rear of the study, which was afterwards enlarged and is now the Poet's library, was occupied by the aids-camp of the commander-in-chief. And the southwest room, upon the lower floor, was Mrs. Washington's drawing room. The rich old wood carving in this apartment is still remarkable, and certifies the frequent presence of fine society. For, although during the year in which Washington occupied the mansion, there could have been as little desire as means for festivity; yet Washington and his leading associates were gentlemen—men who would have graced the elegance of a court with the same dignity that made the plainness of a republic respectable. Many of Washington's published letters, are preserved in this house. And could the walls whisper, we should know more and better things of him, than could ever be recalled. In his chamber are still the gay-painted tiles peculiar to the houses of the period; and upon their quaint and grotesque designs the glancing eyes of the Poet's children now wondrously linger, where the sad and doubtful ones of Washington have often fallen as he meditated the darkness of the future. Many of these peculiarities and memories of the mansion are recorded in the Poet's verses. In the opening of the poem "To the Old House," whence many a motto is taken, the tiles are painted anew.

"The lady with the gay macaw,
The dancing girl, the grave Bashaw
With bearded lip and chin;
And, leaning idly o'er his gate,
Beneath the imperial fan of state,
The Chinese mandarin."

The next figure that distinctly appears in the old house is

that of Thomas Tracy, a personage of whom the traditions are extremely fond. He was a rich man in the fabulous style of the East; such a nabob as Oriental nations can everywhere easily conjure, while practical men wonder that they are so rare. He carried himself with a certain lavishness. Servants drank costly wines from carboys in the incredible days of Thomas Tracy; and in his mansion, a hundred guests sat down to banquets, and the host in draughts whose remembrance keep his name. The royal bodies were preserved in wine and spices. In the days of national disorder, he sent out privateers to the seas and bleed Spanish galleons of their sunniest treasures, reap golden harvests of fruits and spices, of silks and jewels from East and West Indian ships, that the bounty of the Vassal House might not fail, nor the carousing days of Thomas Tracy become credible. But these "spacious times" of a large-hearted and large-handed gentleman suddenly failed. The wealthy man failed; no more hundred guests sat down to banquets; no more privateers sailed into Boston Harbor with riches from every zone; Spain, the Brazils, the Indies more rolled their golden sands into the pockets of Thomas Tracy; servants, costly wines, carved pictures, a glimmer and go, and finally Thomas Tracy and his days vanished as entirely as the gorgeous pavilions of the sun in setting piles the summer west.

After this illuminated chapter in the history of the family, Captain Joseph Lee, a brother of Madame Tracy, is mentioned in the annals, but does not seem to have illustrated the family by special gifts or graces. Tradition remains silent of Thomas Tracy, until it lifts its head upon the entry into the world of Andrew Cragie, Apothecary-General to the Nova Scotia provincial army, who amassed a fortune in that office, and whose great predecessor, he presently lost; but not without having built a bridge over the Charles river, connecting it with Boston, which is still known by his name. Andrew did much for the house, even enlarging it to its present proportions, but tradition is hard upon him. It declares that he was a huge man, heavy and dull; and evidently looks upon his career as the high lyric of Thomas Tracy's, muddled with prose. In the best and most prosperous days of Andrew Cragie, the estate comprised two-hundred acres. The site of the present observatory, not far from the man-

summer-house, but whether of any rare architectural device, or, in fact, any orphic genius of those days said a summer-house, which, like that of Mr. Emerson's, only asked scientific arrangement" to be quite perfect, does not matter. Like the apothecary to the American army, the summer-house is gone, as likewise an aqueduct, that brought water a quarter of a mile. Tradition, so enamored of Tracy, is careless enough to mention a dinner-party given by Andrew Craigie every Saturday, and on one occasion points out peruked and powdered Talleyrand, among the guests. This betrays the splendour in the house of the best society then to be had. But the prosperous Craigie could not avoid the fate of his opulent predecessor, who also gave banquets. Things rushed on too fast for him. The bridge, aqueduct and summer-house, a hundred acres and an enlarged house, were too much for the fortune acquired in dealing medicaments to the American army. The "spacious times" of Andrew Craigie also came to an end. A visitor walked with him through his large and comfortable rooms, and struck with admiration, exclaimed, "Mr. Craigie, I should think you could lose yourself in all this spaciousness."

"Mr. ———" (tradition has forgotten the name) said the inevitable and ruined host, "I *have* lost myself in it,"—and we could not find him again.

After his disappearance Mrs. Craigie, bravely swallowing the stings of pride, and still revealing in her character and decorum the worthy mistress of a noble mansion, let rooms. Ward Everett resided here just after his marriage, and while Professor in the college of which he was afterwards President. Ward Phillips, Jared Sparks, now the head of the University, and Joseph E. Worcester, the Lexicographer, have all lived here, sometimes sharing the house with Mrs. Craigie, in the case of Mr. Worcester, occupying it jointly with Longfellow when the grave old lady removed her stately abode for the last time.

The Craigie House is now the Poet's, and has again acquired a distinctive interest in history. It was in Portland, Maine, in the year 1807, and in an old square wooden house upon the edge of the sea, that Longfellow was born. The old house stood upon the outskirts of the town, separated only by a street from the water. In the lower story there is now a shop,—a bookseller's, doubtless,—muses imagination,—so that the same

house which gave a singer to the world may offer to his songs to justify its pride in him. He graduated with Hawthorne, whom then the Poet knew only in youth in a bright-buttoned coat, fitting across the grounds. During his college days he wooed the new students woo; and in the United States Literary Gazette published in Boston, the world learned how his suit was. In 1826 Longfellow first visited Europe. He loitered in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England, returned to America in 1829. Appointed professor of literature, he devoted himself to the scholar's life, and earnestly over the literature of lands which he knew well and truly that their literature lived for him and not as a hard hieroglyph only. During these quiet professorial days he contributed articles to the North American Review, exceeding not unprecedented among New England scholars, in which Emerson, the Everetts, and all the more important literary men of the north, have been participating. Forms of foreign travel gradually grouped themselves in his mind. Vivid pictures of European experience, such as the memory of every young and romantic traveler, constantly flashed along his way, and he began to retreat into words, that others might know, according to the Chinese proverb, that "behind the mountains there are men at work."

In this way commenced the publication of "Our Sketches from Beyond Sea," a work of foreign reminiscences and tales and reveries of the life peculiar to Europe. It was published, originally, in numbers, by Samuel Colman, and was one of the author's. Like the Sketch Book, it was issued in a number was prepared, but unlike the author of the Sketch Book, the Professor could not write as his motto, "I have wife nor children, good or bad, to provide for;" amidst of the quiet professorial days, still a very young man, the Poet was married,—a fleeting joy ending by the death of his wife in Rotterdam in 1835. In Brunswick, also, during this time, he made the translation of the ode upon "Manrique," by his son Don Jose Manrique, a rich, rolling Spanish poem. The earlier verses of the Poet had made their mark. In school reading-books, in volumes of elegant extracts, and preserved in many a ribboned manuscript, the "April Day," "Woods in Spring," "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at Bethlehem," "B

sink," and others, were readily found. As yet the Poet was childless of a volume, but his name was known, and upon credit of a few fugitive pieces he was mentioned first after monopolizing masters of American verse.

In the year 1835 he received the appointment of Professor of Harvard College, Cambridge, which he accepted, but he returned for Europe again in the course of the year. Upon leaving he committed the publication of "Outre Mer" to the Harpers of New York, who issued the entire work in two volumes. The European visit was confined to the North of Europe, Denmark, England, Sweden, Germany, a long pause in Holland and Paris. In the autumn of 1836 he returned, and in the latter part of the same year removed to Cambridge to reside. Again, the North American Review figures a little in the life of the Poet. He wrote several articles for it during the course of his engagements as Professor of Modern Literature, and, at length, as we have seen, one calm afternoon in the summer of 1837, Longfellow first took lodgings in the West House, with which the maturity and extent of his reputation was to be so closely associated.

He was a ghost of Thomas Tracy, lordly with lace and velvet in perfumed pomp, surely the Poet saw advancing before him in his hand some one of those antique carved pitch-pine tables, laden with that costly wine, and exhorting him to drain draughts, that not by him should the fame of the immortal days be tarnished, but that, as when a hundred guests were at the banquet, and a score of full-freighted ships arrived at the wharf, Thomas Tracy, the traveller should say,

"A purple light shines over all,
It beams from the Luck of Edenhall."

Now was pledged, and now under the few elms that remain of the house which the fellow-worms of Mrs. Cragie blighted, the figure of Thomas Tracy walks appeased.

His still southeastern upper chamber, in which Washington Irving once slept, the Poet wrote "Hyperion" in the years 1838-9. Truly a romance, a beaker of the wine of youth, and was warmly received as such by the public. That public was, and always be, of the young. No book had appeared which so admirably expressed the romantic experience of every poetic mind in Europe, and an experience which will be constantly renewed. Probably no American book had ever so attained a popularity as "Hyperion." It was published in

the summer of 1839 by Colman, who had then New-York, but at the time of publication he failed undertaken by John Owen, the University of Cambridge. It is a singular tribute to the intellect and work, and a marked illustration of the peculiarity of developement, that Horace Greeley, famous as a journalist, and intimately associated with every kind of social and practical movement, was among the very earliest and warmest lovers of "Hyperion." It shows the eclecticism of sentiment and sense, which is constituting itself in a thousand other ways.

Here, too, in the southeast chamber, were "Voices of the Night," published in 1840. Some have noted, such as the "Psalm of Life," had already appeared in the Knickerbocker Magazine. Strangely enough in American literary history, the fame of the roman has surpassed, and one of the most popular books of Longfellow's Poems. They were read everywhere, and were republished and have continued to be so in England and in various other countries. The popularity as a poet is probably that of all similar poets, namely, the fact that his poetry expresses a universal feeling in the simplest and most melodious manner. Each of his noted poems is the song of a feeling common to every mood into which every mind is liable to fall. Thus "Psalm of Life," "Footsteps of Angels," "To the River," "Excelsior," "The Bridge," "A Gleam of Sunshine," "Day is done," "The Old Clock on the Stairs," "The Song," "The Fire of Driftwood," "Twilight," "Open Window," are all most adequate and inexpressible renderings of quite universal emotions. There is in them which is irresistible in the fit measures to which they are wedded. If some elegiac poets have strung roses in their verses, there is a weakness of woe in their verses which repels the quiet, pensive thought,—the twilight of the mind, in which little facts of life are saddened in view of their relation to eternal laws, time and change,—this is the melancholy mourning of every manly heart; and this is the permanent charm of Longfellow's poetry.

In 1842 the Ballads and other Poems were published. In the same year the Poet sailed again for Europe. He spent the summer upon the Rhine, residing some time

he saw much of the ardent young German poet Rath. He returned after a few months, composing the sonnet on slavery during the homeward passage. Upon landing, he found the world drunken with the grace of Fanny Ellsler, and, armed, from high authority, that her saltations were more poetry, whereupon he wrote the fragrant "Spanish Song," which smells of the utmost South, and was a strange offering for the garden of Thomas Tracy.

In 1843 Longfellow bought the house. The two hundred acres of Andrew Cragie had shrunk to eight. But the island in front sloping to the river was secured by the poet, who thereby secured also the wide and winning prospect, the green reaches, and the gentle Milton hills. And if, in the most midsummer moment of his life, he yielded to the persuasions of the siren landscape before him and the voices of the ancestral house, and dreamed of a fate more than any Vassal, or Tracy, or Cragie knew, even when he looked upon the destiny of the proudest son of their house—was it a dream too dear, a poem impossible?

In 1846 the "Belfry of Bruges" collection was published, and in 1847 the "Evangeline," in 1850 "Seaside and Fireside," in 1851 the best of his works, up to the present time, "The Golden Legend." In this poem he has obeyed the deepest humanity of the poet's calling, by revealing,—not alone the poet can,—not coldly, but in the glowing and living reality of life, this truth, that the same human heart has labored in all ages and under all circumstances, and that the passion of Love is for ever and from the beginning, the salvation of man. To this great and fundamental value of the poem is added all the dramatic precision of the most distinguished artist. The art is so subtly concealed that it is unsuspected. The rapid reader exclaims, "Why! there is no modern blood in this; it might have been exhumed in a Roman tomb." Yes, and there is the triumph of art. So entirely have the intervening years annihilated that their existence is not needed. Taking us by the hand, as Virgil Dante, the Poet leads us directly to the time he chooses, and we are at once refreshed and warmed by the same glorious and eternal light which is also the light of our day. This is the stroke which makes all times and nations kin, and which, in any special instance, certifies the poetic power.

The library of the Poet is the long northeastern room upon the upper floor. It opens upon the garden, which retains still

the quaint devices of an antique design harmonise with the house. The room is surrounded with handsome furniture, and one stands also between two Corinthian columns which impart dignity and richness to the apartment. A table by the northern window, looking upon the garden, is the usual seat of the Poet. A bust or two, the rich carvings, the spaciousness of the room, a leopard-skin upon the floor, and a few shelves of strictly literary curiosities, make it not only the haunt of the elegant scholar and the favourite resort of the family circle. But the noisiness of a New England winter is intolerant of this seclusion, and this beautiful domesticity, and urges the inmates to the room in front of the house communicating with the street, and the study of General Washington. This is instinctively "the study," as the rear room is "the study." Books are here, and all the graceful detail of a well-ordered household, and upon the walls hang crayon portraits of Emerson, Sumner, and Hawthorne.

Emerging into the hall, the eyes of the visitor are attracted to the massive old staircase with the clock upon the wall. Directly he hears a singing in his mind :

"Somewhat back from the village street
 Stands the old-fashioned country-seat,
 Across its antique portico
 Tall poplar-trees their shadows throw,
 And from its station in the hall
 An ancient timepiece says to all,
 'For ever—never!
 Never—for ever!'"

But he does not see the particular clock of the village street, nor does he stand upon another staircase in another quaint room,—although the verse truly belongs to all old country-seats, just as the "Village Blacksmith" and the "spreading chestnut-tree" which the Professor meets upon his way to his college duties, but belong to all country-seats. Through the meadows in front flows the river Charles.

"River! that in silence windest
 Thro' the meadows, bright and free
 Till at length thy rest thou findest
 In the bosom of the sea!"

So calmly, likewise, flows the Poet's life. No

can mingle more than the sweet melancholy of the old associations. No tradition records a ghost in those chambers. As if all sign of them should pass away, Mrs. Cragie's fellow-worms destroyed the elms in front, the noble linden-tree in the garden, faded as she faded, and passed into decay after her death. But the pensive air of an old mansion sheds a softer than the "purple" of the luck of Edenhall upon the Poet's fancies and his heart. He who has written the Golden Legend knows, best of all, the reality and significance of that life in the old Craige whose dates, except for this slight sketch, had almost disappeared from history. And while the exquisite music of this story lingers in the heart of the reader, as he reads from this page, will he not seem to be sitting, on one of those dreamy summer afternoons, in the old chamber where so long the young Poet sat lost in the luxury of reverie, and hearing, in the intoxicating sadness the ghosts of tunes long since forgotten, which the turbaned and trembling widow of Andrew Agnew played upon the harpsichord :

"The old house by the Lindens
 Stood silent in the shade,
 And on the gravelled pathway
 The light and shadow played.

"I saw the nursery window
 Wide open to the air ;
 But the faces of the children,
 They were no longer there.

"The large Newfoundland house-dog
 Was standing by the door ;
 He looked for his little playmates
 Who would return no more.

"They walked not under the Lindens,
 They played not in the hall ;
 But shadow, and silence, and sadness,
 Were hanging over all.

"The birds sang in the branches,
 With sweet, familiar tone ;
 But the voices of the children
 Will be heard in dreams alone !

"And the boy that walked beside me,
 He could not understand
 Why closer in mine, ah ! closer,
 I pressed his warm, soft hand."

But better still, and better far, than this, w
poet recalling old scenes, and thoughts, an
dreams, thus, in a poem written in "the old h
The Prelude to the Voices of the Night :—

Pleasant it was, when woods were
And winds were soft and low,
To lie amid some sylvan scene,
Where, the long drooping boughs b
Shadows dark and sunlight sheen
Alternate come and go ;

Or where the denser grove receives
No sunlight from above,
But the dark foliage interweaves
In one unbroken roof of leaves,
Underneath whose sloping eaves
The shadows hardly move.

Beneath some patriarchal tree
I lay upon the ground ;
His hoary arms uplifted he,
And all the broad leaves over me
Clapped their little hands in glee,
With one continuous sound ;—

A slumberous sound,—a sound that
The feelings of a dream,—
As of innumerable wings,
As, when a bell no longer swings,
Faint the hollow murmur rings
O'er meadow, lake, and stream.

And dreams of that which cannot die
Bright visions, came to me,
As lapped in thought I used to lie,
And gaze into the summer sky,
Where the sailing clouds went by,
Like ships upon the sea ;

Dreams that the soul of youth engag
Ere Fancy has been quelled ;
Old legends of the monkish page,
Traditions of the saint and sage,
Tales that have the rims of age,
And chronicles of Eld.

And, loving still these quaint old themes,
Even in the city's throng
I feel the freshness of the streams,
That, crossed by shades and sunny gleams,
Water the green land of dreams,
The holy land of song.

Therefore, at Pentecost, which brings
The Spring, clothed like a bride,
When nestling buds unfold their wings,
And bishop's-caps have golden rings,
Musing upon many things,
I sought the woodlands wide.

The green trees whispered low and mild;
It was a sound of joy!
They were my playmates when a child,
And rocked me in their arms so wild!
Still they looked at me and smiled,
As if I were a boy;

And ever whispered, mild and low,
"Come, be a child once more!"
And waved their long arms to and fro,
And beckoned solemnly and slow;
O, I could not choose but go
Into the woodlands hoar;

Into the blithe and breathing air,
Into the solemn wood,
Solemn and silent everywhere!
Nature with folded hands seemed there,
Kneeling at her evening prayer!
Like one in prayer I stood.

Before me rose an avenue
Of tall and sombre pines;
Abroad their fan-like branches grew,
And where the sunshine darted through,
Spread a vapour soft and blue,
In long and sloping lines.

And falling on my weary brain,
Like a fast-falling shower,
The dreams of youth came back again;

Low lisplings of the summer rain,
Dropping on the ripened grain,
As once upon the flower.

Visions of childhood ! stay, O stay !
Ye were so sweet and wild !
And distant voices seemed to say,
" It cannot be ! They pass away !
Other themes demand thy lay ;
Thou art no more a child !

" The land of Song within thee lies,
Watered by living springs ;
The lids of Fancy's sleepless eyes
Are gates unto that Paradise,
Holy thoughts, like stars, arise,
Its clouds are angels' wings.

" Learn, that henceforth thy song shall
Not mountains capped with snow,
Nor forests sounding like the sea,
Nor rivers flowing ceaselessly,
Where the woodlands bend to see
The bending heavens below.

" There is a forest, where the din
Of iron branches sounds !
A mighty river roars between,
And whosoever looks therein
Sees the heavens all black with sin,—
Sees not its depths, nor bounds.

" Athwart the swinging branches cast,
Soft rays of sunshine pour ;
Then comes the fearful wintry blast ;
Our hopes, like withered leaves, fall fast
Pallid lips say, ' It is passed !
We can return no more !'

" Look, then, into thine heart, and wr
Yes, into Life's deep stream !
All forms of sorrow and delight,
All solemn Voices of the Night,
That can soothe thee, or affright,—
Be these henceforth thy theme."

ART. VI.—ANOTHER MARY.

de Thérèse de Lamourous : Foundress of the House of La Miséricorde, at Bourdeaux. A Biography, abridged from the French By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe."
London : John W. Parker and Son, West Strand. 1858.

seeds of heroism or self-devotion in what phase soever they present themselves to the human mind are possessed of a charm potent in their efficacy, so ennobling in their tendency that the soul becomes elevated and the heart purified by the mere contemplation of such records. The physical courage displayed by the soldier on the battle field, or the chivalric feats so frequently performed in civil as well as military life, noble as they undoubtedly are, fade into sheer nothingness when contrasted with that high and holy courage which inspires a pure and holy woman, refined in mind and elevated in position, to trample under foot all the conventionalities of her station, and devote a life to the moral regeneration of her sex. The sainted woman whose name heads our paper was a true type of that Christian heroism by which nature is superseded by grace, the flesh made sweet, and the outcast soothed into the fold of redemption; the undying zeal of this one gentle woman, has done more prolific of good than all the vaunted prowess of ancient or modern heroes, many of whom worked for evil whilst she laboured for love.

The translation before us is in itself the very highest tribute that can be offered to the foundress of an institution which has done more to the advance of virtue than almost any other of its kind, being the work of one who avowedly differs in religious belief from the Holy woman whose life and virtues are recorded; and whilst making allowance for some slight criticism on irrelevant matters, we are free to admit that it has been done in a truly liberal and tolerant spirit. After a few prefatory remarks we shall endeavour to give a short summary of the subject of the memoir.

MARIE THERÈSE DE LAMOUREOUS, FOUNDESS OF THE HOUSE OF LA MISÉRICORDE, AT BOURDEAUX, was born at Barsac on the 1st of November 1754; her father was an untitled noble possessing a moderate property, he was a good amiable man, nothing more, her mother was remarkable for great piety and good sense. Marie Thérèse was the eldest of four children,

three girls and one boy, and there is little to her childhood save her extreme delicacy, which rents at one period dread she would be deformed; ever was not the fact: though not by any means her expression was so sweet and her eye so soft and gave her a peculiar attractiveness which aided her after life to win the hearts of the most froward.

Beside the advantages possessed by the children of a good mother, their nurse was equally remarkable and assisted materially both by precept and example in mental culture. We must not omit one peculiar mode of training. She was a communicant on several occasions, and the day before she uniformly checked her temper or unruliness in her young charges by saying, "dears, you must not vex your nurse, it will be to-morrow!"—and thus she in a great measure transferred the holy peace and reverence of her own mind to her charges. On the great day she dressed with peculiar care and the children accompanied her to mass, where they were pressed with the strongest devotional feeling, and at home, considered themselves bound during that time to be particularly good, in order not to disturb the peace of their dearly loved; thus were their hearts early trained to love virtue for its own intrinsic worth, but even in others the possession of it.

The little Marie Thérèse began early to practice prayer and mortification, and for this purpose imposed penances on herself which she performed with a cheerful spirit, such as denying herself at meals some favourite food, or other little acts of self-restraint. She made a station before a crucifix every day of bearing "Three crosses, crying;" if a fourth came, however, she was allowed to indulge her tears; this was sowing the good seed in the soil, and a rich and plenteous harvest of golden and precious fruits it produced in her after life of patient self-abnegation.

To her good mother was she indebted for the tender charity which marked her whole career; there was a truly patriarchal one, and the noble heart of the Lamourous sat like the ladies of old with her lips around her, sending them on missions of charity, carrying dainties to some poor dependent who might be to soothe a fretful infant if the mother was performing some domestic duty.

eleven years old she was admitted to her first communion, on Ascension day received with much fear and trembling, with great eagerness and love, the Holy Communion. The day festival crowned the bliss of the week, and in her old age she would revert to those innocent and happy days when dancing formed one of the greatest pleasures of her life.

"We were very fond of dancing," she would say when in after years recalling those halcyon days of youth, "and to supply the place of a gentleman one of us would wear a bow of rose red ribbon in her hair. Often in the midst of our sports we could recollect that we had a prayer still unsaid: then we would break off for our devotions, and then resume our game. Sometimes in the midst of a country dance I would recollect that I was to have the happiness of communicating next day, and that thought made me dance on with redoubled joy."

To us, this would appear like levity, did we not take into consideration the difference of country and the pure joyousness of the young Therese who thus gave expression to the poetic feeling of her heart.

They now resided at Bourdeaux where they removed when Therese was about twelve, and she and her sisters formed a society with the daughters of two ladies of rank and met frequently during the week under the surveillance of the three nuns, who for their remarkable piety were designated by the Bordelois the three Maries.

Therese under her mother's instruction acquired a knowledge of the information necessary for a lady of quality, with a practical knowledge of arithmetic which in after life proved very useful. Her manners were perfect, and she possessed a simplicity which, springing from her warm and unselfish nature, had a fascination all her own, and which it was impossible to withstand.

The mother and daughter were particularly attached and lived in the utmost confidence; she could not however divest Therese of the almost exploded habit of rising from her seat as she entered the room, and often put the question "will you never forget that I am your mother?"

The pure mind of the young girl was not vitiated by the frivolous literature of the time, as novels were altogether excluded, and this total freedom from all imaginary excitement had tended to maintain that freshness of heart and feeling so useful in the great task of her life.

Her love of neatness and elegance in dress frightened lest she might give way to vanity; she appealed to her father on this point, who gave her an admirable rule for her conduct. "Do not," said he, "be one of the first in fashion, neither be one of the last, nor wait to take it be over. Let your dress be just what is least in fashion." Thus, after dressing, consult your glass, and mark. self, 'when I pass by will people say, how well she looks; you must suppose there is something superfluous, and take it off; but if, on the other hand, people would exclaim, careless! something must be wanting. If they notice nothing either for praise or blame, that is the best; be gained by one who seeks to please God."

Thérèse was now about to encounter her first trial. Her beloved mother fell dangerously ill, and aware that approaching dissolution dreaded the effect it might have on the mind and health of her favourite child, (her father and mother had been married whilst very young); she told Thérèse that her greatest pain in dying would be the consciousness that she would grieve too much. Thérèse gave her parent with the assurance that she would be comforted with the hope of a Christian. Nature however succumbed to this heavy affliction, and for several days after her death she was dangerously ill; her mind however gradually regained its usual tone, but she became anxious to leave the world and devote herself to a religious life. Her father, however, after a careful investigation, told her that the disappointment that she had not sufficient vocation for a conventual life, she bowed to his decision, and gave herself to the care of her father and general acts of kindness to her relatives. The Revolution, with all its attendant horrors, broke out soon after Madame's death, and Bourdeaux was besieged and sided over during this reign of terror by a schoolmaster, Lacombe, who exercised his power with the most cruel tyranny.

The Lamourous family were too loyal to be safe in France; a dynasty; they were obliged to disperse; the only refuge was America, and Thérèse removed her father to a small village belonging to the family at the village of Le Pian, some leagues from Bourdeaux.

Here, Thérèse began to shew the nobility of her mind, and the warmth of her devotion in attending to her father.

surrounding him with every little luxury in her power in order to try and assuage his grief in leaving his once happy home, and also in watching over the interests of the poor sufferers by whom she was almost revered as a saint.

The pastor, under whose guidance these poor people had been, had now unfortunately from the easiness of his nature been induced to take the constitutional oaths; they were consequently deprived of all spiritual comfort. *Mamizelle*, as she called her, did all in her power to atone for this deficiency, she invited the women and children of the neighbourhood to assemble at a particular part of the estate every Sunday; she instructed them in all the essentials of their religion, and she brought several of them home afterwards to sing vespers in a little oratory.

In all cases of illness she was at their bedside, and though they were deprived of the actual reception of the spiritual communion of their church, she contrived to lead their minds to spiritual communion, and by prayer and gentle offices soothed and comforted the departing spirit. The poor priest, who had been driven away by weak fear, actually venerated her, and even requested permission to visit her, in order to thank her for the good she had taken of the flock who had disowned him, and he acknowledged to her the regret he experienced in having disowned the charge with which God had entrusted him. So much was she loved and revered by the peasantry, that, even after the restoration of the clergy, she had great difficulty in getting them off the habit of sending for *Mamizelle* instead of a priest to attend their last moments.

Mamizelle fitted up an oratory with every essential necessary for the performance of the holy sacrifice of the mass, in order that whenever Providence permitted a proscribed priest to seek refuge in her vicinity, she might have the happy privilege of celebrating in her chapel. A lady, who resided near, shared in her feelings, and these heroic women braved all danger, and often in the middle of the night traversed the woods that divided the estates, when either had the good fortune to harbour a priest. She has herself related a charming incident connected with these nocturnal meetings; on one occasion when returning home she was overtaken by darkness in a place reported to be haunted by wolves; she thought of her guardian angel, and remembering that wolves were supposed to be afraid of the human voice, and so, as she sweetly and simply related it,

"With my little bundle on my head, my hand angel's, and singing a hymn, I came safely through

There was a childlike simplicity in her courage, and it was peculiarly attractive even to those whom she had been repeating at the foot of the large crucifix at the entrance of the church. One Sunday evening, when she had been repeating at the foot of the large crucifix at the entrance of the church, she saw two ruffianly looking men evidently on their way to her. She immediately went forward and accosted them in a friendly tone. "Good evening *citoyens* ! you look as if you are welcome to come rest in my house, I have some wine for you." "So much the better, *citoyenne*, we will come any way to you," they answered. And, concealing her face, she led them in and entertained them so hospitably, that at the conclusion of the consultation one of them said to her, "*Citoyenne*, we know what brings us here ?"

"No ; perhaps you are seeking employment ?"

"Poor woman !" said the fellow laughing, "see how she threw on the table an order for her arrest."

"Is that it ?" said Mademoiselle de Lamourous, "we will go to-morrow morning !"

"No, no," cried the emissaries, "you are too good ; it would be a pity to harm you ; we will say you are at home ;" and they went off after shaking hands with her.

Thérèse was prudent as well as courageous, and she took great trouble in preventing her father from ruining them by his violence against the republicans ; she employed a stratagem to save him from his own imprudence on one occasion. When they were going to Bourdeaux to visit her sister during her husband's absence, the old man insisted on walking in the streets and reckless of consequences was openly and bitterly denouncing against the new order of things. Thérèse, dreadfully alarmed, would be overheard, walked boldly up to two men who were evidently republicans, and telling them that she was going to go on to Bourdeaux quicker than her old father could walk, and that she feared leaving him alone, begged them to take him under their protection, as she knew they were safe in their hands. They, feeling complimented by her confidence in their honor, brought him safe to his destination and died shortly after.

Thérèse still continued her residence at Le Poirier, and found many opportunities of doing good. She, on a

her hardihood to introduce a priest to the bedside of the wife of a furious republican, and by her tact, eluded all objection on the part of the husband, and obtained for the lady the happiness of receiving the last sacraments, and with all the consolations of religion. It was hard to say, that when a name was a crime, Thérèse could escape either unscathed; she was not therefore surprised when she appeared before the revolutionary tribunal, but though condemned to die, her usual tact did not abandon her.

"*Citoyenne*," began the President, "you stand accused of treason, and of hiding priests. Have you anything to say for yourself?"

"Possibly *Citoyen*," she answered; "but pray let me ask a question first. What is that mark on your face?"

"A strange question!" he said, "do you not see it is a mole?"

"But how came you by such a mole on your cheek?"

"How? I was born with it, I had it from my mother?"

"Well *Citoyen*, it is just so with me; I was born with my mole, I had it from my mother."

"Occasionally even in this fearful time, repartee was the defensive weapon, the laugh was on her side, and "Go then, you are a good child," was her order for dismissal. She was exiled from Bourdeaux, but permitted to go any where she pleased; she therefore chose her old residence Le

"All the strange vicissitudes with which unhappy France then visited, it occasionally happened that some of her exiles were elevated to the bloody tribunal; she had the privilege to go see them, and even obtained a sight of their faces, and of their proscriptions; aware of the peril to which she exposed herself, she, notwithstanding, at various times sent private invitations to persons not yet arrested, and was so conscious of her own life would be forfeited, that she cut off her hair, and ordered that the executioner need not have to do it, at the moment. The Almighty, however, willed otherwise, and she was spared for a high and holy mission.

"The reign of terror, however, came to a close, and Bourdeaux breathed again; Mademoiselle de Lamourous having weathered the storm, and without any particular cares or duties to weigh her to the world, conceived the idea that God had saved her for a special purpose. Active charity towards all her

neighbours, had always been her marked character. She yearned to devote herself more earnestly to the service of God by ministering to his poor. The calm tranquility she enjoyed at Le Pian caused her a struggle in leaving it. She in after life acknowledged that she had cast away the very walls in recollection of the happiness she had spent there; indulgence in such feelings, however, she did not do, and she prayed fervently for enlightenment and strength of Divine will, and grace to act faithfully up to it.

Her prayer was heard, and in July 1800, a young woman who had been led into vicious courses, applied to the good old lady at Bourdeaux, called Mademoiselle de Pichonville, and begged to be shewn in what manner she might extricate herself from her present way of life. She was provided with a dressmaker, and several of her companions who were desirous of reformation, Mademoiselle de Pichonville had rooms in a house in the Rue St. Jean, where fifty or sixty poor creatures were assembled; they were very unaccustomed to restraint, and frequently rebelled against the authority of the person placed over them. Mademoiselle Pichon, who was in her eighty-second year, became more heartened at the bickering and confusion she saw, and recollected however that Mademoiselle, who was now seventy-two, was peculiarly gifted in dealing with the unruly. Always anxious to do good, she entreated her assistance in this meritorious work. Thérèse was at first inclined to a more moderate mode of charity, having a kind of shrinking horror at seeing those wretched outcasts in the streets; but, when the spirit of God, she overcame her repugnance, and accompanied her friend to the Rue St. Jean. It being difficult to speak sweetly and gently to all, so great was the disorder in her manner on these poor untamed creatures, that she was whispering together "There is one who would do us good." Her very countenance had already won them, and when she heard them on the occasion of her next visit, she said fully to one another, "Here comes Mademoiselle de Pichonville!" Each visit rendered them more attached to her; more to them; her sisters, who were anxious to share her labours with them, did all in their power to dissuade her from taking this charge, but she prayed earnestly and acted bravely, shewn the right course; and one gentleman, a relative, who was in favour of her turning her attention

ents, being a man of strong sense and great piety, strengthened her in her resolves by saying "Do sister, reclaim these fallen creatures, it is for the glory of God." Her convincing feelings to know the right and to follow the Divine will, so excited her mind, as to produce an attack of illness, the result of her agitation, and during a feverish dream, imagined herself beholding the Great Day of Doom, and that she recognized each of the sinners in the Rue St Jean standing before the judgment seat, and receiving sentence of condemnation, and then each, in falling, looking full at her and crying, "and you come to us, we had been saved!"

The recollection of this awful scene had such an effect on her mind that she accepted the dream as an inspiration from God, and determined accordingly; next morning she repaired to the *bourdeaux*, and having first waited on Mademoiselle Pichon, accompanied by her and Monsieur Chaminade, her confessor, visited the Rue St. Jean, but without the slightest hint of her intention, till they were about to part in the evening, when she lighted them to the door and said simply "good night! I shall stay." Thus, from that period, the penitents and their children, their abode her home, and, except an occasional visit to Le Pian, she devoted her life to their service.

France never before so peculiarly needed such an asylum; as many of those poor outcasts were driven to the shameless courses they had pursued, by the awful scenes they had witnessed, and the complete overthrow of all religious belief even in its external forms, this, coupled with their unprotected state, led them more frequently to continue in their lives of sin, and any attachment they felt towards the degraded condition in which they found themselves, and, consequently, they hailed the bright star of hope and promise the refuge opened for them in the Rue St. Jean.

They came in numbers to request admittance, and poor as the charity of her heart could not bear to turn them from the door, though at the time over-crowded; Mademoiselle Pichon, in the midst of them, and, having no laundry, even accompanied them to the river where they were obliged to wash their clothes, and protected them from the insults offered to those who considered themselves degraded by contact with

The Reign of Terror raised saints as well as sinners, and an association was formed even at its worst period, amongst the

faithful at Bourdeaux, who agreed to kneel every day at five o'clock, no matter where they might be, and offer up their prayers to the throne of mercy for the conversion of hardened sinners. This good work, undertaken by those charitable ladies Pichon and Lamourous, was considered by Monsieur Boyer, the vicar general of the diocese, and Monsieur Chaminade, as a favorable answer to the prayers of the people, and those two holy men united in raising a subscription among the pious ladies of the city in order to enable them to take a larger place, where they might extend their sphere of usefulness. Accordingly, on the eve of Ascension Day 1801, Mademoiselle de Lamourous, with thirty-five women, repaired to another dwelling in the Allée d'Albret.

This establishment took the name of La Miséricorde, and rules were drawn up for its management. Monsieur Chaminade blessed the black caps and kerchiefs which the women were to wear as symbols of penitence, and Mademoiselle de Lamourous was constituted head of the institution, where she was soon designated by the loving title of '*La bonne Mère.*' A nun named Mademoiselle Adelaide, from a destroyed convent, came to assist, and on the Whit Sunday following they were solaced in their labours by one of the penitents who had been preparing from the previous February renewing her baptismal vows and receiving the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion.

This was, however, but one sweet drop in the cup of bitterness they had before them. Storms assailed them both from within and abroad; all sorts of false reports were circulated about them out of doors which deprived them of the support they would otherwise have obtained. This in itself would have been a sad trial, but the insubordination of the inmates, and the dread of their relapsing into their former errors, was far more grievous for the good sisters to be obliged to encounter; so fearful were the passions worked up by those wretched creatures in each other, that poor Thérèse almost sunk under the trial, and her health suffered so materially that she was ordered an entire change of scene, and had to withdraw for two whole months. Thus, was the charge of forty-two wild excitable beings from the very dregs of society, vitiated by intercourse with the worst amongst their class, left to one simple Nun, who during this fearful time underwent a species of martyrdom. Their conduct was so outrageous during this eventful period, that they lost all self-control, and their peals of

ment, which were frequently heard in the street, brought into worse repute than ever.

Marie Thérèse, having regained strength, came back with renewed energy, and the disorders subsided through her influence, but not however until she had expelled seven of the most mischievous and incorrigible.

The fatal consequences, however, of their misdeeds, did not escape; the public were disgusted, and withdrew their subscriptions, the funds were exhausted, and on the 15th of September, 1801, the committee decided on dismissing half the inmates for want of means.

Mademoiselle de Lamourous was summoned to the committee to be informed of those resolutions, and, being later than the women gathered round her on her return exclaimed at her delay. "Alas! my children," she said, "it was you who caused my being so tardy. Never have you grieved me so much as to-day. The offences you have committed have brought down God's anger on us all. This very night you are to be driven from La Miséricorde, and I was deputed the arduous task of expelling you!"

With a strange perversity, those wild and hitherto unmanageable creatures clung with desperation to the home which their own waywardness was near closing against them, and loud sobs broke out in the hall, each entreating that the sentence might not fall on her. "What!" cried one, "just when I have heartily begun to work at my general confession? how can I finish it?"

"And I!" exclaimed another, "have I only learnt to abhor my life that I may discover there is no more mercy for me?" "I would not go," said a third, "they could not tear me away!" Thus, these excitable creatures worked themselves into a complete frenzy of despair at the bare idea of their leaving a mother and a mother to whom they had become so fondly attached, and they pressed to know who were to have been the unfortunate outcasts.

Mademoiselle told them she could not have had the heart to decide, but would have left them in the hands of Providence by obliging them to draw lots.

"Lots!" cried one, "oh! I should most undoubtedly have the black lot! I have been unlucky all my life, here only may I find repose for rest."

When they were calmed, Mademoiselle de Lamourous tried

to explain how circumstances were, and that their in the mercy of that God whom they had outraged time he was blessing them ; she told them sweetly that they must entreat for aid in the spirit of penitence, for their errors had caused the faithful to withhold all aid from them, and that if in the Divine Mercy they were spared, they must endure the most severe privations.

"Bread and water!" cried the poor girls, "we have no bread and water, provided it is at La Miséricorde."

This panic had such an effect on them, that their minds were completely changed, and the Almighty, who in his mercy wrought such wonders, thus wrought the conversion of these wayward beings, whom the very dread of expulsion had rendered penitent.

The sincerity of their penitence was however severely tested ; the whole funds were exhausted, the bread was rancid, and there was no firewood in the house, and scarcely any food, though there were thirty-five inmates, and some of them ill. Mademoiselle de Lamourous turned to the Divine assistance. "We have done all in our power," she said. "If this work be from God, He will not fail to send us what we desire have we but to do His Divine will? We must have peace, then, and wait with patience, firmness, and courage until the end."

During the hour of recreation she remained in the house and was much affected by seeing several of the inmates doing the same, though the last food in the house was now dressed at a fire made of vine clippings for want of fuel. There was a knock at the door, a cart-load of faggots was sent in by the committee. Before the evening was over supplies of vegetables, wine, and money had arrived, and the danger was averted.

Though this crisis was past, the inmates of La Miséricorde were for many years struggling, their principal support being from washing and needle-work obtained through the kindness of Mademoiselle, who suffered many indignities and was for it ; accused by some with taking the bread out of the people's mouths, and treated with scorn by vulgar people ; ployers ; but she bore all with heroic and truly saintly patience, and every small piece of work, or gift of money, was hailed as a fresh token of mercy. So frequently did she come in at the moment most needed, that she for

of Heaven was open to her, and recorded these answers of prayers with a simplicity of faith and earnestness of fulness truly charming.

Thérèse looked on these timely succours as so many indications of Providence on their behalf, which they undoubtedly were, how hallowed must have been the feelings of poor inmates for whose sake God vouchsafed such blessings; they find their confidence in prayer as sincere and ardent as *bonne mère* could desire. With regard to her, her confidence in God was unbounded, and her love for and devotion to the Blessed Virgin was pure and fervent; she attributed very much of the benefits she received to her intercession, and made frequent Novenas to St. Joseph and her own patroness, the *Immaculate Conception*.

The most serious evil consequent on their poverty was the want of an infirmary, which obliged them to send severe cases to the public hospital. Here visitors had access to the patients, and unfortunately the good work was occasionally interrupted, and the poor patients returned to their evil courses. The *Miséricorde* was overlooked by the prisons, and perceiving that the prisoners hooted at her when she appeared and not that Mademoiselle Adelaide, she at once perceived that her nuns' habit was her protection, and accordingly adopted black as her dress, and when other directresses joined (the first was in 1802, shortly before the death of Mademoiselle Adelaide) she thought it well they should wear it also. She insisted on their wearing veils, lest they been seen with them in the streets in the evening might bring the cloistered nuns into disrepute, and the huge cap which pervaded the whole establishment was their natural dress, and may be seen in portraits of the Abbess of her youth, worn by young ladies as well as old. The crown is like Mambrino's helmet, and a broad frill with a lace border acts as sides, border, trimming and all. The directresses wore it in white, the penitents in black, otherwise there was no distinction.

Every thing was made to turn to account, in this abode of poverty and economy, and Thérèse never failed to pick up the poorest rag she met in the street, and said she never felt so honest as in passing a rag merchant's; and at the beginning of each season her whole hoard was brought forth in order to dispose of her stores as most required. Her gaiety of heart and her sallies made the scene a perfect festival. Even in ex-

the new St. Eulalie which was put up for sale. She sent for Monsieur Chaminade to consult him. He, at the expense attending it, asked her if she believed it was the work of God?

"Yes, I firmly believe so," she answered.

"And do you likewise firmly believe that you are called to undertake it?"

"I do," she replied with a decision that convinced him at once—

"Then buy it by all means, but buy the town and both house and church."

With great effort, and by mortgaging her house at Le Pian, Thérèse raised the first instalment, and on the eve of Palm Sunday 1861, that the soldiers might intrude she left a sturdy gate with strict orders to hold no parley with anyone who might present himself, but civilly to refuse admittance. M. de Bassano, afterwards Duke of Bassano, minister of the Interior, had come in his train to Bourdeaux, and accompanied by a train of officials was visiting the city, being attracted by the convent of St. Eulalie. He tried to force the gate, but the old portress true to her trust refused to let him in, or to call her mistress.

"I tell you," cried an official, "His Excellency will pass." "Mademoiselle."

"I know nothing about Excellencies; my duty is to leave my gate." They succeeded, however, in getting an interview; and in going over the house they were deeply touched by the evidences of poverty and self-devotion of the Superior, whose high-bred

ter's request, who laid the paper before the Emperor, on the 28th of April, only three weeks after her bold purchase she received a letter from Maret informing her, that His Majesty, desiring to participate in her pious undertaking, granted her a free grant of the convent without purchase; adding 100,000 francs for the necessary repairs; thus, was her confidence in God rewarded, and her beloved Le Pian released from mortgage.

This ruinous old convent La Miséricorde took up its abode, consecrating the spot where the orgies of the Revolution for nearly twenty years taken the place of the hymns of the good.

The additional space acquired by her removal, enabled her to receive new inmates, and she was induced to apply for an annual grant from government, which was refused; Leon's gift, though merely the land, building, and repairs, was a stop for a time to private charity, and their receipts were so small, that they could have scarcely subsisted had not Mademoiselle obtained permission that the inmates should be employed in rolling tobacco leaves into cigars for the imperial factory.

In 1809, a document of Mademoiselle de Lamourous stated that there were ninety penitents, under five directresses and herself, the Superior. Many others, after a thorough examination, had been placed in respectable services; others had been sent to their parents; some had married; and many more were freed too much attached to La Miséricorde again to expose themselves to the perils of the world. More than forty had died, blessing the refuge where they had been led back to the paths of eternal life.

But bad misfortune now however awaited them:—on the first of the year 1813, they were deprived of their cigar work, on the pretext that this employment was needed by the poor. In 1814 Mademoiselle de Lamourous represented to the authorities the awful responsibilities attending the wants of *her* poor, the direful consequences of depriving them of their home; her plea was disregarded, and she had now the sad prospect of hundreds of inmates living solely on her credit, as private charity had almost ceased. An appeal to the Central Board at Paris was now her only hope, and though near sixty, and in delicate health, she, with the untiring self-devotion that enabled her to labor thus far for those poor desolate ones, determined

‘ I am at Paris at last, my good and very dear the novice to her destination, and went myself to share with a good nun. I am well off in every could I have so much freedom. I shall rest to-day be Sunday, and on Monday I shall begin to stir in must not cease to pray that I may be obedient to Divine grace.

‘ And how are you, dear children ? How are your five assistants, but my three little ones, and all my Do they follow their rules ? Are they loving ? opportunities of making offerings, as I advised them to mine, and present them together to Him der them meritorious ? Everywhere I see La Misère can distract me from the sight. I am constantly three classes. I am uneasy about some, but many me ; and I console myself by thinking perhaps the well, and I may have notes which will make me quite fail to write to me, my dear fellow labourers, and exactness.

‘ I write to-day by M. L., who goes to-morrow this letter later than the one I post to-day, because leave you anxious in order to save the postage. you of my journey, or what would not N—— tell in my place ? Nothing could be more droll than travelled with us. The two first did not lament that They chattered from the first moment like magpies Soon came another who was worse, then a fourth censured the gossip of the others, while they compelled you all the debates over the opening and shutting windows, and about the rooms and beds when we would be too long, but very comical. Then came who had seats in the cabriolet ; and the gestures their talk about fashions and fortunes, and the novice and myself dining among officers and gentlemen. I can remember now. We did not eat much

‘My daughters see the same thing as I do! Ah! if the moon carry them all my wishes their sport would be blessed, their waking thoughts would be holy! At sight of the moon, they remember my exhortations, which I wish she could carry to me! And so I came to the plan of appointing you all a rendezvous in the moon, and asking you to say to yourselves, ‘I am gazing at what my good mother is gazing at.’

‘Your good mother,

‘M. TH. LAMOUROUS.’

LETTER II.

I wrote to you yesterday by M. l'Abbé L., but as the coach is earlier than the post, I send you this letter lest you should be uneasy. Providence has found me just such a lodging as suits me, where I can have company or be alone, as I please. The lady with whom I am lodged is very kind, and will I think be of great use in our business. She is business-like, and seems to understand everything. She is an abbess of St. Clara, of a very strict order, very good and sensible, which suits me so well that I ought to put up with the warbling of a dozen canary birds she keeps in her room, all tame and contentedly singing. I shall be sure to grow used to them soon, and as I can get away from them in my own room. I am near the church of St. Sulpice, famous for its clergy and its order. There is benediction there every day, but I was not there yesterday, though I mean to contrive to have that happiness as soon as I can. This morning I was at mass there. I cannot tell whether the church is fine, for I had not time to look at it, but I tell you another time; this afternoon we go to vespers and a sermon. Nor can I tell you much of Paris. If I had no heart, I might think myself at Bourdeaux. Paris is beautiful, but I feel as if I had already been in all the buildings I have seen there. What strikes me best is the dome of the Invalides. The promenades do not strike me at all, they only remind me of what I have seen in *persecutions*, and especially in that of M. E. The streets are very like Bourdeaux, more lively, but very muddy. Women, young and old, all dress as they do with us, and have the same air; my pelisse is the same, and my cap finds companions. I shall go to all the places just as I am, and in fact I am like many others. My nun promised to let me see the Pope, but I know not when or how. I was here in my letter when it was time to go to vespers, and I have been at St. Sulpice! Oh! how beautiful the service there are! How surprised I was to see the collegians in hoods! I was still more astonished to find the good M. Thomas in the pulpit. He preached for an hour and a quarter with the simplicity and power now so well. There were so many people that again I could not sit in the church. We came home at six o'clock, for on Mondays, vespers and the other evening offices last till six, on great occasions later. Imagine my amazement when just after we came home my nun told me it was supper-time. It was necessary to make up my mind to it, and by seven o'clock all was over, and we were going

to bed, or at least as regards myself, pretending to do so. As was a ring at the bell and in came M. B. I was very glad. I told him my story, and my intention of making *quêtes* in the districts, charging him with his own, where reside Mademoiselle Cardinal Fesch.† He promised his help, and we agreed not to go to him for two days, to give him time to see what he would do. He went away at half-past eight, when my nun went to finish my letter. Here I am, and since one must rest, you see I shall be able to do a good deal in the evening.

‘I hope, my dear children, that the good God will bless my journey; but after all, I fear nothing but myself, so I always act as He would have me, and that I may not offend enough to offend Him, and thus to check the stream of His grace. He would shed upon you all.

‘Write to me when you get this letter. Write very soon so as to be able to tell me more. I will write in a week, the next will be *gratis*. How lucky you are: this is in my way to you, and I shall have none for twelve more days, because I write so slow—very slow ones since I left you, and judge! But I do it for our good Master’s will. Privations, if we use them with joy in eternity; and that reminds me that M. Thomas, who said, ‘if a workman came to claim his hire, you would not only must we flee from sloth, and work well, but to be recompensed by the Lord, we must also do it for Him.’ He said, ‘if a workman came to claim his hire, you would not only must we flee from sloth, and work well, but to be recompensed by the Lord, we must also do it for Him.’ He would say,—‘Friend, ask your wages from him whom you have served.’ I finish, embracing you all, my dear children, with love over my letter. If there are follies or blunders in it, please to correct or take what profit you can from them; but through the heart of your good mother.

‘M. TH. I.’

‘February 14th, 1830.’

LETTER IV.

‘I want to write to the good M. Boyer, whom for so long I have loved with all my heart. I wish to tell him that the archbishop is my great support, and procures me favours. His name alone all the world is in extasies. Tell M. Boyer to write to him. I have so few moments to myself that I cannot form all the projects of my heart. Every day there are letters, memorials, and poor Marie Thérèse, who sends in, letters, memorials, and poor Marie Thérèse, who sends in, letters, memorials, and poor Marie Thérèse, who sends in, letters, memorials, and sometimes Providence drives her to write to me.’

‘To-morrow it is intended to write to a great duchess. La Miséricorde has been mentioned. There is great piety among the ladies of that rank. How many good works they do in Paris! It is admirable; the old and new court vie with each other in zeal. I know ladies who dine on apples, and sup on bread, and give the rest to the poor. I forgot

* Expeditions in quest of alms.

† The mother and the uncle of Napoleon I.

she might have the black cotton. All of you, children, beloved our mother, freely take what belongs to her as your own. She is very poor, but all she has is at your disposal. Here, I am at no expense but coach hire. My dress is what you know,—nothing more. Caps have not the air that N. gives them, because I make them myself, and have long forgotten how; but at Paris, as at Bourdeaux, I pass, and all goes on well. Nothing more is required in the most brilliant apartments. My provincial accent is more remarkable than my appearance. I am called the *demoiselle* from the south, and she will do me the honor to ask if I am a Provençale. But nothing prevented my meeting with kindness and interest, for our merciful Father has arranged all.

You, dear children, must want many things, caps, shawls, stockings, &c. Provide these I beg of you, I will have it so. You know I did you it was to honor God and His providence, to do things that are needful, and then trust confidently to His tender foresight.*

LETTER V.

Breakfast well to-morrow, the Good Shepherd's day. Pray to God well—thank Him well—bless His goodness. I shall write to all old and new ones. My poor new ones have all written to me, and so have the old ones. Be good, and in all your doubts and temptations, the Holy Virgin will arrange your difficulties. Yes, we shall meet, I hope. In the mean time, patience, prudence, submission, humility, charity, watchfulness, cheerfulness. Ah! your mother will be received, if you are in such good company. Age, daughters, every one of you. No *poule mouillée** in my house. Strive constantly. Pray always for your *bonne mère*. Take care to recommend her to our heavenly friends. Good-bye, again, and new! I look at you all, and my heart rejoices in the hope you work, and walk towards heaven. So be it.

I received your parcel dated the 10th of May, and felt both joy and grief; joy at hearing of you, grief that we do not get on. I resume the affair of the cigars. I have nothing more to tell of my collection; latterly it has fallen off, since a new and exact work has injured that of La Miséricorde, and purses are sold against the latter, so that I shall only bring home about a hundred pistoles, instead of three or four thousand francs which I reckoned upon. But patience, our good God knows what we are better than we do. Providence invites me to make efforts of a kind, and in every quarter. When I return, we will make many things to sell—coverlets, rosaries, images, children's toys, pincushions, almanacs, &c. But the best of all is, that a famous worker in plate is teaching me his business gratis, and letting me into all his secrets. I have been, for some days, working under him, and no doubt that his recipes will bring us in a pretty gain; and besides, he is to give them to me in writing, to be kept carefully at La Miséricorde. Strong and vigorous arms! We want no more!

* An expression for fretful faint-hearted character.

We will work, children, and I hope our merciful God will make our industry His means of supporting us. He is pleased to keep me at Paris. He permits me by remaining here to learn how to earn it. He cannot get money, to learn how to earn it.

‘I am trying to do like you, and not lose all the fruit of which the goodness and loving kindness of the merciful God is for me. The cross is a pledge of His love, dear children, when I think of the children He hath given me, so good, so excellent, so exactly what I wish, I think myself happy, yes, even humanly speaking, I am happy, for you are O children! what pleasure you give your poor mother, sweeter, because our good Master is the Author of it, is well pleased to behold the joys with which you comfort your heart. Let us be more and more faithful to Him, may the ties he forms between us on earth may be drawn closer. Alas! what are all attachments here below in comparison with the love in heaven? If here He is the author of our comfort, He will be our object and our all.

‘Dear children, when shall I speak to you again? God pleases. I still hope it will be the week after. Keep up the hopes of our poor girls, tell them to wait together again. Festivals delayed cause weariness, that weariness is dangerous to the soul; so find some way of occupying them and all will be well. Tell me of the state of the hospital.

‘Your mother,

‘M. TH. DE

We thus see how ardently and zealously this mother worked for her poor children; she was now advancing her own cause before the Central Board of Administration of the Home Manufactures, and prayed earnestly for her success. On awaiting the interview; when admitted to the presence of the statesmen, the simple eloquence with which she presented her case won all hearts, particularly that of Chevignier, brother to the Marshal Duke of Albufera. So successful was her heart-felt appeal, that it was at once agreed without lessening the number of cigars sent up to the Gironde, an additional quantity should be made. *La Miséricorde*.

“Truly Mademoiselle,” said one of the members of the council, “you speak in such a way that one cannot resist you, nothing, there is no resisting you, you win at every counter.”

“I wonder why!” said Mademoiselle de Lamour. “Is it my dress?” No, it cannot be that. Or my figure? No, no, people laugh at my southern tongue. It

use I am a child of the woods and speak naturally. In the woods, trees grow freely as Dame Nature teaches them, but elsewhere, they are cut and trimmed by Art. You grow weary of the clipped and regular trees, all alike, but in the wild fresh greenwood, you go deeper and deeper without ever counting moments, for the heart is never weary of Nature; and so simple, untutored words are a change to you, after the fine language and set phrases you have every day. Love of the simple and natural is in all our hearts, and is not one of the least feelings given by our Maker; and this is the cause of your extreme indulgence to me, and of your being kind enough to my simple manners." This conquest by "her native wood and wild" enabled her to write on the 23rd of May,—

My dear children,—I hasten to tell you that our good God has overruled our cigars in spite of all the opposition, even at Paris. M. Suchet has promised to let us have them, and those who were averse have ended by giving their consent. An order will be despatched to the manufactory of Bourdeaux to send to La Miséricorde 3000 grams of tobacco every year, and M. Suchet promises me that the order shall be made out quickly. I told him of my fears that the slender supply might yet be uncertain, and he answered, No, it depended upon him. It is likely that, as soon as the order is received at the manufactory, they will send to La Miséricorde. Reassure the deputy well, and tell him that I was glad to see the good hunt which the Bourdeaux gentleman had sent up to Paris of the kind, and with what sincerity I told the Paris gentlemen of my gratitude and obligations to those at Bourdeaux. Begin the work as soon as you can. I hope all will go well, my dears, and that it will not again be the will of heaven to send me to Paris to fish for pearls.

Her mission thus terminating so favorably, *la bonne Mère* was now about to return home; aware of the joy which this old occasion in her household, she tried wisely to repress her great an exuberance of feeling, and wrote frequently to the directresses warning them to moderate the joy which she knew as natural they should feel on the occasion.

Highly, as at all times they valued her opinions, her advice on this matter was totally unavailing; so intensely beloved was *la bonne Mère*, and so protracted was her absence from that home, which her presence rendered a paradise to her grateful and repentant children, that they could not resist preparing a festival for her reception; and on the 20th of June, a deputation of two directresses and the oldest penitents set off to meet her, where she was to land after crossing the Garonne by the ferry.

When the tidings arrived that she was in the Rue St. Eulalie, the whole community drew up in two rows in the garden, singing couplets, bidding the parlor door open, and warning it if it did not, that they would force its hinges to turn and let in their good mother, for they could live no longer without her. She at length arrived, but by the express orders of Monsieur Boyer, they stood still and silent; he feared their excitement might become tumultuous, as their feelings were wrought to the very highest pitch; she, therefore, only passed silently down the lines shaking hands and speaking kindly to, and smiling sweetly on each in turn, as she proceeded to the chapel. Her path was strewn with laurel wreaths, and garlands of flowers hung all round; the penitents, uniting round her as she passed, continued their song as they formed into procession, and followed her to the chapel. There all knelt in silent prayer and thanksgiving, and then rising, chanted together the psalm, "*Laudate Dominum Omnes Gentes.*" She was then led back to the refectory, and seated beneath an arch of flowers and ever-greens, while fresh couplets were sung, and each of her flock came up in turn to present a flower, and was received by her with an affectionate embrace. Presently she observed one who had been ill almost the whole time of her absence, and who had just contrived to drag herself to the refectory to enjoy the sight, but was not strong enough to go forward; springing from her chair she cried, "You there, my poor Louise! are you not to have the pleasure of embracing your mother?" and she pressed her fondly in her arms. Next came the dinner, such a dinner as had never been tasted at La Miséricorde, and never was again, for a kind-hearted market woman had actually sent in a feast of poultry and peas, sufficient for the whole party, in honor of the return of the much beloved and honored Superior. A fresh and more novel entertainment, however, awaited Mademoiselle de Lamourous after the evening devotions, and which had been concerted during her absence; this was no other than an impersonation of each city on the way to Paris, being introduced by a legend and led up to offer her homage. The vivacious and playful impromptu couplets with which *la bonne Mère* responded to each compliment, were, as well might be expected, the most attractive part of the scene.

We must not, however, omit to mention a charming little incident which formed an interesting feature in this ovation of

vine heart homage. A present was brought from one of the nieces, a piece of white watered silk embroidered with the image of the "pelican in her piety," having the following motto underneath:—

"Even as the bird, herself unsparing,
Thou, for thy brood, thy heart art tearing,"

framed as a picture, and the couplet was sung as it was read to her. This completely overcame her, and she burst into tears,—the only time she had been seen to weep since her husband's death,—and cried out, "O! children, how you pain me!" She kept the picture to the day of her death, but not as her personal motto; she caused this to be picked out, and another worked in its stead, which gave the pelican the truest and highest application, "Let my blood be your meat and drink, my beloved," and bearing this device it is still preserved in her room at La Miséricorde.

This was her first and last absence from her beloved home for a lengthened period; she paid an annual visit to Le Pian to her mother in her vintage, and the Abbé Chaminade sent her to Bordeaux to establish an institution similar to her own, of which he was the founder; but she did not remain longer than six weeks on that occasion, and was greeted on her return with various complimentary couplets, an innocent recreation which she never discouraged, as she wisely considered these compositions a safety valve through which the exuberance of the girls' feelings might get egress. So watchful was this good mother in providing little enjoyments for her poor children, that she established annual festivals, which were to be kept with great state, that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the Feast of St. Michael, so, conscious that the preparations for, and anticipations of, these simple pleasures to be enjoyed on these festivals would prevent many a roving fancy from straying to the free and mirthful licence of the grape gathering of sunny Bourdeaux.

It was only after her return from Paris that Mademoiselle de Bourdeaux drew up a regular system of rules for La Miséricorde; a regular method had of course been observed, but she had too much good sense to enforce stringent rules, till the experience of twelve years' government enabled her to do so without any apprehension of failure, and she accordingly arranged the regulations of the house for the guidance of future novices.

Her flock were composed of various grades and cultivation—some were of high descent, having *de* to their names, some carefully trained in showy talents; whilst others were taken from the degraded city, and the equally ignorant peasantry. Such a mixture of classes required much care in their arrangement; but mutual association would do more harm than the surveillance of the directresses could counteract. To overcome this difficulty therefore, Mademoiselle de Lamourous divided the penitents into families six in number, and containing from ten to twelve members, under charge of a directress, or as elder sister or mother. Each family had a separate kitchen, work-room, dormitory, and refectory; and was known by the name of *Famille de St. Joseph, de St. Thérèse, des Anges*, &c. In each case might be; and in order to break off all old names, each new comer was obliged to assume a new name. Mademoiselle Théologale, because the other penitents admitted her as a convert, at a time when it was doubtful whether she could find bread for another day, *la bonne Mère* said they had acquired the three *theological* virtues of faith, hope, and charity.

They rose very early and sang a hymn of praise to God, and breakfasted on brown rye bread—there were three great festivals in the year on which they wore white; then came their devotions in the chapel, and then they labored at the work on which their livelihood depended. At twelve, dinner of soup and bread; work and prayer in the chapel; an early supper on cheese, bread, and other garden produce; and then bed. Such was the routine of their simple and regular lives. So potent did Mademoiselle de Lamourous consider labor, and so essential a part of true conversion, that she refused the offer of an annuity which would have secured daily food to the inmates, and that a life of labor was one great means of conversion, and would lose reality unless they felt the necessity of working for their living. She impressed upon them that their prayers and habits were to be really penitential; and yet the sweetness she kept up, and the cheerful songs of praise which varied their toils, rendered it a happy and attractive life.

She entertained a great horror of greediness or love of money: the following little incident will show how far she was from putting down all predilection for what she considered a worldly error.

There was a peach tree covered with fruit one summer, until a lucky night when some inmates were forced to sit up and finish a piece of work, and in the morning it was found to have been stripped. She summoned the watchers of the previous evening and said—"I thought I had succeeded in establishing good order and subordination in this house, and I am now to find myself mistaken. Disobedience reigns here still, and my strict orders are slighted. Some daughters of Eve have dared to eat of the forbidden fruit, and, like Adam, have sinned through disobedience and gluttony. I will not spare those who are the aggressors, in order that I may not have to punish such humiliating faults, but you shall all know that my commands are not to be infringed with impunity. The tree which the fruit tempted you, is accursed, and from this moment shall produce nothing!"

She caused boiling water to be brought, and herself watered the tree with it before their eyes till it died, and the withered trunk served for a long time as a spectacle of warning and example; but when she saw that it had produced the desired impression, she had it cut down and removed.

The government of character fitted *la bonne mère* in a peculiar manner for the high position to which God had called her; this she maintained on all occasions, but particularly on the reception of new inmates. Some she would tenderly embrace, and soothe like a mother rejoicing over the returning sheep; some she would rebuke with rebukes and assurances that they were great sinners in much need of penitence; but she scarcely ever erred in her judgment as to the treatment which would best bind them to her. One day a penitent told her she was weary of the place and was going away.

"You are tired, daughter? I may well pardon you, for so

you weary of the place, *bonne mère*?"

"Are you surprised? Do you think it pleasanter to me to be here than to you? the only difference is that you are weary of yourself alone, I am wearied for all of you! But what can you have? it is God's will. Take my hand, we will talk no more!"

She shook hands with the penitent, who thought no more of her. Another likewise, under a fit of weariness, bent on returning home, was brought to her during an illness, seeing her determined, *la bonne mère* asked where her home lay.

‘ At Preygnac !’

‘ Preygnac ! then we are neighbours ! I am so,’ she launched forth in praises of her birthplace, she could not bear to part with one that came from there, however, that this had no effect, she added, ‘ Since you come from Preygnac no doubt you can make a good woman said yes. ‘ Oh how glad I am !’ cried M^{rs} Lamourous, ‘ make some for me I beg of you, I will not refuse a poor sick woman ? These Bourdeaux will understand it.’ The woman was flattered, cooked with all her heart, and was so thanked and praised for her sense of usefulness she lost all weariness and was quite content at *La Miséricorde*. Thus, by sweet labours did this noble and devoted woman win the refractory to the love and practice of virtue.

La bonne mère became now very infirm from rheumatism for the last sixteen years of her life was almost confined to her room, gradually losing the use of her limbs, dying acutely from a complication of disorders. During the few months of her life she was covered with sores, so that she could not be lifted without the greatest pain, of which she endured with a holy joy. Her faculties were perfect as ever, and her interest in all around undiminished. The care with which she was tended, was so much of it that she often expressed the unselfish fear that she was loved from personal love, than that general charity which came from the love of God that stimulated their attention.

Her end was now, however, approaching, on the 4th of September, 1836, the last rites of her religion were administered to her; and on the 13th of the same month she was conscious that she was soon about to receive the last sacrament, she called the directresses to her, and after exhorting them to faithful compliance with the duties committed to them, she enjoined them above all to have complete confidence in the Holy Virgin, to consult her in all difficulties, to take her as their mother; she then made them promise obedience to her successor.

She lived, however, till the next day, and on the 14th of September resigned her pure spirit into the hands of her Maker, having to the last strengthened herself by the “acts of devotion” which her Church provides for the soul with the Creator; thus she departed, in the second year of her heavenly life.

bonne mère had earnestly desired to be simply buried, and the curate of Le Pian, did all he could to comply with her wishes; but the clergy of Bourdeaux declared that it would displease the whole City if they were prevented from giving her remains due honor. The only concession made was in accordance with her desire, was, that she should be removed from her own home; and there she lay with her face uncovered, numbers of persons coming, not alone to take a last look at her serene and celestial features, but even to touch her sacred remains with various articles, which thenceforward were considered relics.

Permission had been given by the local magistrates for her to be buried in her own church, but the people would not be satisfied till her remains, in her ordinary dress, had been carried to the town upon a bier supported by the directresses, assisted by the sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, preceded by the municipal guard on horseback, and followed by two of the magistrates, and deputations from the various clerical and charitable establishments. This procession over, the coffin was placed in the chapel, and the requiem mass chaunted over it. After the interment it was placed in the vault by the loving hands of the nuns.

The spot is marked by a tablet of white marble thus inscribed:—



MARIE THERESE CHARLOTTE DE LAMOUROUS,
FIRST SUPERIOR AND FOUNDESS OF THE HOUSE
OF LA MISERICORDE AT BOURDEAUX,
BORN ON THE 1ST OF NOVEMBER, 1754,
DIED THE 14TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1836.

Let her loving daughters fondly keep a wreath of roses
Over her portrait.

The present Superior is the niece of Mademoiselle de Lamourous, who seems to have inherited many of her aunt's virtues and gifts. An English lady who visited it in 1854, describes the whole as nearly in the same condition as it was when *la bonne mère*; with the valuable difference of a vast increase in the number of the inmates, who are now so numerous that fifty are obliged to be lodged in a country

The cigar work having been taken from them they support themselves by washing, needlework, artificial flowers for the adornment of altars.

In 1852 there were 440 penitents, who altogether without a directress or a *surveillante* history is known to the Superior and confessor are free to come or go; some have gone to service, returned to their families, some have married, but a number cling for life to La Miséricorde, and after fifty years there. The mixture of cheerfulness and with strict toil and severe penance, seems to be unusually effective in accomplishing that most difficult which has become a problem to so many minds.

Thus concludes the history of a Christian life which have been tempted by the attractiveness of this life beyond the limits we prescribed to ourselves in the world. We have placed before our readers a portion of the translation of all the spirit of the translation before us. To come upon good times; when gifted minds can be put to use and able pens portray the charms of virtue, irrespectively of country, or creed. Nor is this an isolated case. With delight have we not pored over those charming Legends of the Madonna, from the gifted and well-known Mrs Jameson, and though we may, and do differ on some points still, her simple little work on the Sisters of Mercy at Home and Abroad was read by us with deep interest. We be unmiudful of a more recent pleasure experienced in the perusal of the letter from an English Protestant which appeared in the April Number of the IRISH QUARTERLY, where the simple record of facts is given with the eloquence (for truth is ever eloquent) that we have seen in the traits of virtue even in those whose claims to holiness were the household word of our childhood. We are therefore may we not exclaim, we have come upon

ART VII.—ROBERT CANE—THE CELTIC UNION.

The Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland. By Robert Cane, M.D. Dublin: W. M. Hennessy.

The Celt, Edited by a Committee of the Celtic Union. Dublin: John O'Daly.

The Bard of Erin has sung:—

“ 'Twas ever thus from childhood's hour,
I've seen my fondest hopes decay,
I never loved a tree or flower,
But 'twas the first to fade away;
I never reared a dear gazelle,
To glad me with its soft black eye,
But when it came to know me well,
And love me, it was sure to die!”

we can imagine the fair form of Hibernia stooping pen-
over the graves of her children, and giving utterance to
ilar moan of monody. Her fondest, most hopeful, and best
ed sons have been too often the first to die ere they had reach-
noon of their day. Many of them have rarely caught more
a glimpse of their destiny, and died before they reached it.
Sir Cahir O'Dogherty rose, at the head of his clansmen
sist the wholesale confiscation of Ulster, an English bullet
k him down in the midst of his successes, and at the early
of three-and-twenty. The powerful career of “Silken
as,” (Lord Fitz-Gerald) was likewise brought to a close
e age of twenty-three. Intense anxiety for the cause
k Talbot Duke of Tyr Connell dead at the siege of Lim-
in 1691. That formidable opponent of English rules,
helim O'Neil, was but thirty-six when he perished. St.
ence O'Toole, Malachy, O'More, Sarsfield, and though he
but a Celt in heart—St. Ruth—all expired at the moment
Ireland's need was the sorest. It was also thus with Owen
O'Neil, who fell dead in Cloughouter Castle, by the foeman's
n; but leaving a name behind which will live for ever in the
s of the Irish people. Long have they sang that mournful
or “Kingly Owen Rua” which bursts in its eighth verse
he truly eloquent lines,

hile léan! zur téarḡad an éamla éruaḡ,
ḡreab an gall i ḡḡéin, 'ra éaolcuin réanta a ḡuaḡ;
m-beaḡna an baḡḡaḡ, 'so ḡmaonḡad an ḡleo, ḡan buaḡ,
'e creac na ḡḡaḡḡal an t'éuḡ ḡin éoḡaḡin Ruaḡ!

And which Erionnach thus translates :

My burning, bitter dolours that our hero young has died
The Saxon hordes he shatter'd all, subdued their chieftains
In "barna bael"* did he e'er fail to lay the spoiler low
Our country's doom, dear Erin's tomb, was the death of his life

Temple Emmet, the boy orator, Lord Maguire, Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, and Robert Emmet worked and ornamented the land of their birth Molyneux, Goldsmith, Sterne, Dermody, Lucas, Bernard Barrett, Charles Wolfe, Maturin, Clarence M. Doyle, Edward Walsh, Thomas Kennedy, William Lalor Sheil, Thomas Davis, Thomas Mc'Nevin, W. L. John Banim, Bishop Maginn, Father Mathew, M. J. O'Connell, Maurice Leyne, John Hogan, John O'Connor moulder'd into the clay of the land they loved. They had achieved one fourth of the work which the sword and power could have so easily mastered. With the knowledge before him of the premature extinguishment of genius, it is no wonder that Gerald Griffin who died at 30, and who penned in his youth, these touching lines.

In the time of my boyhood, I had a strange feeling
That I was to die ere the noon of my day—
Not quietly into the silent grave stealing
But torn, like the blasted oak, sudden away
That even in the hour when enjoyment was keener
My lamp should quench suddenly hissing in
That even when mine honors were freshest and
A blight should rush over and scatter their

Good and gifted men come, "like angels' visits, between;" and God knows Hibernia cannot afford to lose them. Poor Ireland seems somehow especially fated to see her noblest sons wither in their vigor, and maturity. As we could ill afford to lose him, Robert Cane, of Kilkenny, struck down in the prime of his manhood, in the fullness of his intellectual powers, his professional fame, and his joy—in the midst of his generous labours and his national hopes and projects, and his Samaritan dispensing charity! "Hope is over," wrote Mr. Keble August 13, "the whole city of Kilkenny resounds with the prayers and sobs of the people might reach to his ears." "For some time past," observes Mr. A. M. Sullivan

* The proper orthography is "barna baogail," or

of the existence of the disease which, verifying his own failing professional prescience, has proved fatal at the last. Three weeks ago it made its first strong assault, which, however, was repulsed, as even he, himself, for a moment seemed successful. For a few days he was able to take his accustomed place, surrounded by the loved and loving ones of his household, at the head of the hospitable board, where often in the heart of friend and guest—where even then *one* friend and guest—the last thus honored—shared the happiness of those around—the friend who now, with aching heart and streaming tears, sits down to trace these lines!" On Friday, August 13, he sank hopelessly. Dr. Corrigan was promptly in attendance on his suffering friend; but the deadly disease could not be arrested. On Sunday he made an artificial rally, and his exultation in Kilkenny; but on Monday the cold sweat of death obliterated every hope, and Robert Cane, a few hours longer, was no more. During this terrible interval of suspense, the *Kilkenny Journal* said:—

"With bursting heart we sit down to write that the last hope of the people, and the days of a good man are numbered. The death of Dr. Cane may be expected any hour. The universal public has hoped against hope, but all in vain."

The *Nation*, in recording his death, feelingly observed:—

"The first grass has scarcely rooted on the grave where but a short month ago we mourned a glorious genius lost to Ireland and the world, when stunned and heart-stricken, in drear loneliness and grief of soul, we stand beside the bier where, from us in the hour when our need was the sorest, lies the man and the gifted—the hope and the pride of a gallant nation. Dr. Cane of Kilkenny is no more!"

"The last hope on earth is over: the last rite has been read; the requiem has been sung; yet still the heart rejects this sudden reality of disaster; we listen for one magic tone of that melodious sonorous voice; we strain the eye for one sight of the noblest form that ever trod the isle. But, oh! the chill, the gloom of waking truth. That voice is hushed for ever; that noble face is cold as clay. The proud, high dignity which throned itself on that brow, threw a radiance o'er each feature; the flashing eye, the giant energy, the glorious intellect, the noble heart—all, all is lost to us. Heaven, mysterious and inscrutable, has taken to itself a soul so pure, and left us to weep another struck down on the threshold of a grand career."

The conservative papers, consigning political grave with him, have also, with few exceptions, poured eulogium upon his manly character, and his attainments; and all shades of the now unhappy liberal party have likewise, through their organs, to do full honour to his name and memory. The correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* writes, "You and I all Irishmen will regret to learn, that the patriotic, brave and learned Doctor Cane, of this city, breathed his last at five o'clock this morning. He has left, I grieve to say, a family but indefinitely provided for.—The printers and shopkeepers of all denominations suspended business during the day, as a token of their sorrow and sympathy held him in. He was attended in his last moments by Rev. Mr. Walsh and also by Rev. Mr. Kavanagh. He has lost a true-hearted and patriotic son, society a polished ornament, and medical science a devoted servant."

The *Telegraph* calls him a good and a great man. The *Dundalk Democrat* declares that "amongst those who have died since the greatest man of the last thousand years last sigh in Genoa, none promised to produce, from the fruits of his toil, more substantial good for Ireland than Dr. Cane."

"Alas for Ireland!" it adds, "one by one her great men are borne to exile or consigned to the narrow house of death. By one they vanish from amongst us, just as we are the force of their labours or the influence of their example to work a change in our destiny."

The *Tipperary Free Press* says:—

"With the stature and bearing of an Irish Chief, with the talent and wisdom of the statesman—with the powerful eloquence of the Tribune—with the ready pen of the *avocat*, he combined a kindness of disposition and a simplicity of manner that insensibly attached to him those who came in contact. In his native city he was a man of movement calculated to add to its honor—as ready to support a good cause as to hurl back one that would not do him credit of rectitude, and in Kilkenny—aye, throughout the whole of the country—his demise will long be felt as a national calamity."

The *Tipperary Advocate* says:—"A pure and good man has been released from its earthly tabernacle. His life is no more. It is a sad, strange ordination of Divine Providence that those most worthy of love and confidence should be claimed by the Angel of Death, when we are but

to treasure their virtues and their talents. With a mourn-pleasure we strew this frail garland upon the green grave of in whom we centered many a hope."

It may be said that in commencing with the melancholy death of Dr. Cane, and in indicating the various sources from whence wail for his premature removal proceeded, we are yoking a car before the horse. We desire, however, that every reader should fully know from the beginning, who it is whose story follows. We never gaze with interest upon the portrait of a man unless we know who he is, and all about him; now that the reader has learned the worth of Robert Cane, will doubtless eagerly examine the picture of his life.

The family of Cane or Canne appears to have originally been one of those Norman septs who, emigrating to Ireland many centuries ago became more Irish than the Irish themselves. The name of the name who remained in England zealously embraced Anglicanism, and an account of John Canne the Puritan may be found in any biographical dictionary. The name being, in course of time, modernised to Cane, Kaane, and Keane. The branch of the Sept (long settled in Waterford) who use the latter orthography, have been ennobled in two quarters by a Viscountage and a Baronetage; while in Cork it is worthily represented by the present Catholic Bishop of Cloyne the Right Rev. John Keane. In Lodge's Peerage (revised by Archdall, vol. vii, p. 100) we find mention made of Hugh Cane, an able and honest member of the Irish Parliament during the earlier portion of the last century. From this individual, Robert Cane of Kilkenny was, we believe, collaterally descended.

In 1807 the subject of this paper was born in Kilkenny. His mother's name had been Scott, and belonged to a family long settled, and very well known in that city. From the day of Robert Cane's birth until several years subsequently it was not to feel the pinching grip of penury. His mother had put her heart upon making him a medical practitioner; and her scanty resources were strained to the uttermost in endeavouring to give Robert the opportunities necessary for studying and attaining the object of their united ambition. In 1820 he was engaged as an assistant in the Pharmaceutical establishment of Prim of Kilkenny, uncle to John Augustus Prim Esq., Editor of the *Kilkenny Moderator*, and Co-Hon. Secretary to the South-East of Ireland Archæological Society. He continued to handle the pestle and mortar for some years, when he proceeded to Dublin, and assiduously attended

a course of lectures and anatomical studies, in Cecil College of Surgeons. The terrible visitation of Cholera now for the first time scourged and ravaged the country. Several Physicians shrunk from attending patients from this novel and mysterious plague, but young Cane, undaunted by danger, and went the round of all the Cholera Hospitals, accumulating valuable experience as he went. Having acquired some reputation by his dauntless bearing, and successful management of the decimating disease, Cane proceeded to Kilkenny in the latter end of the year 1832 almost immediately with the advance of the Cholera southward. Upon his arrival he was appointed over the Cholera Hospital in the city, where for night and day he continued to devote untiring exertions to the sick and dying. From that time Cane rose like a rocket.

Even thus early in life Cane evinced a political leaning, presiding as chairman at a democratic meeting of the Students, and alumni of Trinity College. Their proceedings, which were rather loud, appeared in the journals, and were signed with the signature of Robert Cane, and for a considerable time the present Sir Robert Kane, President of the Quaker Meeting in Cork, got the credit with some, and the discredit with others, having occupied the responsible post of chairman at the democratic meeting in Kildare-street.

Although John Banim and Robert Cane were born in the same town, (Cane of course his junior) they appear to have had any intercourse until a period of some years subsequent. On Banim's return to Kilkenny in 1835, he was crushed and prostrate from the effects of an over-exhausted mind during his rapid literary career in London, and suffering severely from the necessity of relinquishing every other pursuit. Robert Cane organised a brilliant reception in honour of his great Novelist. He wrote the following very complimentary address, and having engrossed it on satin, presented it to Banim in the name of the citizens of Kilkenny. Cane did not confine himself to paying empty compliments. He served the poverty-stricken and overworked author substantially by taking an active part in the formation of a local subscription, which nearly reached, in the aggregate, one hundred sovereigns. These substantial stimulants revived the poor author's spirits, and condition, having been presented in a massive silver snuff-box, containing a suitable inscription, the offering was presented to Banim, with Doctor Cane's complimentary and delicate address.

" TO JOHN BANIM, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF 'THE O'HARA TALES,' &c.

SIR—Influenced by personal regard, and by that esteem which your talents have won, even in far distant lands, your fellow-citizens hail, with sincere pleasure, your arrival amongst us, though that pleasure is accompanied by the regret that your health is not such as the desires of your countrymen would have it; but they trust that native scenes and air shall aid to your restoration, and that, ere long, a fostering legislature shall extend to you that liberal aid which a good and liberal government is ever ready to bestow upon distinguished men of every worth.

Your fellow citizens have resolved to offer to you some token of that respect which native and well-directed talents deserve—respect due from every Irishman who recollects that your writings have portrayed his country in the colours of truth—delineated, without concealment or exaggeration, its national character—sketched its peasantry as they really are, and tracing their virtues in relief, and tracing their misfortunes, and their crimes to the true sources whence both spring—bringing this country to the sister kingdom as it really is and eliciting there commiseration for its sufferings, and esteem for those social virtues and ennobling qualities, which centuries of wrong and bondage have shrouded, but not entombed.

The citizens of Kilkenny your claims come still more forcibly to their esteem. Your pen has preserved many of the beautiful localities in and around this city—given new charms to most of its popular legends, and delineated, with truth and accuracy, many of its original characters, blending the charms of truth with the creations of a powerful fancy, and directing to the noble purpose of elevating the national character, and indicating a too long-neglected and oppressed land.

The citizens of Kilkenny, therefore, hope that you will accept as a token of your countrymen's regard, which accompanies this address, and they venture to express their ardent wish that you may live to use it in an advanced and honourable old age with bodily powers then as vigorous as is that intellect which has won you the proud distinction of fame, conferred upon you by Kilkenny, and an important benefit upon Ireland.

Signed, for their fellow-citizens, by

C. JAMES, Chairman,

R. CANE, M. R. C. S., Secretary."

It is painful to contemplate the prostrate, and condition of poor Banim, bodily, at this period. writing in *The Celt*, on August 1st 1857, observ-

"As I was sitting in the Kilkenny citizens' club room ed by a bustling movement; a heavy step was audible ad stairs; it was John Banim's servant man carrying him riage and bearing him up to the green baize-covered him in the best corner of the room. Members pulled aside, the fire was raked up into a better blaze, and officiously to bid him welcome. He was in the serv reclining, half sitting up, his arms round the man's n fingers were locked upon his shoulders, his legs hung d and his emaciated frame told the sad story of paralyti long and thin visage was made sadder still by the d small pock and by well defined traces of anxious and pa but his eyes were most expressive, pale blue or gray, minent, broadly open, starting out of their sockets, th meaning and spoke to you before his lips moved. energy of manner, a fiery gesticulation about him wh with his subject or became excited in narrating some citing some piece of his own poetry, which he did passioned manner, and so as to impress himself with gr his auditory. His voice was deep and solemn, an peculiarly impressive. Upon this occasion I heard h deep pathos "Sogarth Aroon," and in a moment af thunder out these lines written in reply to Wellington conquering Ireland, "*The Brigand, let him come, let hi* he delivered with great power and with an impressiv shook his attenuated frame like so many electric shock elusion, when the plaudits of a crowded room answer face became fiery red and his eyes actually sparkled.

It was upon that occasion that he narrated two a sojourn in France, which he visited just after the Rev

General Lafayette, then an old man, had waited hero who had figured in three revolutions. Banim cor on that national guard in which he took such pride, a a grand new thought or suggestion to do away with s and make every citizen a soldier. "Sir," said Lafaye Irishman, may well refer to it with pride. We had the the first national guard the world ever saw was the Iris "Oh," exclaimed Banim when relating the anecdot townsmen, "it was the highest compliment ever paid Irishman." Then he told amongst other anecdotes of revolution, how an old Parisian friend of his had su parlour the musket he carried on that occasion, and w cartridge remaining of the powder he had used at the asked him," said Banim, "to give me of that powd grains." "Thirty-two grains," said the Frenchman "To sow one grain in every county in Ireland," r "My God! I would," said the Frenchman, "if I thou grow!"

Robert Cane had previously been only a member of the Royal College of Surgeons; he now took out his degree as a practising physician and rose rapidly in his profession. The Marquis of Ormonde had from the first, a high opinion of his skill, and Cane came from the year 1836 his Lordship's family physician. Even the animal man Cane was, at this time, a splendid specimen. The girls of Kilkenny were "to a man" dying in love with him. He slighted them all however in favour of the accomplished daughter of a deceased military officer who, accompanied by her mother, had come, from a remote county, to reside temporarily, in Kilkenny. The young lady was a Protestant; but in those days the ecclesiastical objection to mixed marriages was not so strongly enforced in Ireland as at present; and the obstacles to their union were soon surmounted. An issue of eight children has been the result of this felicitous alliance. The eldest son, Robert, passed through Trinity College, Dublin, with great credit, and triumphantly underwent, within the last few months, the proverbially searching, and severe examination to which candidates for admission to the Royal Artillery are subjected at Woolwich. He is now with his Regiment in China.

Meanwhile Cane rose with electrical rapidity. His fellow countrymen idolized him for his worth, urbanity, and Samaritan kindness to the poor. They respected him for his great talent, his high position, his uncompromising political integrity, and his entire devotion to the cause of Ireland, its literature, and destiny. In every national movement he was a leading, and a valorous actor. In every local effort to check injustice he was the animating, and the guiding spirit. To the claims of the oppressed, the houseless orphan, or the struggling artist who had never known the smile of a patron's smile, the purse of Robert Cane was always open. In furtherance of every generous, patriotic, Celtic, or philanthropic object his pen sped with untiring zeal and power. A highly cultivated intellect, says the *Tipperary Free Press*, enabled him to overpass the narrow barrier that too often circumscribes the career of the professional man, and an ardent love of country taught him that a patriotism sincerely maintained seldom failed to win respect even from those most antagonistic to its dictates. So it was with him. Dr Cane was essentially an Irish nationalist—yet amongst the most aristocratic circles of Kilkenny was he found, no less the physician than the friend, esteemed as well for his ability in the one capacity as for his courtesy in the other.

Of O'Connell and his sagacious line of policy Douglass was long a supporter. In 1840 a grand Banquet in honor of the Liberator and Repeal was organised in Kilkenny through Dr. Cane's exertions. He acted as steward of the occasion and delivered in the course of the evening a speech redolent of nationality, good sense, and honesty to which to this day remembers it with delight.

It is a fact tolerably significant of the estimation in which Dr. Cane's magisterial services were generally held that numbers of Catholic and Protestant gentlemen and ladies from French to Smith O'Brien were visited with a special view to cooperating with O'Connell in the Repeal struggle, and Dr. Cane was suffered to continue his judicial labours. He continued in Kilkenny and his valuable professional practice, and his personal sacrifice to thunder forth his vigorous opinions with eloquence, and masculine sense on the platform of the meeting, or at the National council board on Bunratty. In 1844 the citizens of Kilkenny marked their high appreciation of Dr. Cane's admirable qualities of head and heart by placing upon him the highest dignity which it was in their power to give. Dr. Cane was elected mayor of the "fair city of Kilkenny;" and with the lofty generosity which has always been distinguished, he applied every farthing of his official salary, and emoluments to purposes of public utility.

"When O'Connell, writes Mr. Kenealy, was released from prison in 1844, and when the corporations of Ireland presented their congratulations and respectful homage to the Liberator, Robert Cane was chosen as the head of the delegation from Kilkenny; and those who saw his noble, venerable form that day, robed in the green uniform of the '82 Club, still the proud and princely bearing, the giant grace, the beauty, and sweet smile of the representative of the people. But that kingly form is now cold as the clod of earth, and that glowing heart whose every pulse beat for Ireland is for ever."

Mr. Cartan of the *Dundalk Democrat* observes: "The only time we saw him was at the great Levee in Dublin in May, 1845, when Ireland sent its trusted representatives to pay their homage to O'Connell and his fellow-republicans who had suffered incarcerations at the hands of a pack of English injustice. He appeared there as Mr. O'Connell."

ny, decorated in his robes; and no one present wore a more
nified or commanding appearance. From that day till the
k before his death he laboured zealously for Ireland."

From the earliest days of Dr. Cane's manhood his name was
stantly and eagerly sought to dignify, and in spirit local
vements; and with them, when honestly based, he cordially
perated. His name wielded a singular influence, and strange
ries were sometimes taken with it. We cull the follow-
episode from the Report of the Proceedings of the Repeal
ociation on Monday, September 21st, 1846, a few weeks
equent to the secession from its ranks of Messrs. O'Brien,
gher, Mitchel, O'Gorman, Doheny, Lalor, Dillon, and
onoghue.

r. John O'Connell said that Mr. Ray had received a letter from
Cane, of Kilkenny, which he would read out of respect to the
er.

"8 William-street, Kilkenny,
Sept. 19, 1846.

DEAR SIR—Feeling that I Cannot subscribe to the proceedings
Going forward in Conciliation Hall for Many reasons, of which
ne will arrive for explanations (The present being a Period when
cannot enter it, or Trust themselves to deliver a cool opinion,) I
thank you to have my name Erased from its books.

"I have the honour to be your obedient servant.

"R. CANE, M. D. (ex-mayor,) Kilkenny.

M. Ray, Esq., Secretary Repeal Association."

was very sorry that that excellent gentleman called on the
ociation to erase his name from their books. It was unnecessary
aim to praise Dr. Cane, of Kilkenny. His character was well-
vn, for his great abilities, varied attainments, and ardent
otism, had made his name deservedly popular with the people of
nd. Unfortunately Dr. Cane, thought proper to adopt the
iples of the Young Ireland party, and now wished his name to
ased from the books of the Association. They were sincerely
y to lose the assistance and co-operation of such an excellent
; but the cause of Ireland must be saved, no matter what the
fice; therefore it was with sincere regret—at the same time with-
he slightest hesitation—that he said they must accept Dr. Cane's
nation hoping that better times would come, when he would be
led coolly to consider this matter, and come to the same con-
on that so many of their revered prelates, and so large a portion
eir respected clergy, as well as the people at large, had come
namely, that the moral force principle, if it were not the only
one, ought to be adopted for its beauty and holiness. (Loud

cheers.) He therefore moved that Dr. Cane's name be struck from the books of the Association.

Captain Broderick seconded the motion with much

At the meeting in Conciliation Hall on the Monday evening last, it appeared that the letter purporting to be from Dr. Cane was a forgery! John O'Connell, in the course of his speech,

As to the forgery, I must say this—I am acquainted with Dr. Cane's handwriting, and I was under the impression when I saw the letter that it was genuine. (Hear hear.) Since then I have been told to me on the subject, and on comparing the two documents I perceived the forgery; but without the special commission I should be almost impossible to detect it. (Cries of hear, hear.) Dr. Cane complains naturally enough that I should have been so easily deceived in bad English to be a production of his, knowing his high intellectual attainments. Of course the bad handwriting of the letter did confound me to a certain extent; but as I did not mistake the evidence of my own eyes as to the handwriting, I therefore considered that the letter was genuine. It is now known that he has written a letter to us since, exposing his views on the discussion in this Hall—expressing his dissent from a large part of our proceedings, and calling on us to get the Young Irelanders back again. With all due respect for him, I cannot consent to his letter here. We can't consent to re-open in this Hall a question which I give him the same answer that I have given to other persons who have asked that has been closed for ever—a discussion on which I have pronounced—the discussion of whether moral force is the best means to achieve the independence of Ireland.

Doctor Cane's letter was accordingly not read at the meeting of the Association. Its suppression was an unwelcome act, and many were the murmurs of disapprobation which this illadvised act drew forth. It may not be uninteresting to print the entire correspondence which passed between Dr. Cane and Mr. T. M. Ray, the Secretary, at that period.

*Loyal National Repeal Association,
Corn Exchange Room,
Dublin, 22nd September.*

DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th, requesting to have your name erased from the books of the Association, and to state that your request has been complied with.

I remain, dear sir,

Your faithful servant,

Robert Cane, Esq., M.D.,
(Ex Mayor,)

8, William-street, Kilkenny.

T. M. Ray.

Kilkenny, Tuesday Sept. 22nd 1846.

DEAR SIR—I perceive by the *Evening Mail* of last night that Mr. O'Connell had alluded in the Association to a letter purporting to come from me, and to have my signature. That letter is a forgery, as I did not write any such to the member of Kilkenny or to the Association. May I request that you will permit me to see the letter, that I may be enabled to trace it. If you can, send it to me with its envelope or superscription—I may be able to discover the writer. I should be glad to have it by return of post, as I mean to write in for Monday's meeting, when it shall be returned to you. May I inform me has the committee, or the Association, acted upon and removed my name.

Yours truly,

ROBERT CANE.

T. M. Ray, Esq., &c.

*Loyal National Repeal Association,
Corn Exchange Rooms, Dublin,
23rd Sept., 1846.*

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge, with sincere satisfaction, your letter of yesterday, acquainting us that the letter read at the Association Monday last, requiring your name to be erased from the list, is a forgery. I assure you we received with very deep regret notification, which we are now delighted to find a malicious fabrication.

I enclose the letter as you desire, in the hope that you may be able to trace the author. The envelope has been thrown away.

I remain, my dear sir,

Most faithfully your sincere servant,

Robert Cane, Esq., M.D., Kilkenny.

T. M. RAY.

Kilkenny, September 28th, 1846.

DEAR SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, the first announcing to me that my name had been erased from the books of the Association, the second enclosing me the forged letter, upon which, as if genuine, the Association had acted in so removing my name.

Thank you for the courtesy of both communications; but cannot express my surprise that the Association, where some of my letters might have been found, did without the trouble of inquiry or examination, consider as mine, and act upon as such, a note whose true origin might have been traced in the facts that while it occupies but ten lines of note paper, it yet contains three grammatical errors, and no fewer than twelve misplaced capitals. Indeed, the letter is such a one as no professional man could have written; and it is so insolent to find that the individual who maliciously signed my name, and dared to jest with the solemn business of that Association, of which he has been himself a member, and towards which body his conduct has been a gross outrage, is a man whose education cannot be deduced by the cowardice of his concealment, the daring of his forgery, or the meanness of his lying.

I had intended to have been present at the Association early in the week. I wished to press upon its consideration some matters

sparkling at his board. The great Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Davis, and Charles Gavan Duffy, were not unfrequent guests. Every literary man passing through Kilkenny at once left his card on Doctor Cane; and his house in William-street was quite a little Derrynane of hospitality and good cheer. "The feast of reason, and the flow of soul" uniformly pervaded it. "In private life," says Mr. Keneally, "Dr. Cane had the good fortune to be as much admired and respected as in public. His bland and courteous manners, his pure and guileless nature, and his gallant, yet unostentatious, bearing captivated the hearts of all classes, and extorted the admiration of even those who did not sympathise with his views in either religion or politics. Outside his professional ability he was possessed of a high order of genius, which was felt and acknowledged in the society in which he moved—felt in public and private—on the bench and at the council board; a genius which, had his life been spared a little longer, would have stamped itself upon the literature of his country."

For years blatant patriotism had been a source of pecuniary speculation in Ireland. The unblushing pursuit of this venal traffic has too often caused the efforts of really virtuous and disinterested men to be viewed with distrust, and sometimes ridicule. But there is one infallible test, exceedingly easy of application which never fails to establish or impugn a patriot's "honesty." When we see a demagogue denouncing English misrule, and appealing to the prejudices or passions of the multitude, we generally suspect that, if needy he is seeking for a place to stop his mouth, and if not needy that he is endeavouring to woo and win the suffrages of a popular constituency with a view to his election as a member of Parliament. Doctor Cane was exempt from either imputation. He had attained a splendid professional success, and he had not a moment to call his own. It is no poetical flight of imagination to say that his minutes were worth guineas to him. Every hour that he gave up to the cause of Ireland cost him dearly. He loved the cause and the old land, its literature, people, and antiquities better than lucre; and of this the amplest evidence remains on record. He had nothing to gain by his life of consistent patriotism, and generous toil, but, on the contrary, everything to lose. His professions were not words, but uniformly substantiated by acts of serious personal sacrifice. Although he was in the receipt of a considerable income as a practising physician, he dispensed

These things may be unpleasant to be heard, and many who believe in truth may timidly question the wisdom of avowing our weakness, forgetting that the avowal may remedy the ill. Perchance their truth may be questioned, and the statements I make considered needless raven-croak. If so, my answer is—I speak the truth, I know it; I speak it fearlessly, because it is the truth; and I speak it energetically, as I would arouse men whose duty it is to avert evil! And I am confident that the results of a few months shall prove I am right, when, Cassandra like, my prophecy may be believed in its fulfilment—"If a re-union of parties be not speedily achieved, confidence restored to the people, the present agitation for Repeal will cease."

This is a bold declaration, only to be smiled at, if it be false and needless; but if it be true, it calls for the serious consideration of men everywhere, who, if they neglect their duty of truth to the country, to the Association, and to the Liberator, may live to lament that their political characters were buried in the ruins of the noble people whose pillars they had torn away.

Men should ponder well over a responsibility like this; and the responsibility is great indeed upon those, if any there be, who would follow from O'Connell the disunion which is spreading through the ranks of the followers who love him.

A feature most melancholy in this lamentable division is, that it does not seem to have arisen upon any necessary movement—as not sprung up, as required by the aspect of the times or the opinion of the people, but brought out at a period of perfect quietude by an assertion of a speculative doctrine, to which every Repealer in the land was ready to subscribe, in the language and manner of the nobles and clergy of Derry. Their resolutions, thank God, have been recognised and entered at the Association; and in them can be found the materials for a re-union of honest men! They pledge themselves to a purely moral force agitation for Repeal, but they do not bind men's opinions as to all contingencies, all times, and all people. In the support, too, of these new rules, the committee of the Association have alarmed the public by an assertion of the power of resigning members at its pleasure, without consulting the body at large, of suppressing the correspondence of those men, who, differing in the rules, had written their dissent, thus keeping the opinions of dissentients from the eyes of their fellow members. And this apparent annihilation of all opposing argument has been further aided out by the omission of such correspondence in all those papers circulated by the committee; while the paper which does publish it has been sedulously excluded from the national reading rooms. It may have been considered wise; but it is at variance with true liberty and freedom of discussion, and utterly subversive of what should be the characteristics of a democratic confederacy like the Repeal Association. The complainings upon this subject are loud and universal: with these are linked the language of impassioned sorrow and what is considered ingratitude to O'Brien, and injustice to THE LIBERATOR—a man and a paper whose truth and services the people only appreciate.

I tell these things as they are—I do not exaggerate. I tell them, because I fear that many, whose duty it is to tell them to the Liberator and to the Association, are timorously silent. I tell them to awake the Association to its danger. I tell them, because my heart is still for the land and Repeal; and I act with the warm hope that I may be instrumental in reconciling the jarring elements of our country. If I be not so instrumental, I shall yet have the proud consolation of having said, "I did my duty."

Having made this statement, I call upon the Association. I have been an early, a persistent, and an active member of the means whereby the confidence of the public shall be restored, and the enthusiasm of the people re-animated. And the suggestions I suggest are, that a committee be formed under the auspices of the Liberator, and that this committee shall have for its object the consideration of all those sources of discontent and dissatisfaction, suggesting of the means whereby, without compromise and without disgrace or dishonor, or legal difficulties, shall be recalled, the seceders restored, and unanimity be established amongst the band of popular leaders who have stood around the chieftain O'Connell.

This committee will have an onerous duty; but if it be formed, it will be performed cheerfully, earnestly, and successfully. Their names shall be written in the hearts of their true lovers of peace, and benefactors of their kind.

Were I present, and at liberty so to do, I would urge the resolution; as I am not, is there one man desirous of the welfare of his country who will urge it forward? If there be, may his efforts, shall be the concluding words of his prayers has never forgotten Ireland; and who in despair has occurred to damp enthusiasm and chill the fervor of the people trusts on—relying upon Heaven, and the ultimate triumph of right, that Ireland and Repeal shall triumph.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

T. M. Bay, Esq., &c., &c.

John O'Connell, although possessing many of the qualities of a Tribune was deficient in political foresight. On September 29, 1846, we find him declaring that the discussions and divisions between Old and Young Ireland were closed for ever, and that Dr. Cane's letter would be sufficient to re-open them. We need not remind the reader that John O'Connell was mistaken in his calculations. On the other hand, evidenced considerable prophetic power in this letter. The retirement of Smith O'Brien from the Association had now only a few weeks taken place. Doctor Cane clearly saw the disastrous results which

cession was fraught. His admirable letter, it will be seen, does not re-open the discussion on Physical Force; but simply deals with the practicability, and just necessity of a reconciliation. It is deeply to be regretted that the well-timed letter of Robert Cane was not read, and its advice adopted by the Repeal Association: and we are quite sure that if John O'Connell were now living, he would be the first to avow, with his characteristic manliness and frankness, the mistake into which he was betrayed by suppressing it.

Although Dr. Cane felt grievously pained and hurt, that his important and generously aimed letter should have been thrown aside, unread, by the Repeal Association; and albeit that his political views were much more in unison with those of Smith Brien, than of John O'Connell, he did not then relinquish his connection with that body, but remained linked to it in the hope that he might yet be instrumental in effecting a reunion of all classes of Repealers for the regeneration of their common country.

The *Nation* of October 3rd, 1846, in a leading article said: "There are men on whom verbal praise can confer no distinction—their character, and estimation among their people being attested not in words, but in acts.—Dr. Cane is such a man. Through the gifted and cultivated South we know no man of purer intellectual, political, professional, or personal character." It is easy to nod assent, or to utter ephemeral expressions of approval; but when substantial testimonials which touch the pocket—that test of sincerity—are lavishly thrown at a man's feet there must be some sterling worth in him. The journals of the day record that in September, 1846, a committee was appointed by the people of Kilkenny to conduct the getting up of a suitable Testimonial and address to Dr. Cane. Having assembled at the Tholsel at 2 o'clock, they proceeded from thence to his residence at William-street. That political or sectarian differences is no bar to the cordial union of Irishmen when met to do honor to a man of worth and honesty, was vividly evidenced by the circumstance that the Protestant Mayor and High Sheriff led the van of the deputation. Amongst those who swelled it were the Rev. Messrs. O'Flynn and Mulligan, Aldermen Potter, Banim, Town councillors Kelly, Kinchela, J. Potter, Burke, Dr. Lalor, Messrs. Alkenhead, Allen, Lubey, Hart, Gaffney, Flynn, Menton, Morrison, Heffey, Dea, and others. "The Deputation," observes a journal of the day,

" Was received by Dr. Cane with the cordial grace and genuine Irish hospitality, and having been ushered on behalf of the committee and of his fellow-citizens, proceeded to present the address :—

" **DEAR AND ESTEEMED SIR**—Be assured there is less than of formality in our visit to present a fellow-citizen for private worth and public integrity, with a compliment as a suitable accompaniment to a more substantial public favor.

" Your highest title not only to our respect, but to our fellow-citizens at large, without regard to creed or party, you are the architect of your own fame and fortune, by the education of superior talents to generous purpose, you have secured yourself the estimation of men of all parties and all nations. Your patriotism, like your own, is comprehensive, and, therefore, exact concurrence of opinion, political or religious, personal friendship or of personal respect.

" Your admirable discharge of the duties of office, which unaffected dignity of manner and high judicial impartiality happily combined ; and stern impartiality on the side of the law in the punishment of crime, relived by generous compassion for the victim of misfortune, have well and worthily established you in the high office which received honor from your administration of its duties.

" Your marked attention to the improvements of the city, your generous appropriation of the salary and emoluments of your mayoralty to purposes of public usefulness, we regard as a further proof of that kindliness of disposition, and goodness of heart, which have ever characterised your conduct as a private citizen.

" The intrinsic value of the accompanying gift is of little consequence when contrasted with the circumstances which surround its presentation. It is, sir, a gift redeemed from partisanship, and it is the gift of men of all shades of political and religious opinions, of men who can elevate themselves above the atmosphere of party, in admiration of those noble qualities of character which are purified from the base alloy of an interested and excited feeling.

" Receive, then sir, this gift, or rather testimonial, as a token of that friendship which exalts itself in honoring you.

" May you live long to enjoy the luxury of a friendship so pure in motive ; and may your children's children, to imitate your virtues and rival your fame, by receiving a testimonial now presented to you as a symbol of that regard which any man might justly be proud.

" Signed on behalf of the committee

" **JOSEPH HACKETT**

Doctor Cane's reply was as follows :—

" **MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN**—The poverty of my language is proverbial ; but now I feel it, when I would express how I appreciate, how I value, the distinguished honor of the present you and my other fellow-citizens and friends have conferred upon me.

"Truly does your address say it is 'A SYMBOL OF PUBLIC ESTEEM WHICH ANY MAN MIGHT JUSTLY BE PROUD'—and I am proud of it an extent that shall stimulate me, as far as in me lies, to preserve esteem which is, I fear, beyond my deserts; yet, but equal to my wishes, and valued by me as one of earth's proudest gifts.

"And permit me to tell you that when I consider my own political position, so calculated to have left me within the limits of a party, I rejoice tenfold in this honor, because it tells me I have been successful in my efforts to act as a magistrate with that impartiality which is due to the dignity of the office you raised me to, and in the discharge of whose duties, truth and law only should be recognized—party, sect, and prejudice, ever forgotten.

"I experience such honest pride in this evidence of your approval, that were this day to close my career amongst you, I should feel that such, if not all, my hopes had dared to look at, what my heart had earned after, was achieved. I had won upwards to the proudest place within this ancient city; I had entered upon the high office with earnest aspiration to the Ruler of Men that He might enable me not to discredit it, or to be seduced by prejudice, pride, or interest, from the upright deportment due to it. I thank God I retired from with the honest convictions of an approving conscience in my breast, and now I have the proud evidence, dearer to me than life itself, that I won your approval.

"The warmth of your eloquent address overpowers me, and your beautiful present has made me over-rich. Heretofore I had nothing of this earth's goods which I valued beyond their passing use, or could sorrow for, if fortune plundered them from me. Conscious of God's providence, full of self-reliance, I could stoop, without a tear, to labor in gathering them again. Now, for the first time, I do feel over-rich, because you have given into my charge a property, whose due to me is beyond the world's average of such things—an estate to pass to my children, and speak to them of me when I am no more, to teach them the value of self-reliance, the glory of truth, the reward which good men, even in this evil world, will give for the mere performance of a duty. Yes, with Heaven's blessing, this shall be a heritage to them, instilling bright and truthful principles into their hearts—shedding over their manhood the halo of hope, and making eternal spirit triumphant over the earthly man.

"Broad acres or golden store could not do this. You have given me a receipt, taught a principle to my children, and to the youth who all surround them, which is, and will be, virtue-creating.

"ROBERT CANE, M.D.,

Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.

William-street, Sept. 17, 1846."

The proceedings concluded with a splendid repast furnished by Cane for his guests.

Cane was the soul of hospitality. He rarely sat down to dinner without a little constellation of local worth and talent around him; while really eminent men of all creeds and parties, and from every quarter, were found, periodically

sparkling at his board. The great Thomas Carlyle, Davis, and Charles Gavan Duffy, were not unfrequently at his table. Every literary man passing through Kilkenny at once called on Doctor Cane; and his house in Williamstown was quite a little Derrynane of hospitality and good cheer. "A feast of reason, and the flow of soul" uniformly presided over the table. "In private life," says Mr. Keneally, "Dr. Cane had the fortune to be as much admired and respected as in public. His bland and courteous manners, his pure and guileless face, and his gallant, yet unostentatious, bearing captivated the hearts of all classes, and extorted the admiration of even his opponents. He did not sympathise with his views in either literature or politics. Outside his professional ability he was a man of a high order of genius, which was felt and acknowledged in every society in which he moved—felt in public and private life, on the bench and at the council board; a genius which, had he been spared a little longer, would have stamped its own name on the literature of his country."

For years blatant patriotism had been a source of speculation in Ireland. The unblushing pursuit of traffic has too often caused the efforts of really virtuous and disinterested men to be viewed with distrust, and even with ridicule. But there is one infallible test, exceeding all other application which never fails to establish or impugn the truth of "honesty." When we see a demagogue denouncing misrule, and appealing to the prejudices or passions of a multitude, we generally suspect that, if needy he is, he has no place to stop his mouth, and if not needy that he is anxious to woo and win the suffrages of a popular constituency in view to his election as a member of Parliament. Dr. Cane was exempt from either imputation. He had attained to a high professional success, and he had not a moment to spare. It is no poetical flight of imagination to say that his labours were worth guineas to him. Every hour that he gave to the cause of Ireland cost him dearly. He loved the dear old land, its literature, people, and antiquities better than himself, and of this the amplest evidence remains on record. He had nothing to gain by his life of consistent patriotism, and his arduous toil, but, on the contrary, everything to lose. His professions were not words, but uniformly substantiated by a serious personal sacrifice. Although he was in the receipt of a considerable income as a practising physician, he

the full as largely ; and it is with pain we have to announce notwithstanding the brilliant professional success of Robert Cane, his premature demise has left an accomplished man, and children comparatively unprovided for.

In truth Robert Cane was a prince in regard to money. Of a ruinously expensive experiment, to foster and stimulate the growth of a vigorous spirit of racy Nationality in Ireland which crossed the time and thought of his last two years upon which, we shall have occasion to speak fully hereafter.

The foresight which Dr. Cane's letter to the Repeal Association, in 1845, displayed, was triumphantly, but sadly verified, in the transactions of the two subsequent years. No one now doubts but that if a conciliatory instead of an acrimonious tone had been adopted by the *Conciliation* Hall posterior to the secession, a permanent and irresistible political union of Irishmen would have resulted. The writer of this paper witnessed in October, 1846, the ignominious expulsion from the Repeal Association of a member of the Young Ireland Party ; but it is due to the liberality of the Repeal Association that he was not present on this occasion. We did not see the command given to kick it into the street, and we did not see the document, engrossed in the handsomest style of calligraphy, expelled from the Hall, and trampled beneath the hoofs, cart wheels, and coal-porters' brogues on Burghis Street. Soon after the Irish Confederation was formally inaugurated ; and if our memory serves us the first meeting of that powerful but somewhat unsteady body took place, with much eclat, on the 11th of November, 1846. Next morning O'Connell refused to eat at breakfast. His chaplain the Rev. Mr.—, (to console him) observed that the large meeting the evening previous was gathered there "out of curiosity" to hear "the young orators." "You are mistaken, my friend," said the old statesman ; "it was a great meeting—they are a great party."

The frightful decimations in the ranks of our once lusty peasantry, the famine and plague, and the criminal apathy in which the English Government seemed sunk, spurred on the Irish Confederation to a pitch of indignation which the usual restraints of discretion would otherwise have checked. Robert Cane was carried along with the popular feeling. He expressed his sentiments honestly, and boldly ; but however he may have been, he had the good sense to abstain from uttering views which would have drawn the laws of the land would visit with summary vengeance.

Lord Clarendon, however, having in July, 1848, Parliament for extraordinary powers, the Habeas was promptly suspended, and among the many who were arrested and cast into dungeons without definite accusation was the Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.

It has long been customary with both the conservative and the liberal party to view Dr. Cane as a most determined Ireland-man and ready to go quite as far as Mitchell or Meagher. On the escape of John Mitchell from servitude in 1854 a deputation of filibusters arrived from America, and proceeded to feel the popular pulse in thirty-two Counties. Ireland was garrisoned by a large force of militia. All the military and naval resources were draughted to the Crimea and the Baltic. Mitchell and his followers entertained considerable doubts if the roar of their war trumpet received any response from the Irish People, that an independent Ireland might, without difficulty, be declared in Dublin. A war deputation, as a preliminary, waited upon Charles Duffy, and asked him to take the chair at a banquet proposed to give in Kilkenny as a triumphant acknowledgment of the escape of Mitchell from Penal Exile. Duffy, however, having attacked Duffy in his *Gaol Journal*, declined to preside at the demonstration in his stead. He suggested Dr. Cane of Kilkenny as the man absolutely best calculated to suit and serve the object which they had in view. "Oh my dear Sir," said the spokesman, "we must consider Dr. Cane as at all possessing the confidence of the National Party. Surely you cannot be unaware of this. The Kilkenny Deputation waited upon Dr. Cane in 1854, and asked him to head the clubs in attacking the town of Kilkenny. He evaded the invitation. We consider that Dr. Cane should pass upon that occasion." "Sir" replied Duffy, "I am not. Am I to understand that you heard Dr. Cane's speech condemn the wishes of his fellow citizens?" "Certainly," said the spokesman; "but I heard of no such thing. One who had been; and you are now in possession of the truth, which the followers of John Mitchell uniformly condemn. Dr. Cane's conduct at a very critical juncture in our history."

Setting the judgment of all other parties aside, it is determined Young Irelander cannot but applaud the course which Dr. Cane pursued in 1848. He saw that the projected Insurrection was a mere prismatic bubble.

at superficially, but when tested in the scales of prudence and wanting. Shaping his conclusions from careful thought and inquiry he felt assured that the popular rising, from want of time to perfect and arm their organization, would be of the most intuitively partial character. He saw that any local hostile preference would render their anticipated Revolution a bloody one ending in nought but sadness, misery, and despair. This view, however, did not save him from the angry grasp of Clarendon's Government. The following paragraph appears in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 2, 1848. The correspondent dates from Kilkenny.

ARREST OF DR. CANE, J.P.

Shortly after the arrival in this city of the 75th Regt., and two companies of the 8th Hussars, on Monday night, arrangements were made for the arrest of Dr. Cane, and at three o'clock on Tuesday morning, the learned doctor was visited by the County Inspector, and a Dublin detective, who informed him that they had a warrant for his apprehension. Their prisoner at once accompanied them to the county gaol, where he was safely lodged unknown to any of the citizens. A warrant states that the charge is grounded on information of "unreasonable practices;" and the arrest was made under the *Insurrectionary Arms and Ammunition Suspension Act*. No one, with the exception of his wife and children, are permitted to visit him, and all letters to, or from him, are opened, and read by the authorities. I am at a loss to say for what the Doctor has been arrested, for it is notorious that, later than Saturday last, he exhorted the people not to go to Ballingarry.

The deepest sympathy is felt for him. Troops continue to pour in to the time I am writing."

The arrest of Dr. Cane was most despotic and unjust. On the night of the 29th July, 1848, a large crowd of people armed with pikes, pitchforks and other weapons, surrounded Dr. Cane's house and called upon him to come out and head the rebellion. The Doctor addressed the poor famine stricken desperadoes from his balcony, and exhorted them to return peacefully to their homes.

Great excitement prevailed. Blood was spilt at Ballingarry, on August 3rd the county Inspector accompanied by Mr. Russell, J.P., having received information that Mr. Dillon had been privately conveyed wounded to Dr. Cane's house, accordingly proceeded to the Doctor's mansion in William street, and searched every possible nook and crevice for the bleeding rebel leader. The private information, however, which reached the Government proved groundless.

Dr. Cane often complained that the restrictions of the prison

were exceedingly harsh, although the personal Mr. Robins, the governor of the gaol, was as considerate as possible under the circumstances. Cane passed a dreary autumn days drearily within its walls. Permitted to visit his dying son was haughtily denied him. He craved to see him, and fervently—he represented to the government that he would be able to avert the disease which was killing his son, if they allowed him to visit the prostrate boy even for a few days; but all to no effect—Lord Clarendon would not consent. The death of young Cane at last melted the heart of the government, and the heart-broken father was liberated. An order in council to perform the sad office of the executioner at the funeral of his son. As a mark of government consideration, the Lord Chancellor had first superseded the local magistrate of the county; but at the funeral of a man so popular with the people and their municipal representatives it was deemed better to begin, to restore the object of their affection, to the commission of the peace, without the Lord Chancellor's leave—nay, more, to place him on the judicial bench, by making him, for the second time, mayor of his native city. That resolve took effect on January 1st, 1849, in a manner that did not reflect credit on themselves and the country.

"To-day," said the *Freeman* "have, the citizens of Dublin, added one more proof to the many on record of the loyalty, patriotism and enduring gratitude to all who suffer for their country to fatherland."

The pecuniary loss to himself and his family by the spotic incarceration of Dr. Cane caused was of a most serious character. He had been enjoying an extensive professional practice; and had hardly a moment of leisure during the day. But as if the whig minister's policy was to bring ruin upon himself and family by depriving him of his professional advancement, they caused their underlings to *charge* him from one or two medical offices of the local public institutions, though his ability as a physician had been fully recognised, and frequently testified to by the heads of these establishments. This stroke of policy was not less mean than tyrannical; for Dr. Cane had been the attendance, during his incarceration at the gaol, which he was connected, of other skilful physicians.

All this treatment he bore with dignity, and with the fortitude which men of great minds generally display in adversity; but to the last moment of his life he never

The procession to the tomb was rapidly followed by a procession to the civic throne, and the government fetters gave place to the chain of magisterial office—the highest honor in power of “faire Kilkenny” to bestow.

It is but justice to mention as indicative of the unanimity that prevailed on this subject that several highly respected citizens, including Michael Hyland, Esq., who had intended to offer themselves as candidates for the high municipal office, at once withdrew their claim, and gave Dr. Cane their cordial support when it was proposed that he should be the new Mayor. His respective friends, of Daniel Smithwick, Esq., and Richard Ivan, Esq., would have put these gentlemen forward, only Dr. Cane allowed himself to be nominated.

Journal of the day records:—

One o'clock was the hour fixed for the inauguration. The street in front presented a most animated appearance, the people having gathered in thousands round the exterior of the Tholsel. The corporation, attired in their robes of office, and headed by the Mayor, Thomas Hart, Esq., J.P., left the Assembly Room in procession, and proceeded to the City Courthouse, a very fine band playing before them. The streets were densely crowded all along the route of the procession, and cheers loud and enthusiastic greeted Dr. Cane as he passed on. Every window, too, had its fair occupants, who waved their handkerchiefs to testify their delight at seeing their noble fellow-citizen once more in triumph. The interior of the courthouse was filled to the very ceiling with a dense mass of human beings; and when Dr. Cane appeared on the bench from which a short time before he had been summarily ejected by the Lord Chancellor, the enthusiasm of those within the building knew no bounds. Cheers succeeded cheer for several minutes, and for a considerable time the Town Clerk was unable to proceed with the reading of the oath required to be taken by chief magistrates of boroughs at their inauguration.

The oath having been administered, the late Mayor stripped himself of the gold chain, &c., and invested Dr. Cane with the chain of office amid vociferous applause. He said “Dr. Cane, allow me to congratulate you on your appointment. My fellow-citizens, I likewise congratulate you on having made a second appointment—on having a second time placed Dr. Cane in a position which he before filled with honor to himself and satisfaction and benefit to his fellow-citizens.”

The Mayor of Kilkenny, Dr. Cane, then rose amidst the deafening acclamations and said:—

high position at the close of my former year expected to be again placed in the honourable position of kindness has once more elevated me. That was that I never could anticipate such an honour; such an honour were to be twice enjoyed by a pause before he would take at the hands of the people a second time in a city like this, where there are capable of filling the civic chair with usefulness my friends, within these four years passing eventful a position as entirely to alter my feelings on this not conceal from you that I feel I now occupy a position any other that could be offered me on earth. Among you from nearly one hundred days' imprisonment I have returned to you degraded (tremendous) Was I not, my friends, degraded by the withdrawal of the peace? (renewed cries of no, no) Because degrade me, perhaps, you have honoured me beyond I value this commission with which you have invested the proudest appointment within the land (enthusiastic cheering.) I was about, fellow-citizens, to give reasons why I accepted this honour at your hands when it seemed calculated to deprive me of my position. For nearly four months was I debarred from the benefit of my family. For nearly four months and myself, consuming the bread of idleness, the in the county was offered for me (loud cries of shout my friends, though I had procured competent substitutes of every public situation I held, I was even situations. I will not say—for it would not be a new year with unchristian accusation—that it was me by those proceedings; but they looked very well when adopted for that purpose (hear, hear.) Tell myself. Now, with regard to the city. I will return to you to hear the testimony borne by the Mayor to the peaceable state of this city; and crimes that have been of late committed in Kil

mine come before us, I will, with the aid of my fellow-citizens, leave nothing undone that shall be calculated to alleviate the wants with which the poor may be visited."

Town Councillor Hyland in an intrepid speech administered "knock over the knuckles" to the Dublin Corporation. What he asked had the corporation of Kilkenny being doing that day? Why, it had been setting an example to all the other corporations of this country. The people of Kilkenny had not been crouching (hear, hear). They had not been trifled—they had not been cajoled (cheers)—they had not been put out of their duty (loud cheers). They had not been acting like that wretched paltry insignificant set—the corporation of Dublin (*loud groans for the Dublin corporation*). He would like to see the man in the Kilkenny corporation that would stand up and introduce a resolution proposing a vote of confidence in his Excellency (loud laughter, and cheers). Were they to be put down in the way some people supposed they were (no, no)? Was the country to be ruled by coercion? Was he to be told that Repeal was extinct (vociferous cries of no, no, and enthusiastic applause). Was he to be told that because coercion acts were passed and the Lord Lieutenant was vested with powers so extraordinary as to astonish even his Excellency himself, if his lordship had made use of the words attributed to him—because a man could be arrested without cause for his arrest being shown, patriotism should cease (no, no)? He had felt and did feel for Dr. Cane's sufferings; he felt for his afflictions (hear, hear). What had been Dr. Cane's crime? He loved Ireland sincerely, and for this he had been put into a prison—enclosed with felons and robbers. He had been deprived of the commission of the peace and of situations he had held; but he had gained the position he now occupied, and that without the leave of his Excellency, or of the old Kilcreene General (cheers and laughter)."

Alderman Smithwick said that "nothing could possibly be more gratifying to his feelings than to see his excellent friend, Alderman Cane, in the high position he now occupied. He was the more gratified that they had such a man as Dr. Cane for their Mayor, because he was sorry to say he looked on the prospects for the present year as anything but cheering; he knew that the citizens, in case of distress, would have an able chief magistrate in his friend (loud cheers). Dr. Cane would, he knew, do all in his power to alleviate the wants of the people."

Town Councillor Burke having expressed sim-
ulations, the corporation, headed by the new Ma-
turned to the Assembly room in the same order as
it, surrounded by thousands who kept up a contin-
Dr. Cane.

When the members of the Town Council had
seats in their board-room, a very respectable de-
the trades of Kilkenny presented the Mayor with
ing address:—

“**WORSHIPFUL SIR**—The day that the corporation
cided on your appointment to the civic chair for '49,
brought unalloyed pleasure to the hearts of the citizen-
and to none more than the trades, and we are
never did a public body more truly reflect the popular
you were elected to perform again the important duties
few years since, you so admirably discharged.

“Sir, the principal consideration which impels us
respects is gratitude; for time cannot wear from our
the many benefits you have conferred on us. You have
prived yourself of ease and enjoyment, snatching time
rious professional duties to elevate us in intelligence
—society capable of illumining any sphere of life. I
admired the practice of charity to all men, kindhearted-
ance, and every social virtue; and if the character of
Kilkenny possess one trait of an ennobling kind, it is a
of some part of your public or private worth.

“Sir, too frequently has it been the lot of the good
be misunderstood in their endeavour to serve the
Though actuated by the purest motives, they have
the most unjust censure; but you have been most
always holding the good opinion of all who ever knew
not be otherwise. All can understand your virtuous
good when possible; and as well may the mists of
stand the lustre of the rising day as a calumny on your
test of reason or of truth.

“Sir, we must all deplore the wretched state of
sioned by the want of employment for the working
withstanding the plenty and cheapness of food much de-
From our knowledge of your heart we know you grieve
know whatever resources lie within the reach of you
applied to ameliorate the condition of the people—that
nevolent societies of our city, now relieving much distress
objects of your fostering care; and your fellow-citizens
that the wants you cannot redress shall share your de-
sires.

“Sir, we have only to wish that you may enjoy a
life—that your children, as they grow to manhood, receive
esteem of the people, which they will obtain by imitating
your amiable lady may be blest with health and happiness
all contribute to render your life as happy as it has
your fellow-men.”

(Here follows a long list of signatures.)

The Mayor made the following reply :—

"GENTLEMEN—I receive your warm-hearted address with pride and gratitude.

"I am proud of your friendship. I am grateful for the generous attachment which it breathes.

"It is true I have been long a devoted labourer for the amelioration of the trade, and for the progressive education of the class which I represent. But such was my duty, as it is the duty of all; and I have only to deplore how few have struggled, and how little they have attained for the regeneration of the lost trade of our hapless fallen country. But we must not despond. God's justice is at hand, and upon it we must rely, with the full confidence that if we persevere we shall achieve.

"It is true that calumnies reach everywhere — they are the ready weapons wherewith the envious and the selfish would strike down all who rise between them and their interest. I fear you tell me overmuch, if you tell me I have not been an object for such. But, believe me, that while I despised I disregarded them; conscious that my hour will speedily arrive when truth can be vindicated, and falsehood shall bow abashed before it. Finally, believe me that not only my sympathy shall be with those who lack employment or honest trade, but that my best exertions shall be given wherever means and opportunity present themselves for benefiting the tradesmen of Kilkenny, as well as forwarding everything that can tend to improve the condition of our common birth and common love."

The inauguration banquet took place in Dr. Cane's mansion, William street, at six o'clock in the evening, when the Mayor entertained the corporation and other of his fellow-citizens in a display of princely hospitality.

When the cloth has been removed, the Mayor rose and proposed "The Queen," which was drank with all honours. He then called on the company to fill a bumper. He was about to propose a toast that had been ever remembered at social gatherings of the corporation of Kilkenny. He had lately been imprisoned; but that imprisonment had not changed the opinions which he had for forty years entertained—namely, that repeal of the Union was absolutely essential for the prosperity of Ireland. Drank with nine times nine.

The next toast was "The People."

His Worship remarked that the people had ever been regarded in civilized countries as the true source of legitimate power, and he hoped they should ever be so regarded in this country (cheers).

The ex-Mayor again rose, and in complimentary terms proposed the health of Dr. Cane.

The Mayor returned thanks. Early in life he had made a resolve never to deviate from his duty to his country. He knew this resolve was a question between his God and himself: and he thought he could now assert that he had never deviated from that aspiration—from that vow (cheers). Therefore, he hoped he could now promise them that nothing should ever tempt him to deviate from the course which he conceived to be conducive to the good of their common country, and the benefit and improvement of the city of Kilkenny. He did not know whether it would be the will of the Almighty to prolong his life to the ordinary age to which men might expect to arrive; but, whether his existence were to be long or short, he trusted that his every exertion should be given to the cause of the land of his birth (enthusiastic applause).

Other toasts having been proposed including "the Press," "Mrs. Cane," and "The Burgesses of Kilkenny," various speeches were delivered, all of which expressed the utmost gratification at Dr. Cane's nomination to the Mayoralty. Those who differed strongly with the Doctor in politics were not less energetic than their neighbours.

"Counsellor O'Donnell expressed his delight at the election of Dr. Cane, and stated that though separated from his fellow citizens in political life, he had ever admired the distinguished gentleman who now filled the office of chief magistrate of their city; and being a private friend of many of the leaders of the party to which Dr. Cane belonged, he could say that the learned doctor was warmly esteemed and respected by those gentlemen. He rejoiced that the corporation of Kilkenny had not disgraced and degraded themselves as other corporations had done (cheers)."

Dr. Cane's second tenure of office was a great year for Kilkenny. It knit him with, if possible, additional links of fondness to the people. He toiled like a giant for their amelioration, and he saw them grow lusty and rich around him.

He laboured at the council board achieving in an hour the day's work of half a dozen ordinary corporators. Meanwhile private hospitality, or the natural tendencies which drew him fondly to the pursuit of fair science, or luxuriant literature, were not neglected. "Oh," writes one who knew Cane well, "to have seen him within that home where his truest nature shone; where that warm and generous heart was best displayed; where the civic chief laid down his sceptre and became the explorer of science or the devotee of literature, where the scholar and the statesman was enrobed in the simplicity and

ness of the parent, or the princely dignity and hospitality of the host !”

It is not saying too much to declare that few men ever possessed such impressive power as he did in his very appearance. His tall—almost towering—well proportioned figure ; his broad expanse of chest ; his portly, kingly bearing, seemed to stamp him as one “born to command.” His massive, lofty brow ; his handsome, manly face, was lit up by an eye which spoke the power of mind and depth of soul within : while his voice, deep toned and musical, could well give forth the passionate eloquence that was so peculiarly his own.

Deprivation of pen, ink, and paper, does not seem to have been, as in the case of Lord Cloncurry, among the bitters which were deemed essential to render the imprisonment of Robert Cane in 1848 irksome. This occupation he was permitted to indulge in, subject to the inquisitorial scrutiny of the proper authorities. Cane applied his mind to literary, rather than political themes ; and in eager pursuit of the former his pen moved briskly. Some of the ablest articles in the *Dublin University Magazine* during the hundred days’ imprisonment of Robert Cane were emanations from his active brain.

Robert Cane continued the life and policy we have sketched until October, 1853, when he attracted more than ordinary attention by issuing a document which called upon the country to co-operate with him in establishing a semi-political and semi-literary society known as the Celtic Union. This project he unfolded in a letter to Mr. C. G. Duffy, then M.P. for New Ross, who printed it in the *Nation* of October 22nd, 1853, with the following preface :—

NATIONAL LITERATURE AND A NATIONAL UNION.

I invite attention to the subjoined letter from a man whom neither engrossing labours, nor the serious interests, of a splendid professional success have been able to seduce from the cause of Ireland. It attains the purpose he has in view, it will rise to the rank of a State Paper.—

Kilkenny, Oct. 10th, 1853.

MY DEAR DUFFY.—Surely it is time that some effort should be made once more to educate and train our people—to spread useful knowledge amongst them, and to give to the youth of Ireland that intellectual stimulus and discipline which, while it would make them better and more useful men, would make them happier men also.

It is noted by those who mix most with the people, that a desire to acquire information upon all debateable subjects, and a positive taste for reading, are springing up in new quarters and becoming uni-

versal. It is a matter of grave national consideration to be gratified. At present it feeds upon literature, some of which is good—much of which is bad; section is utterly detestable. Books catering to the passions—books attacking morals and religion—books about the country, its people, and its faith—books cheaply and ingeniously written, and with but one aim—to be sold: or, a deeper one, it is to demoralise and to denationalise. At present, is the popular literature that circulates in Ireland.

It is time to step between the people and this dangerous influence. It ought to avail itself of the growing taste, and direct it; it ought to supply it with cheap, wholesome books, and drive out the foul spirit of uncleanness by books of nationality. It is a noble duty to train the youth of the nation who are to be one day the nation—to train them, kept steadily in view, so that their education, while it makes better men in all the relations of social life should make better citizens also. It is almost a platitude to say that if every individual man is made truly good and national, in time the nation will be happy, prosperous, and free.

But who are to attempt this heavy task? Where are the men or the men from whom we can expect it?

Cane refers to the proud and exciting days of the past, and the leadership of the past.

We have no national organization; and have no plan for the next few years must determine for this generation. For this century, whether there shall be even a national land? In the necessary attempt to secure daily bread we run serious risk of forgetting the larger aims for the future before the famine. Then we laboured to make our country contend on equal terms with other nations. The famine fostered a spirit of inquiry into all the resources of the country that they might develop and enjoy their national wealth. We endeavoured to kindle and strengthen that love of country, the most powerful stimulus to the spirit of a people. We had ambition for glory and independence but even in the darkest days of our enterprise.

But it is not to lament our destitution I have taken to endeavour to repair it. Can men be got to undertake so necessary in Ireland at present? I do believe that zealous recruits may at least begin it. Greater things may be beginnings, and fit men are yet plenty in Ireland. They are dispersed and scattered, and need to be gathered together. There are enough, I am convinced, who will enter earnestly into the work.

Dr. Cane paid a graceful tribute to Duffy, and to Davis—

“ Whose statue stands so appropriately in the centre of the Memorial Hall in the midst of those results, to which his life, before, had pointed as some of the things imperative for Ireland.—He who was ever preaching the development of the country.”

ources, the awakening of industry, the creation of employment, the arousing of individual energy, and the teaching of self-reliance."

That Exhibition, evidence as it is of one man's persevering industry, full of the triumphs of art, science, and trade, speaks useful lessons to Ireland. Lessons not so much of what she has done, as of at which it shows her she has failed to do. What a lesson in those noble works of art and toil, and skill, which her neighbours have achieved—which the small Celtic State of Belgium, for example, has accomplished, while she has lain in a dreary and desponding slough.

Were it possible that the works of science and of handicraft could stir up an honest emulation within her, surely her national pride could awaken with the memories of the past, called up by the busts, and pictures of her illustrious dead, and the remembrance of the struggles and triumphs in which they lived and moved. The groups of her volunteers, and the sight of her old Parliament House, and Grattan appealing for her liberties, in an Irish Senate, are things to stir her soul, if soul she has.

But I have digressed; I have been appealing, when I ought to have contented myself with a mere statement of the plan I would resume to suggest for an organization suited to the work contemplated.

It should be an organization, whose first duty would be to train and educate; and with this first duty it should content itself until it had grown, if it ever did grow, strong enough for larger things."

Dr. Cane went on to say that it might be called the Celtic Union, and address itself to the Irish race at home and abroad: consist of members paying an annual subscription of one guinea; and those who would undertake to write and work to its managing committee—the funds to be mainly applied to the expenses of publishing. And although Cane felt that the matter would, after a while, pay for itself, he recommended, in case of any risk in the first instance, that a guarantee fund should be ready to meet it.

"My idea of the publications is, that they ought to work out the field opened by the "Library of Ireland," and add to it in a more popular, exact, and available way, the class of information supplied by the valuable reports of the Parliamentary Committee of the Repeal Association. The biographies of our great men, for example, following scientific inquiries into the means of becoming a rich and prosperous people; and Essays on Workhouse Industry succeeded by national songs and poems. The publications to include penny papers, sixpenny books, and shilling books—the latter two classes to be illustrated with suitable plans, maps, and drawings, whenever such were needed. Every member should be entitled to copies of all the publications, and they should be on sale for the public generally, at appointed publishers, and in every town and village in Ireland.

One duty of the members would be to secure their fusion.

These papers and books should be of so attractive handsome, and yet so cheap, as to be seen in every school reading room, and upon every stall, and thus their want make them hearthside companions and household words; sought after at home and abroad; in the workshop, room, and on the rail. The seed thus shown would in gathered into a ripe and yellow harvest.

Whenever the funds of the society permitted of it, pupils and teachers to be employed for lecturing, at the society through all parts of the country, on chosen subjects.

The foregoing arrangements would, of course, be changed by the views of the first meeting of the society have only ventured to indicate the kind of plan which I myself to my own mind.

In the power of such a society, to do immense good. I have faith. The mere performance of its first duties would tend to people together for useful purposes—to train them for the country—and would afford a wholesome substitute for idleness and intemperance, and for the immoralities of Sue and Reynolds, and other secret public morals. And when the society grew strong enough its second duty, it would become the guide of sound policy and aid powerfully in the achievement of Ireland's true

Into your hands I now confide the management, hoping it will meet your views and win your sanction.

“Dr. Cane’s proposal,” commented Mr. Duffy, to be accepted hastily. It is far too serious for that he aims at is too high, the damage and discredit would be too great, to allow of any ill-judged consent. If we undertake this work we must *do it* and I am not prepared to promise my share of it. I have seen the recruits upon whom my friend reckons, and their strength and skill for the work. My experience in public affairs in this country all tends to this—that he are pledged to an undertaking, it ultimately falls through and if you do not make sure of a certain number of willing workers in the first instance, it falls upon one or two and stifles them. There is no want of fit men and I believe no insurmountable difficulty in gathering them together; but we must take nothing for granted like this. For myself I answer, that if Dr. Cane’s well-founded, if workmen be forthcoming for the purposes, I am ready to take my full share in the labour and responsibility.”

Gavan Duffy considered that Dr. Cane's scheme would tend to promote national pride and self-reliance, and he thought all of it for that reason. "The motive power," he often said, "the steam of all great enterprises, has been national pride. The English scattered the Armada, the French drove back allied Europe from her frontiers, America stretches her sheltering arm from the shores of Turkey to the coast of Australia, in the name and by the inspiration of national pride. You unman the people from whom you take it away. They are fit for nothing but the lowest offices of civilization." Duffy was of opinion that three classes of members were wanting.

1. Members who could write the necessary books and papers in an adequate manner ; or who, from their practical experience in business, or scientific knowledge of Irish resources, or their familiarity with the enterprise of other countries, could propose and explain new developments of industry. Of this last class America and Australia would, he hoped, send us useful auxiliaries.
2. Men who were willing to make a moderate outlay of money in trying any safe and well devised experiment in Irish industry on their own locality or elsewhere.
3. Young men who were ready to become the local executives, the active eyes and hands of the Union. Who would appoint its agents in their district, inspect its industrial schools or societies (when it has got them) and rejoice in spending their leisure and their sweat in the good cause. "But let the working members be men who mind their own business—no good comes of idlers or walking gentlemen ; while an occasional hour from the energetic self-reliant man will leave sure results behind.

Among the recruits most indispensable is a man fit to be honorary Secretary. He ought to have leisure, and capacity, and a passion for Ireland. He ought to be able and willing to superintend the publications, and stand like a sentinel over them, to exclude rigidly all nonsense and stupidity. He must hold in his hand the threads of many correspondences, and keep men who can seldom meet *en rapport* with each other. Where is this Minister of Public Instruction to be found ?" * *

Gavan Duffy concluded a well digested article with these words :—

"Whoever is willing to help the work in any department ought to speak now. Our enemies affirm that the dazzling and the unreal alone fire our imagination, and that we kick impatiently in the harness of practical work. There are some men, I hope, ready to belie

this imputation. Or, at least, who know nothing grander than work that will raise their country. It is perfectly practicable to see on one hand the mass of the grees, engaged in industrial pursuits, the profits of which go into their own pockets; and on the other, the youth—dualy reared in love and knowledge of their country—boy is fed on the memories of Alfred and Elizabeth, a student becomes as familiar with the heroes of his nation on the walls of Versailles and in the public gardens at Paris, as with the faces round his father's hearth.

A Celtic Union that deserved the name would not be an Island. It would be welcomed by our kinsmen in America, and in the predestined empire of Australia; perhaps, by the men of our blood, who have won or are winning in the courts of Europe. But we must begin humbly at the beginning. Whether we are to begin at all, indeed, the response Dr. Cane's generous appeal meets from

The following number of the *Nation* announces the receipt of a considerable number of letters on Dr. Cane's appeal, containing suggestions for the practical management of the project, and generous offers of aid. The recruits consisted of gentlemen, and workers, and formed a good week's work towards the preliminary work. "The extent of the project," wrote Duffy, "will be exactly in proportion to the mind that goes into the project."

One correspondent in the course of a long letter, after stating the reasons for his objections, went on to say:—

"I take it for granted that the working man is the object of your solicitude—the mark at which you aim. Then, that you do not shoot over his head. There is a danger, by which you may shoot over his head—by writing above his educational stature; by not hitting his interest in the subjects; and by aiming at a pocket bigger than he has. It is necessary that these three 'Irish bulls' stand together, the man and the mark, in order to miss it; any one of which, if your literary quiver into a right angle, or rather a wrong one, will miss the mark."

"Thus would I take up each subject in the order of importance, and, as there is a feverish desire throughout the province for information, I would act promptly on Dr. Cane's suggestion, and draw attention to the written by the oral. If I spared his tongue and feet by substituting the pen for the foot, would he be, in one year, would he be, even now, a Temperance?"

A remarkably sagacious and experienced man has taken the whole project on so solid and business-like a basis, that he can not do better than quote him on this point:—

"There is one eminently practical suggestion in Dr. Cane's appeal, that of the Guarantee Fund. It will make your success

tain, without increasing your outlay by a penny. But let it be fund, not a paper security. Let the money be lodged in bank before you take a single step. If you are content with "promises to pay," the publisher will consider them of no great value from the trouble and difficulty of collecting them; or if some of the founders of the Union, such as Dr Cane and yourself, become personally liable to him on the strength of them, you will find it an awkward task to be recompensed for any losses. I would rather have £100 in bank as the best possible guarantee for £200. And if £200, or any sum actually necessary, can not be got, then the country is *not* ripe for the proposal."

Another correspondent wrote:—

"The only difficulty is, who shall write the books? They will be bought and sold again and again, if they are only worthy of the character of the project. On this score, however, I am delighted that you are not tied down to weekly or monthly appearances; and if, before this day twelve months, the Celtic Union has published three or four volumes, as good as the best of the 'Library of Ireland,' with a series of Tracts and Lectures, well written on well chosen subjects, I should say it had done well, and that it would be sure to do better."

"I think that we ought to have, within that time, a volume on Irish agriculture—about which the people are in a megrim since the revolutionary action of the famine and the corn laws. Twenty years hence I feel confident that the farming race of Ireland will be very different from what it was before the famine as a meadow is from a bog."

"An Irish Farmer's Manual well done, as familiar as Cobbett's 'Rural Economy,' for example, would be a godsend to the country people. You ought to publish an edition of Mangan in good time. But I think, to begin, that we should have an Almanack ready for the new year—the Almanack of the Celtic Union; with the dates of Irish births, battles, and events generally—bordered with national mottoes and mottoes, and the thoughts of Irish Thinkers, and illustrated with perhaps half a dozen good woodcut likenesses."

A young journalist from a thriving provincial town, debated the necessity and feasibility of making fiction the chief feature of the proposed papers.

"I am convinced," he says, "that to make the project fully successful it will be necessary to unite fiction with fact. The general public are only after what is called light reading, and cannot bring themselves to study history or science. For the one who reads the latter would peruse the former. Therefore it is that this light reading, in its vast circulation and influence, has the greatest power in forming the minds of a generation, and consequently presents an excellent medium for reforming or creating a public taste and spirit. Historical tales, laid in the most inspiring periods, and stories in which opinions and facts might be interwoven, would, in my opinion,

do more to advance the good cause than pamphlets on subjects could ever effect. In the first place, they would be of being read; and, in the second, the instructive power from their connexion with the interest of the tales, pressed upon the memory. What has contributed more to the moralisation of Paris or of London than its light literature? The most frightful immoralities are dressed up and disguised in a garb, that nothing else is read by the people. This is evident."

A very different caste of man wrote :—

"It was with real and heartfelt pleasure that I received on last Saturday a letter from Dr. Cane. I began to think of a mechanic, with no other recommendation than a hearty recommendation of the success of such an Union as the one suggested, would be as a member? The want of such a 'Union' has been felt in this country, by the impotence of England and France of that abominable and atheistic literature called cheap literature, an insatiable thirst for reading gratified, through the medium of some such means as this will be the means eventually of destroying the good which our people have been so justly celebrated."

An Englishman said :—

"The Celtic Union should, amongst its first duties, be to deliver in each of the principal towns of England, lectures which should be to enlist the sympathies of the people out of whom a local committee should be formed to co-operation with the Union. I think reading rooms should be established for the support of which a small weekly contribution of one or two pence per week should be paid by each of these rooms a lecture should be delivered once a week on a national subject, such as eras of our history, the lives of our great men, the natural products and material resources of the country. Perhaps a lecture on the duties of manhood would not be unprofitable. These subjects should be handled, at least, not alone in a general aspect, but with a special reference to their connection with the country and her future."

The country seemed interested in an unusual number of adherents thronged forward through the medium of the letters. A gentleman who had labored to organize a literary and political, sent some shrewd advice.

"To work the project successfully there are three principles—first, a publisher who would look after the business; secondly, a committee who would direct the taste, and supply the matter; and thirdly, a capital which would act as a sort of indemnity to the publisher. As for a publisher, no

McGlashan or Mr. James Duffy would meet the necessity. As for the capital, five hundred pounds would be wanting in fifty ten pound shares. The shares to be paid as subscriptions, and all liability utterly avoided. The best price for the volumes would be sixpence, in order to undersell the shilling novels, and to give a stamp of variety to the publications. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge worked in this way. Charles Knight was the publisher; Lord Brougham and a few others were the mind of the movement; and Lord Denman and others, not forgetting the politics of their youth (a custom rather proverbial among successful men in Ireland) supplied the guarantee fund, some of them giving £500. Years ago they succeeded; while Mr. Bentley's last proclamation of a design to reduce to *one-third* the price of original books, shows that the progress of cheap literature in England is still onward, and it will be so until it meets the level of French and Belgian production."

A popular contributor to our periodical literature said:—

"I read with sincere pleasure Doctor Cane's proposal and your comments. It is a return to *first* principles, and resolves itself (if I am right) into a printing press, fed by sound heads and pure hearts, and worked by honest hands. In this I most fully concur. My subscription is ready, and whenever you fix the amount it shall be remitted. The Library of Ireland was left a great but unfinished project—a noble temple of scattered and incomplete columns now to be completed."

An Ulster friend, who has no broken faith to answer for, sent a long letter full of practical suggestions. His description of how the Scotch booksellers have contrived to create a market in Ulster is good:—

"An association, such as your friend proposes, lies under a difficulty from diversity and degrees of opinion to which the single Thinker is not open; he can correct, he can expunge, he can destroy. Now, who will do this for a Union?—who has time to do it? If a man had leisure and capacity, and devotedness to undertake this work, *he* would be the best "Union"—or two or three, if they had leisure; but such leisure implies fortune. They might do it if they had agreed on principles generally acceptable to the country, and acknowledged themselves obedient to the reasonable control of a dictator—your 'Minister of Public Instruction.'

"It is very painful, and I have felt it repeatedly, to find Germany, Scotland, England, America, and France, represented by originals or translations on every bookshelf and bookstall in this province, and scarcely one book written or printed in Ireland. Is it that the Irish publisher is not of the same genius as the Scotch Black and Chambers, or Routledge and Bohn of London? One day's journey in any part of Ulster would convince you that the Scotch publisher *must* succeed with the masses. His humble travelling agents radiate in every district. Under rain, snow, or summer heat, they march on, on—men of quiet age, decently dressed, civil, intelligent, *soberly*.

Nothing turns them aside from their appointed course, one of them, and he will tell you he circulates the editions of Mr. Blackie or Mr. Fullarton of Glasgow, for age and youth, for scientific men and humble travelers, history, romance. He will talk to you for his edition of Burns—our great poet, sir—and the and Tanahill, and Professor Wilson, and Scott, and are our Moore, Drennan, Mangan, Griffin, Carleton in the drawing-room, and denied the homage of a Certainly, they own a wider sphere than they have good sense and virtue to grace a cottage, sit by the loom, or by the poor seamstresses fireside. Your forbid it; they will not send persons like the Scotch introduce them to the homely farms of the country, or go in any coarser dress than gilding and fine line 'Penny Magazine' and 'Dublin Penny Journal' And why were not the volumes of the 'National Library' more read? Because they had no such introduction would have given them—no one to carry them to solitary farmhouses, and to tell even the roadside quack *all about Ireland.* Mr. Fullarton would have made them read, and treasured, and talked about in every town before a month. The Scotch publisher meets difficulties make them. Go to the country circulating libraries find the same want of everything about a nation which first in her people's thoughts. A volume of Banim, a poems, you may find, indeed, but not one syllable of celebrities. I have the catalogues of ten of these, some of which I have advised in the formation of taking an active part in their control and management have neither leisure nor inclination, I could not effect of Irish books; being always met with complaints of difficulty of procuring them, and with the suspicion that Nationality was assumed, as a cover for the introduction of opinions."

There is a sound and wise thought in this suggestion.

"There is a class that no one has a kind word for, but part of the project will be of incalculable advantage to the men of the towns. My belief is, that not twenty in a hundred are wilfully idle. They are the victims of false education, careless parents, or proud, heartless, improvident. Would they not, being every day at wits' end to discover a means of escape from frost-bitten benevolence, hail the practical suggestions of the 'Union' with exultation, and guiding them to the sweet bread of industry."

An interesting letter from the O'Donoghue, now M.P. for Tipperary, also furnished some additional suggestive matter, as well as a substantial proof of

his sympathy. The same remark applies to an able communication from the Rev. Mr. Gillouly, Professor of the *elles Lettres* at the Collège d'Argentan in France.

Amongst the letters which passed between Dr. Cane and Mr. Duffy, M.P., at this period was the following :—

"MY DEAR DUFFY—I have carefully considered your wise and able commentary, and feel satisfied that your suggestions, for a lesser subscription than one guinea, and for smaller guarantees, are right. I therefore concur in recommending a 10s. subscription, and a guarantee from such as please to volunteer it, of five to twenty-five pounds. But, after all, these matters must be settled at the first meeting of the 'Union,' which I anticipate is not far distant.

I was of opinion we should assemble and organise as soon as we had a hundred adhesions ; already over half that number have pressed forward to aid us in the work, and within a few brief weeks, I trust we shall see the ' Celtic Union ' fully embodied as a working staff.

I quite agree with you, it is not necessary to publish names as yet, until the first meeting is over, and the title and rules of the Society are adopted. Yet, looking at the names you have already received, and those which I now send you, I feel that we can no longer call it a ' forlorn hope.' It is an advance column, and when you look at the education, intellect, and moral and reputed worth and character of the men who approve of the move, they constitute a column of officers, and of working and able ones too.

The name has been objected to by some. I am for the present in favour of it ; but it will be a fair matter for discussion when the first meeting takes place.

Yours truly,

ROBERT CANE."

In another letter Dr. Cane observed :—

"Our first meeting ought to consist solely of those who, up to the date of holding, had sent in their adhesions. I would suggest that this meeting be held on Monday, the 21st inst., at the hour of six o'clock, so as to admit of such country members as might wish to attend it returning home by the evening trains.

"The first business of the meeting, having chosen a Chairman and Secretary for the day, ought to be to adopt resolutions declaratory of general principles, and then to resolve itself into a committee of organisation ; to sit from time to time to enrol members, collect necessary information ; to prepare a series of suggestions as to future work, and to call together a meeting of the Union so soon as the number of members amounted to **FOUR HUNDRED**, with a Guarantee fund of £200, and an annual income of two hundred pounds. The 'Union' will then be strong enough to commence its first work, and then—but not until then—it might elect its permanent secretary.

"Now, I do hold a very positive opinion on the nature of the duties of this office, and how it should be filled.

"It should not be an honorary office. The secret paid officer, and resident in Dublin. I quite concur in the great importance attachable to this office being well filled. The deal of our progress and success will depend upon how good he be an able man, but one who *would* act under a local committee. He would have a large amount of labour to do in correspondence and literary work. He should be a man of advice, advising and suggesting upon these and all matters of the Union, but his actions should not be independent of the committee. There are two things he should be—an educated gentleman and a man of business."

"We should be in no haste to choose this officer; first, because we knew our strength in money, we could not fix his salary; secondly, because a couple of months will show us a larger field of action."

"Until the Union be fully installed, it would be better to have merely an honorary secretary of committee, allowing him to act as tance of clerk, if needed. For similar reasons, it may be better at first to take regular and permanent rooms for meetings."

"Since I last wrote I have received some valuable letters of useful hints and suggestions, which I will publish in the *NATION*."

"One of these adhesions is the able and honest editor of the *Know Liberal* newspaper. The second is from a young poet and nationalist. The third is from a highly educated priest of Ossory. The fourth, a worthy curate of the same parish. A fifth, is an active and talented town councillor, of the same town. And the sixth, from one whose deep love of Ireland has made him dear to all. Each of them is an able man and fits to circle around him."

But perhaps the most judicious and clear-sighted criticism in reference to the Celtic Union, and its prospects, is that expressed by the *Kilkenny Journal*:—

"THE *NATION* of Saturday has told us that ours was the only objection raised against Dr. Cane's proposition. The contemporary fell into a slight mistake. We conjure you to be cautious whatever—we simply recommended caution. And there is no man living who can appreciate the necessity of such public enterprises attempted in Ireland, better than Dr. Cane himself. He knows that as a race we are only too ready to rush into conclusions, and that our performance is often miserably defective. And it is solely because we possess a keen sense of this national failing, we did not at once become enamoured of the last writing on this subject. We then saw lying in the dust, grave and many. We see them still; but we must admit that we have lost some of their sterner features. Yet, as generations would be quite natural for us to overlook these when we are bent to a certain goal; and not observe a single obstacle until we stumbled upon them, and fell prostrate amidst universal ruin."

"There has been far too much of this; and, if we are to remain amongst us, there ought to be no more. We have lost wisdom in what is commonly considered a good way of dealing with adversity."

"To give a new impetus and direction to Irish intellect—to strike more the Horeb of the Celtic mind, and bid the waters gush forth in an abundant and refreshing stream—to unloose the icy bonds which defeat and disgust had flung around the fountains of song, and bid them lavish again their boundless treasures of genius and imagination, was truly an undertaking worthy of the loftiest ambition. But merit must be measured by its success; and we know nothing of the characters of either Charles Gavan Duffy or Dr. Cane, if they be content to have it decided by that test. Feeling thus, we have possibly leaned rather to the side of discouragement than of buoyant expectation; for we are well aware that in every project of this kind, for the *one* who will assume the disagreeable office of counselling and circumspection, there will be *ten* found to express the most unqualified approval. And experience has proved that the ten are not always the truer or safer guides."

Kilkenny, Nov. 16, 1853.

MY DEAR DUFFY.—Your assent that we should meet on Monday next, for the formation of a 'committee of organization' for the Celtic Union, expedites our progress, and will facilitate the enlargement of the number of members deemed necessary for a working commencement.

As we are now upon the eve of meeting, it will be useful to enter somewhat into the detail of the work before us, and to make some attempt at an exposition of the duties entailed upon ourselves and upon those who undertake to be our fellow-labourers, and whose labours will thenceforward have commenced.

When that meeting assembles, if the opinion it expresses coincides with that already laid down, it will eventuate in a 'committee.' Upon that committee will then devolve the duties which for the past month have been yours largely and mine partially. And if it enters upon those duties, as I feel confident it will, a brief period will enable it to announce its work completed, the requisite sums of money paid in, and the required number of members duly enrolled. With what heartfelt assurance we shall hear that announcement. We shall hasten to meet it, to thank the committee for its able and efficient work, and thenceforth to start as 'The Celtic Union,' fully formed, well developed, and ready for the engagements made in its behalf.

If the course now about to be acted upon on Monday next—and which is the one advised by many of our friends—be the one approved and adopted, the first step taken by the meeting ought to be a resolution declaratory of the mental, social and political condition of the country, and the consequent necessity for such a Union.

Then, a resolution, that we approve of the formation of such a Union, and that we constitute ourselves into a committee for the purpose of organizing it.

Next, that a chairman and honorary secretary of the committee be then chosen.

That the annual subscription be 10s. for each member.

That, in addition to annual subscriptions, it is considered necessary to commence with a fund, independent of subscriptions, to be called a Guarantee Fund, and which shall not be less than £200.

"Thus far as regards money and men. I know your eyes are anxiously watching for the heads that will think, and the hands that can wield pens, to write and work for the country. Some of those men are already around you. Even your limited knowledge shows me a goodly number of them, whose capacity I know and whose labours I build upon as material, which is already ours. But were it even otherwise—if we had not six men of capacity amongst us now—I would feel the fullest confidence that when our muster of 400 is complete, it will as surely furnish us with the necessary number of heads, as an enlistment of 400 men in France would have furnished its own officers in the days of the first Napoleon.

"It might be well if, out of the committee of organization, a sub-committee was formed who would have, as their sole duty, the arrangement of all suggestions thrown out in correspondences, or newspapers, or elsewhere, or made by the committee themselves, as to the works to be undertaken by the society, the order in which they should be undertaken, the prices at which they should be issued, the men who volunteered to write or who should be asked to write to them. These should be all carefully noted in a suitable book, together with all such hints and advices, or offers as to publication, terms, and costs thereof as come within the committee's reach. Such a book would form a valuable aid to the committee of the Union hereafter, and preserve for adoption all that is really good in the letters now pouring in upon us.

"There are two immediate duties before the committee of organization—to prepare a suitable member's card, and to get up a report or address upon the nature and objects of the Union, its organization, rules, and plans, and to have these distributed into all parts of the country—a kind of prospectus, to place in the hands of our friends in every town in Ireland, and to send into England, and Scotland, and across the Atlantic, in fine, wherever the committee considers it advisable to use them as instruments for the propagandism of our Nationality.

"Since I last communicated with you I have received several letters of advice, and some conveying valuable adhesions. One comes from the borders of our beautiful lakes, from a high-minded Nationalist, who still loves and hopes for the country which has long regarded him as a true patriot. Another from the same quarter, written by a member of the legal profession, who has been ever prominent in the cause of Ireland. A third comes from the City of the Violated Treaty, and bears the name of one well known to the country as the fearless advocate of truth and liberty. A fourth comes from the far North, and gives to us a member of the medical profession, whose National writing and lectures have made him long a public man. And a fifth from a young professional man, who, travelling much through the country, and loving it well, sees and appreciates the want we undertake to supply. Upon Monday these names will all be made public. Until then farewell.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CANE."

The members of the Celtic Union had a preliminary meeting on Monday, Nov. 21. It was well attended by the class who constitute the strength of a party, or an organization—young, cultivated, uncorrupted men. Several letters of adhesion were received from Nationalists of high social and personal distinction in the country—from members of parliament, clergymen, doctors, engineers, country gentlemen, journalists, civic authorities, merchants, traders, and artisans. The members on the books up to that day amounted to one hundred, and the subscriptions and donations to the Guarantee Fund, actually paid, to the sum of £75. As no canvassing of any kind had been employed, beyond the publication of the organ and of comments on it, this was regarded as a decided success. It encouraged the meeting to form a committee of organization, with instructions to issue a prospectus and appeal to the country for their final verdict on the proposal. The understanding seemed to be, that if four hundred members were enrolled and the Guarantee Fund filled up to the amount of £200 on the first of January, the Union might then be formally inaugurated and commence operations. But that, short of this substantial support, it should attempt nothing.

Charles Gavan Duffy occupied the chair, and made a sensible speech, in which he regretted that the supply of literary laborers ready for work was not in proportion to the extent of the ordinary adherents. He declared that his own labours, as a Member of the Legislature, and as Editor of the *Nation*, were too onerous to admit of his aiding the good work he should wish. But he promised nevertheless to do something substantial. Mr. Duffy also expressed himself to the following effect.

"The nature of the publications would necessarily depend more or less on the system. If the Union operated chiefly through existing publishers, it might hope in time to have many classes of books, from a Primer to a Cyclopaedia, and embracing the magic circle of fiction and poetry, written in a national spirit, by creating and ensuring a market for them. If it published for itself exclusively, or as far as it does so, its books ought, if possible, to be worthy of the preliminary public which has heralded their birth. Some correspondents seem to have ambition the creation of a petty literature such as abounds across the channel in *Family Heralds* and *Home Circles*. This is honest work for somebody to do, but it is by no means the task set before the Celtic Union. I conceive our duty is to secure good books by the most capable men of our race, each with a soul and purpose in it, each worth reading many times and publishing in many editions—

each tending to some practical purpose, or planting opinion, or, at lowest, raising up from the dust and annuinous obscurity some man who has served Ireland. The volumes of this kind is as many as any single year will each of them might mark an epoch in opinion. They rapidly. In the three and twenty volumes of the 'Land,' published in two years, there is a good deal there are half a dozen books which circulated more widely than any published in Ireland since the Union, and which have writings and speaking of all who write and speak in the than any one not accustomed to note such phenomena. It is books of this calibre, and higher when attain want.

Of 'Papers for the People' we may hope, perhaps a dozen or two in the year; each of them also aimed at amusement in this idea of a practical aim: MACAULAY as pleasant as a romance, and 'more popular at the Library than the last new novel;' DICKENS has the driest subjects—about public markets, record offices, tables and new inventions, and projects, for example, compete successfully with his own fiction. But there is more generous interest to be awakened in the broad bringing him face to face with the martyrs and common race, and by projecting his imagination into its future, which even genius can invest lower topics. If we people with true pictures of the past of Ireland, and to a better hereafter, we will not speak to an indifference. It is my clear conviction, therefore that we must binding us to publish whether we are ready or not; ambition ought to be, not so much to have many publishers make them such that each will be memorable in Ireland.

Charles Gavan Duffy having vacated the chair Fitzpatrick was called thereto on the motion of I

In the *Nation* of the following week we find pressing, if possible more intelligibly and unmisapprehensions which had begun to fill him in supply of men qualified to wield pens in the good

"On the supposition that the Union is to do itself," he wrote, "and by itself, the supply is serious. There are not many men of the National Party who are or intellectual workers, and of that number some from their other engagements, and some would not cowardice, enlist publicly in the ranks of the Union. correspondents have expressed an enthusiastic cor a host of writers would fly to our aid; but here, not with rhetoric, but with a matter of fact

ve some experience, and I affirm that the supply would be
cient. On the other hand, I believe it will be abundant,
we are content to suggest, to aid, and to facilitate whatever
rk we can get done indirectly; to turn to account whatever
well done already; and to attempt, on our own behalf, only
at is not available in either of these ways."

Immediately after the meeting of the 21st November, Dr.
ne returned to Kilkenny, from whence he addressed on the
lowing day, the following letter to Mr. John Cashel Hoey,
w, of course, for the first time published.

" Kilkenny, November 22nd, 1853.

MY DEAR MR. HOEY

I send you annexed to this note, a bank order for eleven pounds,
ing my ten pounds to the guarantee fund, and ten shillings, my
rs subscription; the other ten shillings is the subscription of Rev.
rick Power of Carrick-on-Suir.

As Duffy proposes to lodge the money in bank in our joint names,
ink the lodgments should be in a different form for each fund.
as subscriptions will be lodged as a current account, and the gua-
tee monies as a lodgement to receive interest.

I had to leave in such a hurry on yesterday, that I had not time
alk over with you all, some matters we ought to have spoken
n. Duffy is opposed to publishing names yet awhile, and I have
confidence in his sound judgment, I defer my opinion to his,
ugh not fully satisfied in the reasons given. However, perhaps it
ht be well in your notice of the business to say that 90, or perhaps
ay be, by Thursday, 100 names were enrolled—that amongst them
e 2 Members of Parliament, 7 Priests, 6 Physicians, 2 Lawyers,
olicitors, 8 Editors, 7 Merchants, as the numbers may really be.

Would it not also be well to state the amount of money, and
much to guarantee fund and how much subscriptions were ac-
ly paid in?

You and he ought also to arrange the secretaries names, which
tively ought to be made public at once, and I take it, that a com-
ent assistant secretary should be *at once* employed to make out
ks, accounts, &c., and to arrange correspondence.

I have had a vision continually before me since my return of that
and earnest looking Kingstown democrat, who hits the bull's eye
0 yards and thinks all men alike, because the rats eat a dead
ocrat's hip-bone as readily as a democrat's. Verily, we are a
nge people, and still more strange as a reasoning people.

"Yours ever truly,

"ROBERT CANE.

When you have the assistant secretary, get him to send me a list
he paid monies and the members' names."

On November 24, Dr. Cane writes to Mr. Hoey, in reply to
request that he would send the committee a draft of a Pros-
tus for general distribution:—

"MY DEAR MR. HONY—I will of course obey the had hopes that Duffy's able pen would have done it know his time is terribly pressed upon.

"To do the prospectus it will be necessary to have of Monday, of which I have no copy, also to have the now enrolled; and the amount of money now paid in. secretary ought to be at once engaged. Will you do these matters to be sent to me next post, and release further work by getting the assistant secretary app concur in whatever arrangement Duffy and you make, so will the committee.

"I send you a post office order for £1, being the the Editor of the *Kilkenny Journal*, and John Carroll.

"I rejoice the almanack is decided on.

"Yours ever tr

"ROBE

The dearth of competent literary workmen conti an occasional chill upon the ardour of Mr. Duffy' success of the Celtic Union. "Where," he frequen "shall we get men qualified to succeed those wh executed, with such consummate ability, the *Li land*?" We find among the unpublished papers Union, the following letter of suggestion, address John Fitzpatrick to Gavan Duffy, in reply to th of the latter.

"Benhedar, Monkstown

November

Will you permit me to address a few observations ference to the *modus operandi* of the proposed Celtic U

I conceive that one of our greatest difficulties at enlist the services of experienced literary men v will be to write the books for the Celtic Un men, I take it, will hardly be philanthropic eno pile the books referred to without handsome pec pense. The Society is not by any means rich enough liberal manner that it ought—either authors for their lishers for their trouble. We therefore should g economically as possible, but at the same time in earne full consciousness of the importance of our mission.

I need not remind you of the high position which "*I for Ireland*," has held in the literary world, for the la Where would we get a set of books more pregnant more soul-stirring in their appeals, more vivid in tions of alien misrule, or more eloquent in inculcating self-reliance and self-respect? I fear it would be long published by the Celtic Union could think of competing

Library for Ireland.

I would therefore venture to propose that the Celtic

urchase from Mr. James Duffy, the copyright and stereotype plates that national and invaluable series of books, and then republish them at a moderate but remunerative price. It may be argued by the members of your committee that the Irish people are tired of the library of Ireland—that they have the volumes off by heart already: but I can assure those gentlemen that so far from the multitude being familiar with them, they are, with comparatively few exceptions, utterly unconscious of their existence. *The Library for Ireland never got into the hands of the people—it was published at too high a price for them, and the consequence was that the books instead of enlightening the poor people merely circulated in the drawingrooms and around the firesides of the rich.*

Most of the men who wrote those books are either snatched away by death, or exiled from the dear old land of their birth. The contributors to the *Library for Ireland* have been scattered and disorganised, and in all probability, will never again fall back into their old strong position. The flame of nationality is dying out, and we should lose no time in throwing fuel on the rapidly expiring embers. I search for authors to compose the books—to stipulate with them on their terms—to cogitate over the subjects which ought to be selected to write upon, &c., would occupy entirely too much time. I ought earnestly to begin at once or not at all, and it appears to me that a very considerable delay, harassing of patience, and waste of money, would result from the publication of new and original works proposed by the members of the Celtic Union. In the *Library for Ireland* we have the matter as it were, 'cut and dry' for us: and I think the sooner the copyright is purchased, and those admirable compositions republished for the million, the better it will be for Ireland and the world. Let each volume of the re-issue contain a new preface, racy of the soil—let the uniform price be only fourpence—and let the name and seal of the society be branded on the covers in order that the name may become a familiar 'Household Word' through the length and breadth of the land. Let agents who sympathise with the project and who will throw themselves heart and soul into it be appointed throughout every town in Ireland—let a staff of hawkers be retained whose duty it will be to diffuse the books through the remotest country parts—far away from towns and cities; and if those agents of the Union only exert themselves half as energetically as the Bible readers do in their distribution of tracts our good work will prosper—and a signal success be as certain as the sun.

The books, ought, of course, to have a cover with a new national historical design by some competent Irish artist, so that the popular eye may not only be attracted but educated.

I may observe in conclusion that new notes and appendices may be introduced with propriety.

While the re-issue is appearing, new and more fascinating works may be in preparation. But certainly half the secret is to begin at once, before the warm ardour of the country cools, or the present active spirit of sympathy weakens, from vexatious and disheartening delays. We should begin economically though, and with caution. On

that depends in a great measure our success. I have an economical expedient, and trusting it may meet with your approbation, I remain, &c.

The President of the Celtic Union wrote to Mr. Duffy on the following day as follows :—

“ MY DEAR SIR—The contents of your letter to Mr. Duffy have been under serious consideration, and its suggestions must be presented to the others, for the consideration of a future committee. It is organized so soon as the Celtic Union is properly in being. I am delighted to see the interest you take in the cause, and wish we had a few more earnest men of the same calibre. In reply to your remark I hope the committee will send you the Prospectus by next week.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT DUFFY

The want of a prospectus was greatly felt. Mr. Duffy at length drew up one, and forwarded it to Mr. C. Duffy for his approval. Mr. Duffy, however, considering it too diffuse, and verbose, cancelled the manuscript, and sent *de novo* to the following effect.

“ For years the voice of Nationality has been drowned. In the interval a poisonous foreign literature has crept among our People, and a sordid utilitarianism, which is a rival and substitute for our national rights, has grown up and influence. At length it is boasted that the national land is dead.

It is time to face these dangers. A few men who are alive to the flame of nationality ; who think the corrupt and immoral books will be best resisted by a literature which is itself with the struggles and triumphs of our race ; who are conscious of the resources of a nation, which we still possess, can be roused under the impulse of that national spirit which has been the stimulant and the safeguard of States, propose to form a Celtic Union.

They propose that by means of this Union the Nationality of the land, without distinction of creed or class, shall renew itself ; that they shall employ their influence to give a national direction to the intellectual and moral life of the country ; that they shall publish and encourage the publication of books and tracts, dealing with historical, political, and industrial subjects, calculated to keep up the spirit, and to inform the minds of our people.

They desire that the Union may become an external force in the education of our children, from which a knowledge of our own country is so habitually excluded ; that it may counteract the industrial training and social ambition, the absence of

men to toil in the lowest and worst-paid employments in the world, and that it may herald the way to that better future for which, believe, Providence has destined our country."

The rejected prospectus was enclosed in the following letter from the Doctor's:—

My dear Mr. Hoey. I send you the rough draft of the prospectus which I hope may please the committee. The resolutions I consider ought to publish with the prospectus. I think Duffy's name ought to go in as chairman of one of the committees. It might be neatly printed as a small sheet or letter, or as a small pamphlet the size of this paper. I think a couple of thousand will be needed."

The growing importance of the Society was attested by a very deliberate, and most unnecessary public assault upon it in the pen of a Catholic priest more remarkable for the careful fluency of his composition than for the strength and comprehensiveness of his judgment. "Save us from our enemies, we know our enemies," is an old and trite aphorism. The Rev. Mr.—, if we remember rightly, compared Dr. Cane to Voltaire, seeking to impregnate the young mind of Ireland with godless ideas. Mr.— in his public letter complained that Dr. Cane had sent his son to a Protestant school; and this comprised, we believe, the head and front of his offend-

Mr. William J. Fitzpatrick considering that the Rev. gentleman's attack was materially calculated to injure the prospects of the Society, lost no time in apprising Dr. Cane of its appearance. Dr. Cane promptly acknowledged Mr. Fitzpatrick's alliance.

Kilkenny, December 12th. 1853.

MY DEAR SIR—I am glad to see the interest you take in our Union, and to observe how watchful you are of our external as well as internal affairs. I had seen Mr.—'s letter, to which I attach, and the little will attach, little importance here: and if it affects the Union at all it will be to serve it, by giving it notoriety amongst a class, as knowing but little about it, while it must be obvious to all that deep personal antagonism actuates the writer, against what he calls "the real head," i.e. Duffy and "the Kilkenny head," who sent children to a Protestant school, i.e. myself. I have been looking for some such attacks, and wondered they had not come sooner. It will be necessary to our very existence, and I count Mr.—'s a breeze to the storms of wrath through which I hope we will steer our gallant bark.

It is a question for sound and good council, whether Mr. —

should be yet answered, or waited for until he should write, which I apprehend he will. Mark you the Editor's subject though he is personally addressed.

Mr.—— has not a college; he has a small semi-education, and while he opposes in a school puff the Union flag, the very best of the secular clergy round him have beside whose names his will look shy indeed.

I will communicate with Duffy about his letter, at a future course yet. In truth I hope for higher game, and more powder and shot for them.

I am glad you are at work on Cloncurry and need some family influence to get at Cloncurry's papers. I hope you have; if not, a new memoir of Emmet and energy would take well, and the materials for proper selection, and condensation, and to be written. I am always glad to hear from you.

Yours faithfully

ROBERT

P.S. Have you seen the *Carlow Evening Post*? It has an able leader in praise of the Celtic Union—praise of Mr.——'s attack."

Mr. Gavan Duffy took the same view as Dr. Rourke. His cruel assault upon a really excellent Institution, which he characteristically observed to Mr. Fitzpatrick, was very uneasy about Mr. S——'s enmity. He is one of those to whom it is pleasant to have upon the other side.

The project had by this time reached America, and was favorably received there by the Irish people. The object of the Celtic Union was neither revolutionary nor seditious, the hostility of John Mitchel, to it and to its members, knew no bounds, nor chivalrous courtesy. He regarded it as a humbug; and his antagonism has been turning many of the Irish in America from its aims. Irish saints, including Columbkille, were ridiculed in the same breath by Mr. Cane. Cane, meanwhile, continued his correspondence with Cashel Hoey.

"MY DEAR MR. HOEY.—I enclose you the second copy of the report sent by Dr. Rourke for himself and nine other Euns."

"Duffy's article in to-day's *Nation*, is a good and useful one. I am not yet satisfied about the non-publication of the names. Next week will shew whether I am in error. One thing is certain, the *officials'* names ought to be published in the programme, before the honorary secretaries and the assistant organizers are named. I think it would be well to have Duffy's name on the committee of suggestion, with mine as that of the

organisation, so as to stamp a living air on the work. The secretaries could be named at once, and let me have the result by to-morrow morning at farthest, that I may forward the draft of the prospectus to to-morrow night's post in time for your committee on Monday. "Would it not be well to have a brief programme of the "Celtic Union," in the almanac,* with official names also attached?

The next letter is addressed to Mr. William J. Fitzpatrick.

"Kilkenny, December 31, 1853.

"MY DEAR SIR—Thanks for the newspaper and your letter. It is evident your friend of the *Journal* is not quite friendly to the Celtic Union; but after all his paper being non-political, there is no excuse for his caution.

"I hope within a few days to send in some adhesions and some money to the Union.

"In writing the 'Cloncurry,' do not lose sight of the importance of making it brief, and forcible, and applicable to good, by pointing out moral for Irish aristocrats. I have no correspondence bearing on it, and know no one here who has, else I should gladly aid you.

"ROBERT CANE."

It may here be observed, that Mr. Fitzpatrick found he could not, in justice to the subject of his memoir, comply with Mr. Cane's wish that it should be brief. The manuscript, therefore, when completed, was not offered to the Celtic Union for publication.

Mr. Duffy's prospectus having been approved and printed, was extensively distributed by the assistant secretary, Mr. Emmessy. The good project met with a more cordial response, generally speaking, in England, than in many parts of this country. As the present seems a good opportunity for faithfully recording the rise and progress of an Irish literary society, which during its short career achieved some highly important bibliographical triumphs, we avail ourselves of it, having the singular advantages of unlimited access to the unpublished papers of the Celtic Union. To give an idea of the class of subscribers which thronged forward and their hearty tone of co-operation, we select at random from the archives of the Society a handful of its correspondence.

The Celtic Union Almanack was never published. The MS. was submitted to us at the time, and it certainly deserved to see the light. Every day in the year had its condensed record of an illustrious birth or death, or some stirring incident in Irish History, Literature, or Politics. Not a niche was vacant. The chronology was elaborate, and displayed a remarkable amount of learning and research.

"London, 26 Novem

"C. GAVAN DUFFY, Esq.—SIR.—I hail with great prospect of the establishment of the 'Celtic Union,' convinced, that under the auspices of those gentlemen prime movers, it must succeed—and do much to teach ple their true mission; also tend very much to dispel prejudice,' as regards the true character of the Celtic

"I shall be glad to become an annual subscriber, a

MICHAEL

"In addition to my own name, be pleased to add Ellerker, of the same address, as an annual subscriber.

SIR—I received the circular of the Celtic Union yesterday, and make every exertion early this week to get in all the can to forward before next Saturday. I was out of town some time; and since I returned I have been so busy a moment to look after the interests of the Union. much to have to say that the apathy and distrust of that I have spoken to, is most discouraging, at the striking proof of the necessity of a confederation such Union is likely to constitute. In the meantime I beg my earnest sympathy for the success of the under-taki

Your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS J.

James

MY DEAR SIR—Will you do me the honor of putting the list as an annual subscriber to the Celtic Union. One Pound to the Guarantee Fund.

JAMES PLUNKET

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

Springfield, T

MY DEAR DUFFY—You have wisely merged the project of the Guarantee Fund, in an immediate subscription, and Ten Shilling Subscribers, before commencing operations. I have sent half a Five pound note, my subscription to the "Celtic Union." Should there be any difficulty in making up the Guarantee Fund, course I will cheerfully send a second subscription.

I cannot attend your meeting on Monday, which I am sure, when the proper time arises, you will exhibit the breadth, and strength of our beginning.

As to obtaining some subscribers, although a general feeling exists to give money for public purposes, still I hope to enlist a few. Allow me to remain,

J. O'FLAHERTY

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

MY DEAR SIR—I send you my subscription to the Celtic Union. It is rightly started as a national project, and should be worked on business principles and rules, and hope to be successful in the face of the divisions and petty jealousies amongst the contributors.

Do you ever hear from our friend Butler?

Yours truly,

C. G. Duffy, M.P.

JAMES

Gazette Office, Longford.

The Editor of the *M. C. Gazette*, will of course insert the Prospectus of the Celtic Union gratis.

The Gazette is entirely at the service of the Council of the Union.

If Mr. Hennessy have any reports, &c., he will much oblige by forwarding them to the Gazette Office.

"14, St. James's square, London, 12 Dec. 1853.

My Dear Mr. Duffy—You will oblige me by entering as subscribers of 10s. each to the Celtic Union, Miss E. French; Mrs. Burke; Mrs. Val. French; Miss M. Moore; Miss L. Burke; Baron Anthony French; Valentine French; Major French; making £4, which with a donation of one from myself, the enclosed order will cover. Wishing you every success,

"Believe me, yours sincerely,

"J. T. FRENCH.

"C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

Lieut. Colonel.

"In token of the sincerity of my sympathy I beg to say that I am willing, at any time called upon, to contribute my mite of £5 towards setting the machinery in motion.

WILLIAM J. FITZPATRICK.

"Tuesday Evening.

"My Dear Friend—Enclosed is my subscription as one of the 400.

"When the rules are made out and it is agreed what sum each should pay to the Guarantee Fund my part will be forthcoming.

"I could write on the Natural History of Ireland, because I know it and have every bird and beast in its order, and it could be illustrated with cuts and views of Ireland as Jordan's.

Yours,

"T. A. UNDERWOOD."

"Cork, November 29.

"Dear Sir—A note was forwarded to me from Waterford this day signed I think by Mr. Murphy, stating that the first meeting of the Celtic Union would take place on Monday in Dublin, and requesting my attendance. I regret very much that some pressing matters of business must prevent me from being present at the inauguration of a matter in the success of which I take so deep an interest, I also regret that the lateness of the hour at which I arrived here this evening prevents me from procuring a Post-office order for the amount of my subscription; I will, however, on my return to Waterford, send it as well as my donation towards the Guarantee Fund, either to yourself or anyone else whom you may name.

"I think from 20 to 30 subscribers will be formed then at once, and if things go on well five times that number. Above all things let the books be well written at the beginning, even if you have to employ English writers; you must also have them attractive, as to induce our people to read what we want, we must commence if necessary to teach them childlike, from a painted Alphabet. Sincerely hoping that the meeting will be an auspicious one,

"Yours truly,

"Robert Cane, Esq., M.D."

"JOHN A. BLAKE, M.P."

" 69, South 1

" My Dear Mr. Duffy—I have received a note requesting me to forward you or Dr. Cane my subscription.

" I regret that I cannot attend; but I enclose £1 10s. as President of the Cork Young

" If I can forward your views in any other way which involve any great expenditure of time, any considerable any particular capability, I shall be glad to do so, for your sake, as that of the good cause.

" JOHN GEORGE M

" Wallstown, December

" Gentlemen—Being desirous of becoming a member of a society—a society, which I consider to be one of the best that could be established, to meet our present necessities, I feel anxious to know if a work on agriculture would

" The work in contemplation would be written according to a new plan; its grand object would be to unite theory and practice, and bring to the view of the agriculturist, within as far as possible, the leading and most important principles of that invaluable science.

" The work in question would contain clear, yet brief, and of the sciences of chemistry, geology, animal and vegetable botany, zoology, entomology, and farm architecture, relations to agriculture, the treatment of live stock, botany, disease, horticulture, domestic economy in general, and the effect of reforming the system of husbandry for the people, but also the social and moral condition of the inhabitants, would also be interspersed with pieces of original poetry.

" From an extensive study of the most approved works on natural subjects, from practical knowledge, and from the agricultural establishment at Glasnevin, I consider myself competent as an author for such a work.

" Wishing the society success in its arduous undertaking,

" JAMES

" 30 Victoria-street, Manchester, Nov

Dear Sir—Mr. Hennessy has done me the honor of inviting me to your meeting on Monday. I regret it is not in my power to be present on an occasion so important and interesting, but I am happy to render such assistance to the projected Union as I can be in my power.

I enclose a Post order for £2 2s., as my first annual subscription. Mr. O'Grady will, I suppose, write you from London. I am hotly engaged lately in defending the company of which I am a member. It has been most fiercely attacked by Reynolds.

THOMAS

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

" My dear Mr. Duffy—I enclose you a half-note—O'Ryan sends you the other half—to pay our subscription to the Celtic Union.

There is no hope for our poor country but in giving a national education to the masses. Individuals must be upon whom it will be unsuccessful, as it is at the present unfortunately among the instructed masses of the present day. But do you suppose, were the people educated, that we would witness an entire community denying in practice that to which they were solemnly pledged by an address or an unanimously adopted resolution? I should say not. At any rate let it be tried. Educate the masses—the old country is retrievably lost if mental enlightenment fail.

May God strengthen and abet you I fervently pray.

"P. BYRNE, C.C.,
"Carrick-on-Suir."

The Lutheran calumny which affixes to Roman Catholic priests the stigma of being favorable to the principle of mental illight, has so often been reiterated that it gives us pleasure whenever we find clergymen of the Church of Rome expressing opposite sentiments through the medium of letters never intended for the public eye. The slander, though as old as the Reformation from whence it sprang, and although it has been refuted as often as Lutheranism has given birth to novel acts and conflicting tenets, is nevertheless that above all others, even at the present day, most readily believed by Protestants. They totally lose sight of the historical fact, that successive Acts of Parliament forbade, under pain of death, any Catholic parent, priest, tutor, or guardian, to instruct a child in even the rudiments of general knowledge, or the fear and love of God. At last Charter Schools—those undisguised nurseries of Proselytism—were conceded to us; but their foul abuses rapidly grew, and spread so widely, that a Parliamentary Commission was constrained to inquire into, and report upon them. The Charter School Institution became too loathsome even for the hands which formed it, and like Frankenstein, who fled in disgust from the monster he had himself created, the Government at length utterly denounced and repudiated it. In this the notorious Kildare Place system of education, after some time, gave place; but although pledged to diffuse the benefits of education among all, without interfering with the religious tenets of any, it was eventually convicted before the world of a systematic and organised attempt to proselytise by wholesale. The mask of hypocrisy having been torn from the brow of the Kildare Place Society, by Bishop Doyle and others, it was unanimously resolved by the Catholic parents, pastors, and guardians of youth, that all children under their control should be at once withdrawn from these insidious seminaries of proselytism. They refused all compromise; and at last the National

System of Education was devised, and offered to by Lord Stanley. This was a vast and radical on every former system of public education in nevertheless it is still liable to many weighty objections. National teachers do their best to *denationalize* mind. Even their Book of Poetic Extracts shows beautiful lines,

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—
This is my own—my native land!"

escaped the vigilance of the original compilers applying to no particular country it has been in subsequent editions lest the youth of Ireland should national thought. A friend of ours, in touring South of Ireland was requested by the Teacher, the pupils of one of the National Schools. The "smothering" of Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Humphrey other English great guns; but the moment they alluded to some illustrious Irishmen of by-gone days panic-stricken, interposed saying, "Oh, sir, you to a scrape—we are not allowed to allude to that." This fact is a melancholy one. Until we are self-respect, and self-reliance we will grow into a gross Sentiments of adoration for everything English are sedulously inculcated in the National Schools every sentence which could by possibility have promoted national pride, self-respect, or self-reliance fully obliterated. Robert Cane felt this, and Celtic Union accordingly. We resume some of the dence of the men who wished it well.

300 *Regent's*

MY DEAR SIR—I beg you will excuse my troubling you with an enclosed contribution to the Guarantee Fund, 57. subscribers, one of whom I have not canvassed yet, for the reason why I don't say £10 to the Guarantee Fund, I seem too forward of me; but if there is any necessity I will send it with equal pleasure.

Clarke will write to you from somewhere in the country. He is actively engaged against the powers of darkness, I don't like writing his name, Reynolds.

Your efforts at Clonmel were most admirable, they will prove successful. One of our people gave me a small green neckerchief for you—which I will work for you. When "Reynolds" and a clique of rivals have done gibbetting us before the public as pl

people's funds, I shall set to with a heart and a half in support of "The Celtic Union," which I am sure will prove eminently useful, successful, and a lasting honor to the founders.

MICHAEL O'GRADY.

J. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

Manchester, Dec. 21st, 1853.

SIR—I received the circulars of the Celtic Union last evening; but subsequent to a meeting which I called by circular containing on one side the address which I got from the *Nation* of Saturday.

I regret to say that out of fifty of the most likely persons to whom I addressed the circulars only eight attended. We however formed ourselves into a working committee with a highly respected clergyman (Rev. Mr. McCann) as chairman. We intend waiting personally on the parties most likely to subscribe to the Union. One thing I think I may safely promise, that the subscriptions of the committee and their immediate friends will not be far short of £30.

FRANCIS J. POWER.

Nation Office.

I have just called to say that I am willing to give a subscription, not very large of course, to the Guarantee Fund of the Celtic Union. I shall also become a subscriber. I will not cumber you with suggestions, for I have none original; I might, however, do a little *work* hereafter. I have come to say this, because I know that the certainty of help, no matter how small, is encouraging. As I regard the Celtic Union, it is a necessity I would labour for its success.

C. NOWLAN, C.O.

Donnybrook.

Subscriptions from Leeds to the "Celtic Union."

Rev. M. O'Donnell, 10s.; Rev. John Leavy, 10s.; Edward Hayes, Esq., 10s.; John Quinn, Esq., 10s.; William Long, Esq., 10s.; an Irishman in England (Wm. Kenealy) anonymous, 10s. 6d. Total, £3 0s. 6d.

Grenagh, Killarney, Kerry Co.

DEAR SIR—I regret that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the committee of the Celtic Union, to be held to-morrow in Dublin, and have the pleasure of enclosing you £1 my subscription. I am sorry that I have nothing additional to send from this neighbourhood; and that so far as I have influence or inquiry, I have not been able better to advance the work; but this is nothing otherwise than I had at all times expected in this district. As it would appear that you are likely to-morrow fully to inaugurate the plans of the Celtic Union, and place it in a position to commence its work, and as I don't see any means of supervision or assistance which I can be at this distance; I would trouble you, in your new arrangements, to withdraw my name from any permanent position, such as treasurer or the like; but at the same time I am quite ready, to promote its objects in this locality, as far as lies within my reach.

DENIS SHINE LAWLOR.

J. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P.

" 15, *Charles-street*

"DEAR SIR.—My absence from town for the last fortnight has prevented me paying that attention to the affairs of the *Union*, which I should wish ; however I hope for the future to be able to assist in advancing its objects more materially. I rely it shall not be for the want of industry on my part. I have instructed a friend, Mr. Smith, to forward my subscription, and I hope have come to hand.

" J. C. LINCOLN

" *Arva, February*

"DEAR SIR.—I am delighted to find the good work of the Celtic Union," about being commenced in earnest. No wonder you attend at your meeting of to-morrow to learn the views of the and patriotic instructors, the many benevolent views, propounded, I beg you will hand in the enclosed of an annual subscription of two of as worthy sons of the 'great emerald isle' has yet produced in their sphere, viz., Mr. E. of Granard, and Mr. John Lynch, of Arva.

"This, though a backward locality, having produced many more adherents. Wishing you and it every success. Best regards, yours faithfully,

" FRANCIS C.

P.S. I'd thank you sincerely for the earliest news of the Union with its results.

" C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

" *Leeds, 4th February*

"DEAR SIR.—I have received your circular of yesterday, and am sorry that there is to be a meeting of the "Celtic Union" next, which I am sorry I cannot attend.

"I promised to subscribe £5 to the guarantee fund, and now the pleasure to enclose it, which please acknowledge.

" EDWARD B.

" *Borrisokane, 5th January*

"MY DEAR SIR.—Have the goodness to put down my name as a member of the Celtic Union ; I send my subscription, and I wish,

" J. BERMINGHAM

" C. G. Duffy, Esq., M. P."

" Examiner Office, Limerick, 13th December, 1853.

DEAR SIR.—I beg to say that I shall insert the prospectus of the Celtic Union, three posts in the *Examiner* as my year's subscription to society, to which I wish every success.

"JAMES R. BROWNE."

" Wexford Guardian Office.

SIR—I hereby enclose you £5 as my portion of the Guarantee of the Celtic Union. I hope the efforts of that body to procure a proper literature for the people will meet with the success which so necessary and so great an undertaking eminently deserves. I also enclose ten shillings as my annual subscription.

"MARK A. PITT.

C. G. Duffy, Esq., M.P."

" Carrick, Nov. 19, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR—I did intend to be at the first meeting of the Celtic Society on Monday next, but I regret exceedingly to find, that I will not be in my power to attend, owing to professional engagements. I will send you on Monday my own subscription and those of several others, who have already declared their intention of becoming members, viz. Rev. Patrick Byrne, C.C., Rev. Patrick Power, C.C., Messrs M. Rivers, Esq., Thomas Daly, merchant.

It is to be hoped that the society will be so constituted and selected as to win from all true Irishmen at home and abroad (with religious distinction) approbation and active support. Indeed of this there can be little doubt, seeing that the project already comprises the names of so many able and faithful men engaged to carry out the work.

Of course we will here in Carrick co-operate to the best of our ability with the committee in Dublin, and I think I may safely promise that twelve members in this locality will be enrolled within a month.

"ANTH. O'RYAN."

" Holymount (Mayo,) Feb. 6th, 1854.

DEAR SIR—I beg you will do me the favor to propose me a member of the 'Celtic Union,' at your meeting to-morrow. Enclosed is a post-office order for my subscription.

My position, that of Government Engineer and Valuator, though not acquired by, nor depending on any political services or influence, makes me delicate in giving you any *very prominent* help, but it affords me almost every day opportunities of forwarding the objects of the Society by a *quiet* earnest propagandism. Such help I have given to the principles of the Nation (of which I am one of the oldest

I am, dear Sir, &c.

"P. F. C——, Civ

When Keogh and Sadlier, and the other members of the
called brigade, forgot their pledges and their
accepted office under the Government of London,
no one felt their political apostasy with more
humiliation than Robert Cane.

There was no necessity, strictly speaking, for Lord Lieutenant, as he did not think well of visiting in his official capacity: but the corporation thought otherwise. They came in company with Smith O'Brien's old foe, General Mordaunt, bowed down in their robes before His Excellency, and presented him with an exceedingly fawning address. The Viceroy, according to the *Nation* of the day, "received their compliments and formal answer."

"Dear Mr. Mayor" he wrote—"I find by a communication from your secretary, that you require me to appear before the Corporation at seven o'clock this evening, to comply with the necessity of presenting an address to the Lord Lieutenant on Tuesday next.

"I have not been very well for the past week, and several days ventured out in the evening, therefore I sent this evening; but were I present I certainly would have given an address to the Irish head of the Aberdeen government."

"I would object to such an address upon public St. Germans is, I believe, an amiable man, but he re- land that Government, which, without referring to it everything truly Irish, has inflicted, and continues to improper exercise of its patronage, the deepest curse that she has encountered since British ministers bowed representatives in 1800.

"It is a government which has tolerated Irish where it could purchase, debauch, or steal them aw

country; and I cannot, directly or indirectly, compliment such a government.

"I cannot compromise principle and veracity by uttering false compliments to the corruptors of my countrymen."

The following letter addressed to the author of the "Life and Times of Cloncurry," though unimportant, is interesting as evincing Dr. Cane's literary taste, and his anxiety to see the Celtic Union work earnestly and energetically.

Kilkenny, February 28th, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR—I remember Dr. Madden sending me the letter you allude to. It was one from Lord Cloncurry describing a seal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's. It would give you no fact for the life of Cloncurry, and could be useful only as a note for a memoir of Lord Edward. But at all events my impression up to the receipt of your letter was, that I had returned it to Dr. Madden. If I have not done so it was a sad omission on my part, and only excusable in one who has vastly more to do than he has time for. I will, however, search over my letters, and if I have it I will return it to Dr. Madden, or to you if he desires you to get it. At all events I will write to tell you if I get it, and send you a copy of it, which the manner of Dr. Madden's sending it to me will authorise me to do.

I regretted greatly to hear that you have been suffering from illness, but trust for the country's sake, and all our sakes, you will overcome it. I hope to see you at the Celtic Union meeting some day next week, as I think our committee should soon assemble again, and get to work heartily and at once.

Yours faithfully,

ROBERT CANE.

P.S.—I could indeed have wished to have been with you on the day that Duffy dined with you.

The member's card designed with true Celtic and national taste was now issued. Dr. Cane writing to the Assistant Secretary on July 23d, 1854, says:—"Mr. Campion procured some adhesions by merely showing the members' card you sent him." Our author had now begun to prepare for the Press his *History of the Williamite Wars*, as a support to the Celtic Union. To render it peculiarly attractive he spared no expense in obtaining the illustrative aid of the best Irish artists of the day. His anxious letters to the Assistant Secretary at this period in relation to the progress of the engravings, and wood-cuts run in this wise: "is Ginoble nearly done? Has Grey Mr. Fitzpatrick's drawing engraved? I want wood for Grey and Oldham. I have drawings on the two pieces I hold. Are they to go to Hanlon? Does Mr. Hoey know what is to be paid Watson for his design? I am

glad," he adds "that O'Keeffe is on the History he ought to illustrate it." The Assistant Secretary, had expressed a desire to commence as a bringing the books of the Celtic Union before the Cane amiably writes to him—"Mr. Fitzpatrick publish his life of Cloncurry. I think he does not come in actual Celtic dress, but in aid of the Union support. I write to you as it might be worth publish it. It would be work to begin with as I feel your way in it, if you think fit, but without me."

On August 6th, 1854, Dr. Cane writes to the

MY DEAR SIR—I return you the engraving for Mr. Fitzpatrick's note, which will explain to Mr. Grey the to be made according to Mr. Fitzpatrick's opinion.

Thanks for the coin—an Elizabeth Irish farthing, and struck to economize money being quite good enough in days when there was no Swift to terrify our Saxons "a Draper's letter."

I shall be glad to hear more fully from you about your scheme. When do you commence? Where do you Will you print yourself, or employ some man such as Will your fount of type be Irish? Upon what to undertake the Celtic Union books?

The next letter is to the author of the "*Life of Lord Cloncurry*," who, in consequence of the sad fact that hardly one book published in Dublin is strained to follow the example of Mr. D'Alton, M. other able historical writers, and to secure in as many subscribers to the work as possible. The "*Life of Lord Cloncurry*" it may be observed, formed Mr. Fitzpatrick's acquaintance.

Kilkenny, August 10th, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. FITZPATRICK—I am glad to find you energetically at work, and trust your book will be carried out, and not only in a national spirit, but calculated to kindle the fuller flame the feeble light of Irish nationality.

Did it strike you that it would be well to have a currier prefixed to your book, and perhaps a vignette piece of statuary? Hanlon or Grey would execute it.

Doyle's book, his letters, essays, and a good life of it. It would be sure of a large sale amongst the clerics, amongst the laymen.

I do not think you can calculate upon a large list but I should hope your book will merit, and have a large

must be older, and better known to command subscribers to an unknown book by an unknown author. Pardon the freedom of this remark, but I know the spirit of our friendship, though yet a young man, will permit me the observation; but this will occur, I trust, only with your first book, which once successful paves the way, and makes smooth the road to after success. Will you please honor my name by putting it down for four copies. I do not expect or care for more subscribers to the Celtic Union. We have enough to begin, and I think we will then speedily grow. Indeed I am not anxious to have much done until Gavan Duffy is back, yet I feel satisfied that the fair promises with which we opened the year will display some good fruit, palatable to Irish taste, and suited to nourish nationality, and give strength to young liberty. Participating in your anxiety, and earnestly wishing you every success,

I remain your's truly,
ROBERT CANE.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, knowing that Dr. Cane was engaged upon "History of the Williamite Wars," communicated to him an assertion of the Duke of Berwick's, not generally known, that the bravery attributed to William was rather fiction than fact, and that in the height of one of the battles between his army and that of James, he retired from his position as a Commander, and secreted his person in a ditch or some such undignified trenchment. Mr. Fitzpatrick mentioned the allegation to Dr. Cane for "what it was worth." His reply displays the impartiality of an expansive and well-informed mind; and it is worth subjoining because it quite upsets the belief, general among many, that Dr. Cane was a bigoted Partisan on the side which opposes "the Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory."

Kilkenny, Dec. 3rd, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR—"Not very well" must be my excuse for not sooner replying. Thanks for the extract which you so kindly sent to me; but I must credit William's having acted cowardly on Berwick's or any authority. I am glad your book is near to hand. I promise myself a treat in it. One of my copies is to be an ornamented one for my drawingroom; the others plain to give to some book societies."

Dr. Cane's anxiety to see the books of the Celtic Union launched continued unabated, although his mind was full of important engagements at home, and he had not a minute to call his own. Writing to the Assistant Secretary, on January 19th, 1855, he

"I have had no answer from you touching my final publishing arrangements which Mr. Duffy was to write, and stir him up. I send two drawings on Sarsfield, to go to Mr. Oldham, and the tail piece I want impressions of the Tyrconnell.

A writer in the number of the IRISH QUARTERLY for June, 1854, expressed himself somewhat unfavourably towards the Celtic Union of which the prospectus had appeared. Misled by a stupid calumny which had got into a portion of the Provincial Press, the writer regarded this young organization as "a seed plot of sedition and treason" and denounced it in unmeasured terms. Meanwhile, on the other hand, speaking of the Irish People, he declared:—

"In God's name let them come out from their secret Unions, and such like pretentious quackeries, and do something worthy of their manhood. It is not now the time of whoop in, but broad day, and the sun is in the sky."

Dr. Cane, under the signature of "Celtic Union," wrote through the medium of the *Nation* to the doubt whether it had been made upon his favorite scheme.

It is obvious that the Celtic Union, like too many other schemes, is to encounter that Irish antagonism which has been its fate since its birth. It is to be assailed by a death-blow aimed at it, either by a dilemma-dance between horns, one of which is pointed from Grafton-street at home, and the other from the capital of New York. Poked in Dublin for being "a seed plot of sedition and treason"—and poked in New York for being "a pretentious quackery," and being capable of either sedition or treason enough.

Perhaps this results, in the present instance, from the circumstance that neither of the critics either sees or understands the matter aright—that both of them are premature in their judgments, and that, as an eclipsed planet is coloured by the sun when looking at it, the Celtic Union has been viewed in England through a glass somewhat orange in its hue, and in America through a glass far greener than is suited to the atmosphere of everything Irish.

That the Union is something more than a myth is a fact than even before it appears in proper person it is struck at with an energy sufficient for the encounter.

Surely it is not a little strange that the Anglo-American at home should consider the "Union" as a Y. M. C. A. treasonable society, while the Nationalist in America regards it as a puerile and contemptible "quackery." For the one to be too national, while for the other, it falls far short of nationality he would stamp standard.

We would call attention to this difference of opinion in its regard, not for the purpose of an angry collision with either the Saxon or the Celt—neither with a view to out-argue either opponent. The Celt were unwise, because we cannot afford to quarrel further in Ireland than we have done—for Heaven knows we have already quarrelled over much and over bitterly; and, as to argument on the subject, it would be at either side but matter of opinion and statement, worth just the value of so many words until the period arrives for the execution of some of the work, which the Committee of the Celtic Union has mapped out for public view, shall be fairly seen and understood by all Irishmen whose love for the old land gives them interest in the inquiry; but that we think the inference plain: two ways of so opposite a nature cannot be both right, and time, and work, and no work, will ere long show whether both or one, and which one, is singularly in error; while the members of the Celtic Union, who know their own business best, whose common heart and energies are devotedly given to the undertaking, will gather from this most contradictory antagonism how little they are or can be understood as yet, and how necessary it is to put on their armour and gird themselves for the work in hand—and thus show how earnestly, honestly, and bravely, they have entered upon this new road, through the desert of Irish politics and a nationality almost dead! It is, indeed, a work of sorrow to struggle at all for Ireland; and that it is not a perfectly needless work, we best gather from the truth and honesty of the men who now rally under the Celtic Union banner, who will speedily be called upon to give evidence more than promise that they thoughtfully and aimed well, achieving results far beyond their promises, not higher than had been their earnest and silent aspirations—inspirations breathed to Heaven in the spirit of liberty, and with deep earnest love for Ireland's true prosperity; tempered with caution, wisdom, and common sense: learning this lesson from the past, to talk little and labour much; to boast no more, and scarcely breathe the word loudly, lest the enemy come in the night time and quench our young life; above all, feeling in the depths of their souls that the Celt "should be baptised in the old holy well," and that literature, union, association, confederation, anything and everything henceforward to be done for Ireland, to win God's blessing and to win success, must have the cross of our fathers inscribed on its banner.

CELT.

This temperate and pleasingly written reply, having been generally copied by the press, silenced further antagonism; and the little bark of the Celtic Union glided on calmly. Its progress was slow, but Cane did his best to stimulate it. Writing to the secretary on January 26, 1855, he says: "Would not April be a good month to begin publishing?" Mr. Duffy's 'name of Essays,' and this adjustment of the publishing matter, is all that is now wanted to enable us to obtain the sanction of a committee and go to work. Were these things settled, the publishing list might appear early in

February; and two or three essays out in April machine going, and I have not a doubt of our on fast." In a postscript he adds: "I see ample us, and both writers and subjects for a year's work."

From the first promulgation of the project, Dr. Cane devoted every leisure moment at his disposal to endeavour to establish it on a firm basis. He wisely considered the most indispensable steps in furtherance of this object to be the immediate publication of some original work of high calibre and importance as to make a lasting name for the Society which gave it birth. Accordingly he devoted each hard day's work of professional and civil duty to the Cane in the midst of his books studying, collating, and inditing. And instead of gathering strength by sleep to enable him to resume with vigour the next day's toil, he spent his own stamina and substance with the work, oil which gradually burned out before him.

In February, 1855, Dr. Cane enclosed to Mr. Hennessy the assistant secretary and subsequent publisher of the manuscript of the first part of the "Williamite Wars in Ireland"—a work of great eloquence and power.

The following letter speaks for itself. It may be said that like Gibbon he quite miscalculated the amount of his manuscript:—

"William-street, Kilkenny, Febr. 1855."

My Dear Mr. Hennessy.—No doubt I have acted like the traveller who gave a brick as the specimen of a tecture, when I sent you the few pages you have got. I will at present send you more. The fact is, the whole book is far as authorities, notes, and plan of work, and numbers are written; but just like the monthly novels, published in numbers, must come out in numbers, and the second will be polishing off while the first is printing. In this way the work will be completed with the summer, if the first number is out by the 1st of May.

Look at it thus. First number first of May—to cost 1s. 6d. per page as you think ought to be given for one shilling per page the number of pages. I will supply the additional number at that mark. Remember in estimating a first number that it will have a likeness of Tyrconnel, medallion of James, and two plans of Derry. The preface and introduction must accompany the first number. The preface is the introduction is virtually the first chapter, and the introduction is the virtual key, to the true history of that period.

ing now first described as what he really was—a nationalist and a separatist.

I would use Fitzpatrick's design as cover, Watson's as title-page; the letterpress to be suitable size; and the selection of type I would be inclined to leave to you, satisfied that you would, for society's, author's, and publisher's sake, select the most suitable type and paper. You will, therefore, make up your mind as to size of page, and number of words for that page, the number of such pages to be given in each number at 1s; then cast off what number of pages you require, and what you want for first number, and I will send it.

I think about five or six numbers will complete it. If it takes I could re-issue it bound as a volume, with some extra plates and engravings, and at a cheaper rate. In so arranging it, say whether the intention is to be one or two or more thousand copies. I know this is the business way—but Mr. Hennessy the secretary must arrange the difficulties with Mr. Hennessy the publisher, and make some allowance for all embarrassments.

Let me hear at once, for whatever we do, ought to be speedily notified to the public.

Yours faithfully,
ROBERT CANE."

Printers' whims and printers' blunders are amongst the plagues of a literary life; and Cane, on the threshold of his literary career, was doomed to encounter some of these vexations.

"Kilkenny, March 15th, 1855.

My dear Mr. Hennessy—You are an able and dexterous arguer, but in some things I am a positive man, and so must adhere to the ever size for the numbers of my present book. *In this I am fixed.* My reasons, some of them at least, are, I like the size, I like the cover, and *I won't listen to printers' objections*, as you must do. Besides, it is little over, if not exactly the size of the Boyne, Water Wilde, while it is rather under the size of O'Callaghan's Brigade, as well as that of the 'Tribes of Ireland' and the 'Óssianic Translations,' both thin and neat books published by O'Daly. Besides, it will not be a thin book like a Bishop's Charge (I wish I were a shop to charge my own) but a thick book—for if the manuscript you have makes thirty-two pages, we must have either more than thirty numbers, or fifty or sixty pages in each number. Here again your printer may whisper you, 'It won't pay'—and no publisher pays so much for a shilling of a new book." But you, as a young publisher anxious to spread your name, and make sales and extend business—and all of us as a new society, must give good value, and positively, in our first books at least, win the name of doing much for the public, and for the objects we have in view. Nay, I am satisfied that it is only by doing so you and we can succeed at the start. I would therefore say sixty-four pages for a shilling, of good clear type.

Morrison will not be able to keep the stone, I apprehend, after the 2000 copies of the maps. I have to get them drawn on transfer paper here, and then forwarded to him for lithographing.

Now as regards you and my bargain. I only want to settle an arrangement between us, with a view to others more.

I am anxious, most anxious, the project should succeed, and indeed I am anxious our publisher should succeed, and indeed by us—indeed his suffering would be ours. For if the books tell for himself, they will not tell for the country. I want you therefore to say to me of the sum which is to be 2000, how much will be necessary to complete the work—less—what the residue will be beyond that mark, and I will reserve the residue what proportion you will allocate to me, to be used for drawings, engravings, &c.

You see as far as I look, I am as anxious as if I were to lose it. I want that your share should be secure and the risk should be mine. In any case I think you will be safe, and I may lose if the book does not. I have hopes it may tell, and do us both some credit.

Will you be specific on these points, like a good fellow, and have no more delays. and the book will be out on the first of May.

Please send me down the ten last pages, being the end of the first chapter. I will want them to string together carefully together.

You can return the introduction and notes until I have time. I will take your hint about the French note, beneath the title, and affix a translation in *small type*. But the French note is as a sort of key-stone to the whole spirit of the book.

Your's truly,
ROBERT

Incessantly occupied as Cane was in poring over the manuscript outside, and in poring over and collating the manuscript in his library within, he contrived to keep himself abreast of the *courant* with recent literature, but to be able to judge it. In a letter to Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick, *Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Cloncurry*, July 2, 1855—"I like your book much. It has some few faults. Some time I will take it up and dot its few imperfections, and risk them naked to the eyes.

"I am glad you met Banim. He likes you and so does C——, the poet, who writes the soubriquets of "Kilkenny man" and *Urbs Marston*.

In April, 1855, the first part of Dr. Carr's *History of the Jacobite Wars in Ireland*, was published by Messrs. Long and Co. at No. 2 Crow Street. Men conversant with the history of this country, would fill at once felt that this admirable work, would fill a gap in the history of this country. It treats of an era of which the authentic is known, save that the war in which F

and Catholic Ireland were engaged, resulted in the triumph of the former, and the defeat and discomfiture of the latter, at the Boyne, Aughrim, and the Boyne. This is not too much for the common man to know; yet how few know anything about the means by which the freedom of a people was gained. How few know anything of Schomberg, DeGinckle, Tyrconnell, Marlborough, and the other chief generals and Statesmen of the time, or the traditions which records to their praise or disadvantage. The histories which persons engaged in the transactions of the time have left us are out of print, or bring so fabulous a price that they may be said to be inaccessible save to the wealthy. Story, Mackenzie, Clarke, and Walker fill gaps in private libraries or on crowded dusty shelves, while the mass of the people have no means of knowing the exact history of that remarkable struggle which ended by the third William ascending the British throne. The labours of Dr. Cane are directed with marked success to this latter object. Eloquent and impartially written, the first part is illustrated with well executed wood cuts including maps of the principal scenes of action, medallion likenesses of the contending monarchs, and a finely executed portrait of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell. Thirty-six pages of this number consist of an elaborate attempt to place the character of Tyrconnell in a different light from that in which it has lain for eight score years. There is also a chapter descriptive of the muster of the North, in which some very fine passages occur. The first part concludes shortly after the description of the closing of the gates of Derry, by the "Prentice boys," and details all the stirring incident and adventure of an agreeable nature. Among some new facts and documents produced are extracts from original proclamations in the author's possession, published by Tyrconnell for the disarmament of the Protestants before the arrival of James in Ireland. The only critical objection to which the work is, in our mind, liable consists in the title, surely a narrative of the Williamite Wars in Ireland, would be sufficiently intelligible without adding the word "Jacobite". The second part, which appeared some weeks later, creditably sustained the reputation of the first. It very effectively described in its fourth chapter, "how the Jacobite and Williamite armies met in the North," while the fifth was devoted to an exciting and singularly impartial narrative of "the Siege of Derry." Among its illustrations is a conspicuous portrait of George Walker, Rector of Donoughmore, Colonel of a regiment, and

Governor and subsequently Bishop of Derry, while copy of Neville's map of the Siege of Londonderry rendered the ease of sauntering through the narrative more luxurious.

The portraits of Schonberg and Colonel Rich with their rich flowing hair and glittering armour, in a style of finish which would do credit to the *Journal*, and proved that Dublin merely wanted opportunity to compete with, and probably in some instances to surpass, those brilliant efforts and specimens of the art which emanate from the London press. The description of Schonberg's disastrous campaign, and the decimating power which he ravaged his army; King James's Parliament in Dublin, by the wealth and strength of the land; the "Surrender" of Crom Castle, the siege of Enniskillen, the struggle to force the pass at Dunnough, the landing at Carrickfergus, the Battle of the Boyne, the siege of Drogheda, and other important incidents, all narrated in a graphic, eloquent, and exciting style, while faithful copies from the ordnance maps of the reigns of Philip and William II. add materially to the general interest. Though instinct with the truest spirit of national feeling, the work is quite free from all undue sectarian or political bias. The author treated parties and measures in an impartial manner; and that he possessed this as well as the essential qualifications for the historian, has been testified to by even the critics of the Conservative press, and the Anglican and anti-Irish reviewers, including those abroad. We had hoped to have been able to quote the more memorable passages in Dr. Cane's work, but the limits warn us that the remainder of the material must be used economically. A faithful narrative of the Jacobite and Williamite Wars in Ireland, was a work long and urgently wanted; for with the exception of the labors and achievements of John Cornelius O'Connell, no Irishman has undertaken to clear away the vast mass of misrepresentation and calumny which has so long obscured an important and interesting epoch in our history.

Meanwhile, Cane's anxiety to see the Celtic Revival without a pause, continued as freshly as when the work, his enthusiasm gave the project birth. In the year 1855 we find him stirring up those literary men

endencies who were qualified to render material assistance to the good work. He not only sought to enrol new recruits but to infuse ardour and activity into those who had already given their adhesion. In this spirit we find him requesting literary aid from Mr. MacMahon, M. P. Mr. O'Keefe, Mr. Supple, Mr. T. Irwin, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Cashel Hoey, and otherwise labouring to organize the little band, who professed to follow his colours. The Hon. Member for Wexford, placed in Dr. Cane's hands, the manuscript of an able Brochure entitled, "A Shilling's Worth of Common Sense about Ireland." Writing to Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick, (Nov. 6, 1855,) he asks "what your pen doing now? you ought to give us something for the Union." Mr. Fitzpatrick in reply, offered to write a series of memoirs of the Lord Lieutenants, and Lords Deputy of Ireland, with an account of the policy and administration of each. This obliging offer Dr. Cane thus acknowledged:—

MY DEAR MR. FITZPATRICK.—I should be very glad to see some of the traces of your able pen among our Celtic Union works; but I do not feel fully confident that the book you contemplate could be brought within the limits of the sized and priced books we must publish for a while at least. Indeed to bring it within such limits would cramp your powers of description, and the necessary details so much. I therefore greatly fear *that* subject would be too enlarged for us. However of this, we would be all better judges, when you elaborate your plan, and form some idea of what will be its compass.

The second annual subscription of ten shillings to the Celtic Union will be collected in forthwith to enable us to work another year.

Apropos I presume we may continue your name as Metropolitan Honorary Secretary?

If you conceive that the "Lord Lieutenants" would be too large for us, think of some subject that would make a nice volume like Supple's.

I was very glad to see your handwriting again; as not meeting you at our Dublin Meetings, I knew not what had become of you.

In a subsequent letter to the same party Dr. Cane observes:—

"I see you have worked for the Celtic Union, and procured some adhesions. You will continue, I hope, for I think the Union will have better claims on the country, than in past years. I read your "Irish Memories" with much pleasure. The tone of it is kind and healthful, and rebukes the public want of taste and feeling. I fear I am not only tedious in reply, but sometimes illigible, as racing against time, I truly write *Corrente Calamo*.

With regard to the omission of the name and mark of the "Celtic Union" from the cover of my Williamite wars, it was left off by the Publisher, because Booksellers who dreaded the name, refused to sell the book if it was on—at least that was the reason assigned to me.

I am aware of the existence of the Williamite D
fer to ; but it does not properly belong to the His
years in Ireland. You will see by the Cover of th
the Celtic Union brings out three new books by Jan

P.S.—Surely when “down South” you did not v
you would have come to me.”

The work by Mr. Gerald Supple, to which D
in the foregoing letter as one constituting q
literary and national composition, was “*The
Conquest of Ireland.*” Its style is vigorous;
eloquent—in some parts perhaps too florid. Th
selected and arranged with the judgment of an
is exhibited in revealing the historic picturesque
or Barante never surpassed ; while the erudition
displayed in the work proves the author to
laborious historical student. This book was
Mr. J. T. Campion’s “*Traces of the Crusades in*
pleasant *multum in Parvo* of learning, poet
thought. But the incomparable *Versicles*
Irwin (T. I.) which formed the fourth volume
issued under the auspices of the Celtic Union be
cal, and totally free from all allusion to the by-g
or oppressions of the Irish People, had a wider ci
the other volumes, and was, without a doubt, n
popular.

The four books to which we have referred were
by post, free, to each member of the Celtic Union as
for one year’s subscription. In fact when one ad
delivery to the published price, the amount absol
that of an annual subscription. “A fact,” wr
“which however satisfactory to Members, falls yet
satisfaction which Irishmen devoted to the count
ture and advancement, must feel in the consciou
aided in an issue of books, which but for their eff
thus appeared, and which are in themselves so m
of Irish capacity, talent and truth, while the st
they have been printed and illustrated, is highly cr
to publishers, printers, designers, drawers and en
whom are Irishmen ; shewing that if there was b
raging public, any book could be produced and
elucidated in this our too long neglected country.

In March, 1856, Dr. Cane appealed to the co
to continue the good work so effectively com
declared that the Council not only held some val

ready for the Press, but that several more were offered, and in preparation.

"They but await," he wrote, "a warm response to this call upon their Countrymen. A response such as they feel their past labours have merited, and which they desire solely with a view to be able to extend still further the sphere of their usefulness. That they may spread a sound and wholesome Irish Literature into Irish homes; elevating the tone of the national mind; filling it with the knowledge of home history, and fixing the Irish heart in deep love to the old land, and earnest watchfulness over everything that should be great and good within it. And while doing all this, to expel from the Irish fireside the foreign and other puerilities and immoralities which have been swarming over the land, and threatening to debase the manhood, weaken the morality, and antagonise the religion of the country. If there be yet a National heart remaining in Ireland; if Irishmen really desire that their countrymen shall have Irish taste; truthful Irish history; knowledge suited to the circumstances of the country—they will rally round the Celtic Union."

Charles Gavan Duffy had been engaged upon a *History of the Popish Rebellion of 1641* with a view to its publication by the Celtic Union, when circumstances induced him to arrive at the sudden determination of emigrating to Australia. In a letter to W. J. Fitzpatrick at this period Dr. Cane says—"Duffy is a sad loss to Irish literature, and an irreparable one to Ireland, and to the circle of his friends, of which I believe you were one." He adds, "What think you of a cheap Irish periodical under the guidance of the Celtic Union? We contemplate it."

Mr. Fitzpatrick's reply was not encouraging. He reminded Dr. Cane of the grim fact, that of the three *Irish Penny Magazines* published within the last twenty years not one paid, though the last left off with a goodly circulation. Two of these publications are said to have ruined their publishers. Few are aware of the expense attending the publication of a periodical in Ireland. Mr. Marinus Kennedy, brother of the late Thomas Kennedy, who owned and edited the *Irish Metropolitan Magazine*, informs us that although it only reached twelve numbers £1800 was lost by the speculation. Dr. Gray, Mr. Correns M'Culloch, and others, who established the *Citizen* in 1840, found themselves eventually out of pocket one thousand pounds by it. It is melancholy to look back upon the mass of brilliant but unsuccessful periodicals which rose and fell in Ireland like meteor lights.

How Dr. Cane contrived to make time to daily, and prescribe for them at his own house, edified many. He not only declined to accept offering from the indigent, but frequently for Samaritan kindness and attention towards them of food and money. To literary men he also g sional services gratuitously, unless (what was ra the suffering scribe enjoyed affluent circumstan Banim, the accomplished collaborator in the C informs us that throughout a protracted illness he labored a few years since, Dr. Cane's attention and day, was such that even if the Doctor had ac pense, Mr. Banim would, to the last hour of his him with the liveliest feelings of affection and gr although the unremitting attention he bestowed both as a surgical operator and as a kind friend pillow of affliction, consumed very many of the r were worth guineas to Cane, he resolutely refus the smallest fee from Mr. Banim. This was no Similar instances of disinterested generosity might be cited. The following trait has just been com us in an interesting letter from Mr. N——

"A little anecdote of the late Dr. Cane, illustrative of heart, was related to me yesterday by the party who by it. The Doctor had visited him professionally during illness, sometimes three times in one day, and fr midnight. Owing to this unremitting attention the pa recovered; and his trouble now was—how he was to p So he managed to scrape together the sum of £3, waited on Dr. Cane, introducing the subject with ma his reception, owing to the manifest inadequacy of hi at length ventured to lay it on the table—but the nob pushed it back, saying 'Put it in your pocket, Mr. C not charge anything for my services. Your thanks have more than recompensed me."

The accomplished poet, "T. I.," has obliging our hands any correspondence which passed betw Dr. Cane. The following letter is chronologic here :—

"Kilkenny, November 27"

Dear Sir—I have received your letter enquiring on five pounds to be stopped or allowed in sale of 180 c poems, between Publisher and Council of the Celtic U

The five pounds are to be so stopped, being the only way in which the Council could meet the expenditure to be incurred by those arrangements made at *Dublin between author and publisher*, and not contemplated in the original decision of the council. I mean the arrangement that the book should not be a one shilling volume, but could be a three and sixpenny volume, whereby a treble expenditure entailed on the council in making their purchase for members.

Permit me to add, moreover, that the Council, though assenting to your, and the publisher's, arrangement to do this, do not feel quite satisfied that it is a wise move as regards popularising and cheapening books in Ireland; but there is no use now in re-considering the matter, as the thing is done, and cannot be remedied; but the Celtic Union takes so large a number of a three-and-sixpenny book for its members, it is entitled to the consideration that in doing so it largely aids the work.

The pure literary merits of your book will, no doubt, secure its sale in the wealthier ranks; but 3s. 6d. a-piece will prevent it being widely amongst the classes for which the Celtic Union is working; and moreover makes it heavy on the funds of the Union, for though possessing high literary merit, and evincing true poetic genius, it is not strictly within the range of those teachings promised by the Celtic Union, whose business was rather to encourage national work, and education, and to do it cheaply.

I shall be happy to write when you require it, and hope I may someday have the honour of knowing you personally. Meanwhile believe me, yours truly,

ROBERT CANE.

Thomas Irwin, Esq."

Apathy on the part of some of the officials of the Union was without effect in promoting the growth of vexatious difficulties which now beset it on more than one point. These *ultra-temps* afflicted Dr Cane at the time; he remembered them with pain, but he forgave the cause. Among the various annoyances to which we have referred, the seizure of the Books of the Celtic Union, for some debt of the Publishers, is perhaps the most disheartening. On June 15th, 1856, Dr Cane writes to a leading official of the Union.

MY DEAR MR [—]—If I have not sooner answered your letter delay arises neither from irritation, or desire to slight you; for, whatever may have been the annoyances I have experienced, I am quite willing to view the whole affair as the result of inevitable misfortune rather than of fault, and to let bygones be bygones. The delay in this reply has arisen solely from professional pressure, leaving want of time to write.

As regards the 1,000 parts of 1, 2, 3, 4, of the Williamite Wars, I doubt if I should make the 3d. a piece of them; and I have already done enough in the matter, and would rather feel inclined when publishing the remainder to limit myself to the number of what has been sold. I

certainly would not *speculate* on these 1,000 unless under the mark you indicate.

Upon what terms could Mr. Campion get his "*C*" I would be glad if you could make me out a list think likely, either in Dublin or elsewhere, to aid th

In another letter written at this period, he s me with advice as to a Publisher for the Celtic likely to press the sale of the books, and dea us. . Send me back the manuscript of the dedic face to the *Williamite Wars*."

This valuable work never reached the fifth p proverbially apathetic in encouraging any native and the reception Dr. Cane's work has met w sustains the not very enviable reputation to alluded. A subscription should be at once rais a book of which the Empire might be proud script is ready for the compositor; and mon should be also forthcoming. It proved an exp the poor author, as the following letter shews.

"Kilkenny, J

MY DEAR MR. [———]—I could not write to yo not one leisure moment.

I know it will be a rash venture for me to become these 1,000 copies of each of the four parts of the W but nevertheless I do not like to have them scattere fore enter into an arrangement to purchase them pence per part, passing you my bill at six months fo and not being required to pay the other twenty-pou brought out the book in its entirety, and received pr equivalent to that sum over cost of printing latter p would feel inclined to *publish* only as much as would numbers already sold, and reserve the 1,000 for a so tion; but on this I am not quite made up. One t *will lose well by my part of the Celtic Union work*. I still feel that good will come of it, to the project,

P.S.—Irwin is well reviewed in the *Irish Qu Athenæum*. His character as a Poet is now stamped

Misfortunes never come single; and the dif Celtic Union multiplied. On August 21st, 185 Cane addressing the Publisher in the followin uniform equanimity of temper pervades it.

"MY DEAR SIR—I regret to find you in these diff fain see you out of them, and to shew you my desi and my full confidence in you, despite all the ill-natu of your Dublin friends say of you, I enclose you the

15 accepted ; and thus entrusted to you before I get the other half of the value, and will you be surprised when I tell you, before I have had time to examine the half sent—taking your word for it that all the material for 1,000 parts of the Williamite Wars are in it—though you admit a deviation in them not being made up in parts : for I purchased them in parts.

You will please now send the 1,000 parts of 1 and 2 ; and so I can make the one job of examining all, at the earliest leisure day.

You will now write me a letter, assigning to me all your rights over those 1,000 parts ; and resigning all right to interfere with my mode of disposing of them as I please, as well as all control over first and all subsequent editions.

You will also see that Mr. O'Toole sends to me the wood cuts of the face, Walker, and Schomberg, still in his custody ; and the woodcut of Cover, the property of the Celtic Union, which I wish to take custody of.

On January 21st, 1857, writing to the same party he says : Thanks for your several letters which I had not until now a moment to answer. Where are my two bills for £15 ? They will be both due early next month. Are the copies at Webb's Supple's *Anglo Norman Invasion*, all bound ? Will Webb receive my bill at six months if I venture to buy them ? If I pass this bill to you will the remnant of the Williamite Wars, come to me in sheets or stitched, and when ? Please answer this at once, 'and without mental reservation,' as the witness oath saith."

The books of the Celtic Union which Dr. Cane recovered, came to him in a bewildering mass of unfolded sheets. Here was a new vexation to a man who had hardly a minute to call his own ! On January 25, he writes to the late Publisher of the Celtic Union, "What will be the cost, per 100 copies, for printing Supple, Irwin and Champion stitched and bound, and I have the print or plate of the cover ? Could you send any hints about a publisher for the Celtic Union ?"

Difficulties and vexations which would have utterly disgusted and disheartened any other man threw no chill upon the ardour of Dr. Cane's hopes and patriotism. He had long felt the want of a cheap periodic *home* literature—a literature whose price would not embarrass its circulation, and whose aim should be to have its pages suited to all classes, and its contents representative of Nationality. A letter to Mr. Hennessy in January, 1856, discloses this new idea. "I have written to James Hennessy," Cane writes, "but no answer as yet. I feel satisfied a popular Publisher can still make money by us, and I feel satis-

In June 1856 the Prospectus of *the Celt* and Cane promised that it would be, Irish, Celtic and Progressive. "Every Irishman," he exclaimed, "fit pen shall be welcomed to its aid, but neither fear, nor fear, shall win a place in its columns for long or valueless writing."

The "CULT" will labour to display the massive country for happiness, wealth, and independence, its fitness for extensive trade and great commerce, contain information and statistics having reference to the country, and will take in philosophy, art, or science, have relation to the country, either as what it is or as it should be.

We have said it shall be "Irish, Celtic, Catholic, a
It shall be Irish in all its tendencies; Celtic in its
of the past; Catholic in its deep respect and attach-
faith; Progressive as a guide into the future. Y
to be all these, Irish will not imply abuse of its a
shall not mean attack on other races or countries
not convey collision or controversy with other bo
Irishmen, and progression is not to be vain boast or

To do all this, the "CELT" must have a large sub-committee appeal for that support solely as Irishmen for they have no pecuniary interest in the undertaking.

Dr. Cane had some correspondence with the "T.I." at this period. He regretted that Irwin had depicted old St. James' Park, with its beautiful "purpling clusters" of a Rhenish vineyard with a pen which dripped with molten gold, a scape, or thrilling Celtic incident.

"Kilkenny, February 5th, 1857.

Dear Mr. Irwin—I have received your letter. I should be most happy both for the Union's sake and for yours, to advance your views; but I think our hands are full for the present. I could greatly wish that talent such as yours was tried on something Irish.

What would you think of looking over bye-gone Irish History, and pressed by some of its impassioned passages, immortalizing them in verse?

I would gladly press the Celtic Union, even under difficulties, to publish such a volume from your pen.

Now a small shilling volume of ballads, descriptive of the times and scenes when the North men came up in arms to plunder and lay upon the *ceaths* of the country.

Or the parting scene in some one of our old cloistered abbeys, when the youth of England were returning home full of the coming of the Prince in Ireland.

Or prince John, the "*Dominus Hiberniæ*," surrounded by the five princes, and insulting them in their own land.

Thousands of suggestive ideas would come upon you from a perusal of the '*Annals*,' or some such book.

Pray forgive the familiar liberty of this letter. I would know you intimately enough to make such suggestions, were I near enough to know you intimately, but as I am not I can only sorrow that your eye turns eastward—anywhere but homeward.

I shall be glad to hear from you again and always."

On August, 1st 1857, the first number of the *Celt*, price one penny, appeared. It opened with a leader from Cane, signed "reconnell," and headed "The Map of our Journey." Cane's name was his own. It reminds one of Thomas Carlyle, but though Cane always held an enthusiastic admiration for that author, he was no servile copyist.

"A committee of the Celtic Union," he writes, "have this day ended upon a seriously responsible mission, and taken upon their shoulders a truly onerous duty. And though that mission and its duties be to some of them a 'labour of love,' with others a pleasurable pastime; all feel the seriousness of their position in relation to the work before them, the country for whom that work has been undertaken, and the chances which may bring failure to annihilate, or success to crown their ardent and honest hopes."

The intention of its editors is, that every page, every article, every extract, shall all tend to a definite end, the common good of our common country, to make Irishmen love Ireland better, cling to their faith, closer, value truth, virtue, honor, more and more venerate the past, acquiring knowledge and power into the future, bury old feuds and animosities in oblivion, and substituting in their place brotherly love and manly union.

Great difficulties hang around such a work as this misconstrued, misunderstood, laughed at or reviled. Objections may be stirred up against us, and men interesting may plant barriers before us. Secure in conscience for our purpose, we will not be deterred from the work we have as fitting for us to do.

In some matters we may have to dissent from the opinions of our men and valued friends, but where we conceive we are right we shall not hesitate to dissent and to press our views on our readers.

For example; while we admit as a fact indisputable that Ireland is progressing in wealth and in knowledge, we deny that this so making is an evidence of real public prosperity, or of a general education.

The present appearance of comfort and wealth is only the result of that previous condition which has driven our people into exile, and another million into premature graves that should be marked with blood-red crosses.

A fourth of the whole nation has passed away, and the few who remain have more to do, and therefore more to suffer. It is an enrichment arising from the concentration of property in the hands of the few. The cottier is driven out, the graziers who now occupy huge farms are enriched and look prosperous.

The household living upon a scanty income can be no better in clothing and food, when the grave has closed upon its children; the survivors have as it were a double poverty. Prosperity is a sham, the veriest make-believe.

Our own sweet poet of the Shannon, nearly a hundred years ago, sang of such prosperity—

“ Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.”

Were it possible to try this mock prosperity by the test of the population of the country to its mark in 1845, would the present position of the property of the country bear it? and as population increases, the seeming wealth of the country diminish with its augmentation, pauperism will increase, distressments again arise, unless famine and plague, the scourges of government, come and seemingly redress the evil. And things must result periodically in Ireland until such time as a just government shall rule the country with an earnest desire to better the condition of its people, by wise laws, the development of industry, the increase of external commerce, the fostering of the interests, the diminution of improper taxation, and the abolition of the bigoted and intolerant ascendancy.

The second progress, the educational one, is nearly completed. It was no doubt a small step in the right direction. It was made either had not the proper moral sense, or the courage to boldly trample down class difficulties; or the will as masters for slaves, whose religion and nationalities

they sought only to educate them as fit appurtenances to their rulers, materials for soldiers, instruments for taxation, human things who would be all the more valuable to their oppressors if little encumbered with love of faith, less burthened with love of country !

The national school system in Ireland, leaves religious teaching to anybody or to nobody, for it provides none. It ignores every thing that could tend to foster nationality, or teach the youth knowledge of or love for Ireland. The history, the antiquities, the poetry of the country are excluded as the veriest immoralities should have been. And they call this thing national, probably upon the "*lucus a non lucendo*" principle.

The Irishman who does not see through all this, must be dull indeed, but the Irishman is worse who sees through it, and hesitates to deal with it as truth should ever deal with evil.

To explain such things, to deal with governmental fallacies, to open honest men's eyes to truth, to put national reading into the hands of those from whom our masters would rob it, to supply literary food for the educated and educating, to watch and stimulate national progress, above all, to antagonise, resist and battle with everything and all men, and systems that seek to annihilate Irish nationality will be some of the pleasing duties of the Celt."

John O'Daly of Anglessea street, the indefatigable Secretary of the Ossianic Society, was selected to publish the *Celt*. It continued to appear weekly until December 31st, 1857, when it was found advisable to change it from a hebdomadal to a monthly Magazine. The circulation was wonderfully good considering the prevalent apathy of the country; but nevertheless a pecuniary loss resulted from the publication of every number. This loss, however, diminished from the moment its issue became monthly. On January 13, 1858, Dr. Cane writes to Mr. Hennessy—"I have written to O'Toole about printing the remainder of the Williamite Wars, and also about printing the *Celt*. It is to be a monthly henceforward. Where is your promised paper?"

Every number of the *Celt* displayed singular literary ability, political vigilance, erudition, and eloquence. All this was mainly the fruit of Dr. Cane's mind and pen. We will not further advert to his unceasing labors of mind and body as Editor of and principal contributor to the *Celt*. These exertions, coupled with the wearing anxiety with which he watched the machinery of the Celtic Union, sapped his once powerful constitution, and he at last sank exhausted into the bosom of a premature grave.

The Editor of the *Tipperary Free Press*, writing in August, 1858, says, "a few weeks since, in the Marble City, we clasped him by the hand, and noticed with pleasure how

animated was the manly form that, even in its structure, won admiration from those who knew his generous heart that throbbed beneath it. And of the future, and discussed a scheme of organization developed through his instrumentality) by which would be again invoked to struggle for their country that no more fitting pioneer could lead the way than movement than Robert Cane."

His funeral was a public one, and attended by a universal gloom overspread the the city of St. shop was closed and all business suspended. A gentry of the county assembled in large numbers in their respect for the unsullied honour, the unblemished repute, and the distinguished abilities of the deceased.

While the crowds were assembling in High street, the members of the Corporation and Societies, held a meeting in the Assembly Rooms to arrange for marching in procession at the funeral. The Societies wished that the procession should take a more *of route* than was intended; but after consideration the Trades' Societies yielded, on its being stated that the wish of Dr. Cane was, that his body should be taken to the grave without any show or ostentation, and by the *best route*. At half past one o'clock, the black hearse of the Leinster Union, were seen waving a large crowd in William street, and shortly afterward the mortal of Robert Cane, enclosed in an oaken coffin, was borne upon it. The Reverend Edward Walsh, Administrator, attended the deceased, as Spiritual Director, during the solemn ceremony, having recited the prayers for the dead, both Catholic and Protestant, priest and parson, remained by the hearse during the solemn ceremony, the hearse of the deceased was raised on the shoulders of eight persons, who, at intervals during its progress to the grave. Immediately the coffin followed two sons of the deceased, Robert, the eldest, being in China with his regiment, and followed the other friends of the family. The funeral was followed by the Trades' Societies (of which Dr. Cane was President) wearing white scarfs and hats, and followed them the members of the medical profession; and the procession, and immediately in front of the coffin, carried

ic clergy; next the members of the Corporation, in deep mourning; and then followed the myriads who had come from far and near to pay this last tribute to the worth and memory of a patriotic and distinguished Irishman. At half past two, the coffin entered the grave-yard of St. John's Catholic Church, Laudlin-street, where it was received by the clergy of that parish, who, with the other priests present, chaunted the office for the dead, and the remains of Dr. Cane were soon after consigned to their mother earth, amidst the prayers and blessings of the Catholic Church, and the supplications and sorrows of the poor.

On the following Thursday, an Office and High Mass was celebrated in St. Mary's Cathedral, for the eternal repose of his soul. A large concourse of priests were in attendance.

"To-day," said the *Kilkenny Journal*, "we shall not attempt to write his epitaph—we have neither time, nor spirit, for the dreary task. And, were we to write it properly, we should search out the many acts of his overflowing charity, in this city; for his truest and best epitaph is written on the hearts of the poor. Dr. Cane has now passed from amongst us, and Kilkenny may well feel proud of his memory, for never was there a purer soul than his—never a nobler nature. Far away from this ancient city his lamented death will bring gloom and sadness to many a heart. Far away by the sea and Shannon, by the Foyle and the Liffey, true hearts will mourn the death of Dr. Cane. Far away, in the busy towns of England and Scotland, where Irishmen still live who have hope in a glorious destiny for the poor old country, there will be warm tears to the memory, and a prayer for the soul, of another of Ireland's lost patriots. Far away beyond the Atlantic, when the shadow of his death reaches the Western Continents, deep gloom will spread like a pall over the exiled Celtic heart, for another great Irishman is gone.

The *Dundalk Democrat* said:—

"Another calamity has befallen Ireland. A great and good man is no more. . . . May his spirit enjoy eternal bliss, and may his great virtues be long remembered. As we can no more expect assistance to regenerate our outraged country, let us at least endeavour to profit by his example. Let our intentions be pure as his here; and no matter what may be the difficulties in our way, let us solve, as he did, to surmount them—having faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and in the success of the cause of our native land.

The *Tipperary Free Press* observed:—

"It is a sad duty we have to-day to discharge—a task approached with sorrow deep and sincere. We have to announce the death, in the prime of life, of Dr. Robert Cane, who, as a patriot, citizen, husband and father, maintained a reputation *sans peur et sans reproche*. He died as became a Christian, fortified with the sacraments of the Church."

Four weeks after the demise of Robert Cane, Kenealy wrote :—

"On yesterday evening a visitor to Maudlin street might have observed a newly-made grave. It was longer than the tombs around ; and, were it not for the gravedigger's hand, it might be regarded as the place of some great chieftain of the shadowy past. It drooped over it, and sighed in the evening winds, the Spirit of Death. Beautiful trees ; they will sigh and weep in winter, over the brave heart that moulders in the silent supulchre. 'I love the drop of the wetted tree,' Davis, in anticipation of his death ; and he who of all resembled Thomas Davis in his heart and soul—in his nature, and liberality of sentiment—in the gentleness of his position, and the frankness of his manners—in his station, his genius, and deathless devotion to Ireland ; he resembled him sleeps under the drip of the wetted tree, the grave of the poet.

"It was so silent you would think the dead was alone. The churchyard looked lone and deserted : and no voice broke the stillness of the scene, or paid a tribute to Ireland's lost patriot. The beechen trees still swayed in the evening winds ; and it would seem as if nature's only mourner above the grave of Robert Cane. But, a little nearer, you discover traces of a recent visitor. The red clay of that newly made grave shines a bunch of flowers, crowning the cold pillow of the dead. The air is sweet with fragrance, as if the virtues of the deceased were forth their balm upon the breath of Heaven. And the prints upon the soft clay—the footprints of the recent visitor—had laid this pure and simple offering upon the grave of Robert Cane. Who could it be ? Who was this angel of the Dead ? Alas ! it was a faithful heart ; a disconsolate mother's young, gentle girl—the angel daughter of the Dead ! Annie !

"Hard by, was the grave of Ireland's greatest poet, there, side by side, in that silent churchyard, lie the two kenny men of our generation—John Banim and Robert

APPENDIX.

MR. SMITH O'BRIEN'S LETTER TO MR. A. M. SULLIVAN.

Sept. 4, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR—I have learnt with much concern that the family of Dr. Cane have, by his premature death, been left in circumstances of great difficulty. The extract which I inclose from a private letter written by a gentleman who lives at Kilkenny, will prove to you that they must suffer extreme privation, unless something be done to secure for them a provision. It appears that several of his personal friends, with whom he was connected by professional and social relations rather than by political sympathies, have set on foot a subscription, and have shown their anxiety for its success by liberal donations.

There is reason to believe that the circumstances of Dr. Cane's family would have been very different if he had applied for their benefit the money which he expended in endeavouring to promote the welfare of his country. It is, therefore, peculiarly incumbent on those who shared his sentiments in regard of political questions, to co-operate in an effort to shield his family from misfortune.

As no one could appreciate more fully than you the high qualities of our departed friend, it is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon hisalted patriotism, his generosity of heart, his intellectual power, his social virtues. We have only to consider what is the best mode of evoking and giving effect to the desire which will be felt by his political friends to offer a tribute to his memory in the form which will be most useful to his children. I feel assured that this desire will not be confined to Ireland, but that in America and Australia any will gladly participate in this good work, provided a satisfactory mode of co-operation be organised. I am reluctant to offer any suggestions on the subject; but as every proposal must have a commencement, I will venture to ask you to recommend, through the columns of *The Nation*, that a central committee should be formed in Dublin for the purpose of collecting subscriptions, and that local committees should be formed, not only in the provincial towns of Ireland, but also in the principal cities of England, of the United States, of Canada, and of the Australian provinces.

Immediately on the appearance of Mr. O'Brien's touching letter, steps were taken to carry out the object for which it was written. It was found that it was not easy to discover how to achieve this, without trenching upon feelings which Mr. Cane was known to have held so determinedly as to render almost sacrilege towards his memory to violate them. Although he was ever found amongst the generous who responded to calls for aid for the families of public men; although he was amongst the first of the subscriptions raised in Kilkenny for John O'Connell's children—he was known to entertain views the most opposite to public appeals for subscriptions on the ground of political feeling. The embarrassment of those who felt it incumbent upon them to guard with scrupulous reverence and affectionate fidelity the wishes and the principles of the dead, yet were necessitated to face the resourceless

position of the living—has happily been set at which while it will respect the one will relieve the supply in itself a prouder testimony to the worth and the unsectional patriotism of Dr. Cane, than a treasury raised by subscription on party or political ground. The admirers of his genius as a scholar, his citizenship, his benevolence to his native city as a Citizen and a Corporator—though owning, most of them with him in politics, yet, all of them, admiring his self-sacrificing devotion to his country's cause—have felt free to inaugurate, as a testimony to his worth and sorrow for his loss, a movement in aid of the youthful members of his family. This, without any principles, can be, and will be, cordially joined in by who, to all those grounds of attachment to him, of political faith. "We are not going," adds the committee, to make an appeal to our readers what it is desirable that it not be—a call for subscriptions on sectional grounds, but do call for aid—instant, earnest, and liberal—for so enlarged in its basis, and so honourable to the memory of Dr. Cane. The subscription list opened at Killarney amounts to nearly six hundred pounds; trustees have been appointed, and in our next issue we will be able to give appointments for Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, &c. young children of a man who through life was open and yet was of a larger heart—a man of noble soul, of gallant patriotism—a man who, had he been circumscribed in his generosity, would have left behind him proudly independent of such help to-day—call upon us for aid."

THE CANE SUBSCRIPTION.

(From the *Cork Examiner*.)

"Few men, who entertain any attachment to Ireland of their birth, could have heard without emotion of the death of Robert Cane, of Kilkenny. His name has been so long associated with every movement that would tend to raise her from the nations, whether it were in the freedom of her constitution, the preservation of her historic records, in the loving study of her antiquities, or in the jealous guardianship of her treasures, that his loss must be looked upon as a serious blow to the nationality of Ireland. The sorrow felt for the untimely end of a man as he, cut off at the age of fifty-five years, at the moment when his hopes for his country were most ardent, and his exertions, energetic, will receive additional poignancy from the fact, that he has learned for the first time, that he has left his family in pecuniary embarrassment. Generosity such as his, patriotism that associated with his name, caused him to sacrifice himself to the succour of his fellows and the cause of his country."

aptness with which he was hurried from the sphere of his mortal labours, forbade him the opportunity of making an adequate provision for those most dear to him. We are sure it will be heard with extreme sorrow that the circumstances of his wife and children are such as to threaten the necessity of parting with his library, the accumulation of years of weary labour and study; his paintings, the numismatic and archaeological collections, which he toiled to amass, in order to illustrate Irish history, and that even the honourable testimony to his worth and talents—the service of plate presented to him by his fellow-citizens of all creeds and classes, at the conclusion of his year of office of Mayor of his native city, runs the risk of being brought under the hammer of the auctioneer. An effort has been made, however, to arrest a spoliation, which for the honour of our country, we hope could be looked upon with shame. Some generous men have come forward—many of them widely separated in religion and politics from Mr. Cane, but admirers simply of his high character and the genuineness of his national feelings—and inaugurated a subscription intended to prevent the sacrifice. Men of true hearts and honest love of theirland are not so numerous amongst us that we can afford to slight the memory of one who was emphatically a true and an able patriot. But in the case of Dr. Cane, at least, not have to bear the reproach of ingratitude, which so often dims the lustre that the country ought, for its own neglect, derive from the memory of its great men. Let all who desire to show that Irish patriotism is not a dead thing, let a spirit which can wake a sympathetic chord in Irish bosoms, co-operate with those who have commenced a national tribute to the name and the virtues of Robert Cane of Kilkenny.

The subscription, unfortunately, was not organized in time to save Dr. Cane's splendid library. Three weeks ago it was dispersed by the auctioneer's hammer through the length and breadth of the land.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CORPORATION OF KILKENNY.

"Resolved that it is our duty, our painful duty, to take this early opportunity, to express our heartfelt sorrow, as one unanimous body, at the untimely death of Dr. Robert Cane.

"We regret him as one as the dearest and best-beloved of our council, pure, straightforward, and honorable in his advocacy of every measure calculated to reflect credit upon us as a liberal corporate community, and possessed of a rare and zealous talent which he always used with the greatest modesty and best effect.

"That we regret him and will ever preserve his memory with firm regard, because he ever and always exhibited the most anxious jealousy to protect and defend the honour of this Corporation both locally and politically, and because of his own great personal worth as a Councillor and a citizen.

"That we regret him because he always aimed to sway our deliberations and differences with gentleness and wisdom; and because his friendship was a boon that any of his fellow-citizens and every member of this corporation must ever feel proud of having once possessed.

"That we regret him, because that in and out of this council, though he may have had some who differed from him in politics or opinion, no man was his actual foe—no man was his private enemy.

"That we regret him because rich and poor regret him, and because that both ardently join with us in this expression of condolence,

firstly, on our own parts, then on the part of Ireland his native city which his bright genius adorned, and his afflicted family whose irreparable loss nothing could atone.

Mr. Potter rose to second the adoption of the resolution as a handsome tribute to the memory of the deceased, and was unanimously adopted.

The Mayor—It is unnecessary for me to say that I am in sympathy with it.

Even the poet's pen has been at work in the *Cane*. Mr. John O'Donnell, of Limerick, has published a volume from which we select a stanza or two :—

THE GRAVE OF DR. CANE

Pace we along the brown old road
To the fair city of the south,
While freshly mist the pleasant airs
From morning's mouth,
Take down thine olden elder stave,
Bind asphodels around thy head,
To-day we hold communion high
Even with the dead.

And while we journey slowly on
Let our still hearts rich utterance give
That tho' thou keep'st their dust, Oh! Earth!
Still, still, they live.

Live! and for aye the blast and storm
Which shake earth's battlements sublime
Is but the trumpet voice which tells
Their names to time.
Holy it is to sleep beneath
The cloister's melancholy walls,
Where teems the spiritual dew
And sunshine falls.
Emblems of resurrection they,
One from the wells of ether driven
To fountain up the wastes of earth,
Then soar to Heaven.

Most musical the beechen trees
Wail for the dead in voiceless sighs,
Like death-bells mellowed by the breeze
Of Paradise.
Ever they move in measured sway
Swooning the dusk with their low toll,
Uplifting an "Excelsior"
Even to his soul!

From another Dirge, signed Conaciensis.
verses :—

'Tis the third season of the rounded year,
Autumn, so bland, so golden, and so mild,
Yet doth it seem dead Winter even now
To me. Alas! alas! this scalding tear,

And worst of griefs, and bitter, bitter woe,
 For a bright flower of chivalry laid low
 In charnel gloom, had made my poor heart wild;
 Yet one dear joy remains—'twas not the frown
 Of English foes had power to strike our chieftain down!

Oh destiny! thine is indeed a might
 O'ershadowing all. To-day our glory lies
 Voiceless and cold in death's unlovely night,
 Whilst Echoes bear our wailings to the skies,
 And hills and caves repeat our gloomy sighs;
 Yet one dear joy remains—'twas not the frown
 Of English foes had power to strike him down!

He must not sleep unsung
 In the cold grave, oh no! oh no!
 Justice would murmur long if this were so.
 Let him be throned among
 Our wisest and our bravest.

As the admirers of Dr. Cane will ever regard any of his unpublished letters, as so many interesting relics, we place in the appendix one which has just reached us—not of importance certainly, but interesting as exhibiting his anxiety for the welfare of the Celtic Union, at an incipient stage of its progress.

"Kilkenny, April 24th, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. HENNESSY—I return the design for a member's card. It is chaste and beautiful, and of course the committee will adopt it. I send a plan with it, which if the committee approve of, would make a receipt as well as card, and so save trouble.

I should like the blocks to be about the size of the paper on which I have suggested the alteration of the card, and get Mr. Hanlon to send me three of them. I will have one speedily drawn for my book, and send it up for his estimate that it may be engraved; and if the price be fair and reasonable, I will want some eight or ten of them.

With reference to Mr. Duffy's desire to have one of the covers smaller than the other, so as to suit small octavoes or twelves, I have no argument to urge against such a plan—save that I fear the paper may be damaged in bringing it down to a smaller size, and perhaps Mr. Watson, who draws minutely with great elegance, could produce, without injuring his chaste design. I do not think Mr. Fitzpatrick could do so with his: but Mr. Duffy, who is on the spot, will use his judgment in the matter, and decide and direct it before he goes to London.

When sending me down the block for Fitzpatrick to draw his sketch of, send me Mr. Duffy's hints, and also Mr. O'Keefe's for changes in the figures of Irish soldiers at top of it.

THE SEPT OF CANE, KANE, OR O'CANE.

(See p. 1009 *ante*.)

A document preserved in the State paper office, dated Sept.

23rd, 1612, enumerates the names of certain favourable to the Protestant regime of James were then detained in the Tower of London. O'CANE appears in "good companie," viz:—bella Stuart, Sir Cormack O'Neile, brother to Tyrone, Sir Neal Garvey, Nectan O'Donnell, W Jesuite, Lord Sobhame, Sir Walter Raleigh, thumberland, Countess of Shrewsbury, and

The Canes are repeatedly mentioned in the *dorum* drawn up so far back as the Reign of H

THE JACOBITE AND WILLIAMITE

(p. 1076, *ante*)

We cull one passage from the critique of the

Dr. Cane is more liberal and less insular in his English politics of that time than the Young I his sympathies as a Catholic are also more active. tell the truth; and he has the generosity to appreciate and virtue in the cause to which his traditional opposed. In his style he is clear and eloquent.

Dr. Cane's literary labours seem to have been appreciated in England. The clever Editor of *vertiser* writing to William J. Fitzpatrick on J observes—

Is there no man in Ireland to edit a popular edition of Sir Jonah Barrington, including his history of t We are yet without a standard history of Ireland w all the old chiefs and kings translated, and a key to nunciation of them. A series of the old divines of f form of the Parker Society, would be most useful life into some Irish publisher. As to Irish subjects lar—that is all mere moonshine. Let the man of enterprise appear, and all the world will Dr. Cane of Kilkenny is the only person I can judging from his history of the Williamite Wars gard as gifted with the requisite ability to produce history of Ireland. My bookseller here sent me fo I am highly charmed and delighted with them. I c would write a comprehensive history of Ireland monthly volumes. We want also a series of good of Ireland, such as abound in this country. Let me subject—the history of the Established Church in the suffering which it inflicted upon the plundered people.

ART. VIII.—THE IRISH INTERMEDIATE CONVICT PRISONS.

Notes on Colonel Jebb's Report on Intermediate Prisons, August, 1858. By Captain Walter Crofton, C.B., Chairman of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons. Dublin: Thom and Sons.

Colonel Jebb reminds us very strongly of Brigham Young and the *Ordinary of Newgate*, immortalized by Fielding in *The Life of Jonathan Wild*.

Whatever the Colonel declares to be right is right because it is written in his *Reports*, and because it suits him to have it so considered, and herein his *Reports* are to him as the *book of Mormon* to Brigham. If nothing appears against a system of Prison discipline in these *Reports*, the Colonel does not object, and here he reminds us of the *Ordinary*, who will not drink wine, but will drink punch "because the Scripture no where forbids punch."

We are free to acknowledge that when we read Colonel Jebb's *Report*, a grave public document, to which was appended the Colonel's name as Surveyor-General of Government Prisons in England, we felt considerable regret that he, an old public servant, should have so far forgotten justice, common sense, and common honesty, as to mistake, pervert, ignore, misquote, and misrepresent a system, because it enabled the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland to accomplish that which Colonel Jebb had declared to be impossible, although most desirable, namely, the successful employment of Intermediate Prisons, and the careful, but unobtrusive police surveillance of the ticket-of-leave men.

Colonel Jebb attributes the success of the Irish Directors to what he calls the *fact*, that in Ireland criminals are not held in so great abhorrence as in England. So that Colonel Jebb believes in truth, that Mullowney the grocer or Delany the apothecary will look with friendly eyes, and meet with fostering hands, and take to their employment, Murphy the repentant burglar, or Casey the sorrowing pickpocket, after they shall have obtained his discharge either free or on ticket-of-leave, more readily than Smith or Jones would engage

Brown or Robinson, the brother criminals of Casey in England.

This, however, is not the fact; Colonel Jebb is not the only man who studies the social history of this country. That crime, excepting agrarian crime, with its "wild justice," is as much abhorred in Ireland as in any nation under the sun. In no country has a man more to surmount, greater pressure to overcome, than Mr Organ, the Lecturer at St. Patrick's Intermediate Prison, in inducing persons to give up their lives to the men on their discharge from that prison. But the difficulties were overcome; the men entered through intermediate prisons of various degrees, served an apprenticeship in crime, before they entered the Convict Prison, they served an apprenticeship in crime, before they entered the Reformatory, before they reached the world; a new self rose from the ashes of the old. A new man went forth to work his way in life with a new honesty in his heart, "Honesty is the best Policy": it sprang in grace, or it may have had its source in self-interest; but it came from what stands the test of the world and its temptations. The results were brought about by officers who were men who had no tottering, efete systems of Prison discipline to uphold; by men who knew nothing of red-tape locution, but as things to be avoided and despised; by men who saw their work and its difficulties, but who with God's help to do their duty—and they did it, because they brought brave hearts, ready brains, and trust and confidence in their plans—in a word, because they believed in themselves.

As long as we could ship our convicts away to the colonies it was easy to hide the defects of the system now supported by Colonel Jebb. Captain Cresswell makes deportation to the colony the reward of good conduct as tested in the prison; Colonel Jebb makes it a punishment, and sends such men as these following to Western Australia.

Name—George Hanks, *alias* "Ram," *alias* "Red," *alias* real name Whittaker. *Nature of Crime*—Violence; sentence, "life." *Information as to Crime*—Convicted of burglary in 1850; sentenced, 1851, to transportation; attempted to escape from Oxford

waiting for trial; escaped from Dartmoor Government prison, 1851; attempted to escape from Oxford Castle, 1852; attempted, from Portsmouth, 1854; also from the establishment, Western Australia, September, 1854. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Three weeks bread and water; dark cells; 6 months in irons.

Name—William Deane. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary; for previous conviction of felony; also breach of prison laws, 22 years, (15, 7). *Information as to past life*—March 1837, 6 months; February 1839, 14 days; June 1839, 2 months; June 1840, 7 years, at Knutsford; January 1850, 12 months; January 1851, 1 month; 2 April 1853, 7 years; character, "very bad;" embarked in cross-beds. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Bread and water 14 days, cells; class suspended 3 months; admonished.

Name—Teddy Kenny. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary, 14 years. *Information as to past life*—Conspired with four others to attack the turnkey, when unlocking, to effect their escape; two of the five made a violent attack upon the officer the 19th August; the officer received several bruises on head, body, and throat; they threw him down, rifled his pockets, took the keys from him, and threatened to murder him; kept in close confinement from the 19th to the 1st of September. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Bread and water 14 days, cells; class suspended 3 months.

Name—William M'Farlane, alias Jamieson, Brennan, or Smith. *Nature of Crime*—Theft, by housebreaking, prison breach, and assault on an officer; 14 years. *Information as to past life*—Has been a very bad prisoner; not to be trusted; two years forfeited when removed from public works; was transported about 14 years ago; is a dangerous character; broke out of Greenock prison before trial. The Governor of Paisley prison states, "This man is the most dangerous character I ever had under my charge; it would be well that officers and others who come into contact with him should be upon their guard." Glasgow, most dangerous. Perth, incorrigible. Hulks, bad. Portsmouth, very bad. Bank, bad. Recommended to be sent to Norfolk Island.

Record of conduct in the Colony.

Name—Michael Fleming, alias Jones. *Nature of Crime*—Stealing from the person; 14 years. *Information as to past life*—A very bad-tempered and violent prisoner,

and likely to give bad advice to other prisoners. 1843, 7 years; March 1851, 18 months, high *Conduct in Western Australia*. Bread and cells. Class suspended 3 months. -Bread and cells. Class suspended 1 month. -Bread and cells. Class suspended 3 months.

Name—James Cannon; this is the sweepstake about two years ago for assault on a police officer. *Nature of Crime*—Assault with intent to murder. *Information as to past life*—Often for assault on police; not to be trusted. No record of crime in Western Australia.

These men would, of necessity, be a curse to the colony if they came reeking from the Convict Prisons unchanged, unrepentant, maddened in their minds, but had a system of intermediate Prisons be established in England, managed carefully and wisely as in England, men would be left to linger out their time in the colonies, be left, under treatment as moral lunatics.

Before we enter upon the consideration of the Commission's *Notes* we shall give a short sketch of the system adopted by the Board, and from which such evils have sprung; from this sketch the reader will see how clearly all was foreseen from the beginning, and no portion of the success is a happy accident or chance.

When, in the year 1854, the Directors of Prisons in Ireland, inspected the establishments placed under their direction, they found, as their first *Report* shows, that the prisoners, confined, although there was accommodation for only 3,210.

With prisons thus situated, and without the means enabled to draft away the Convicts to a Penitentiary, the Directors first endeavoured to enlarge the system of reformation, and thus, and by classification, resort to reformation. By an official communication, from the Superintendent's Office in Western Australia, they were informed of the want of system in our Irish Prisons, and that the convicts sent out in the ships "Robert Small" and "Dunbar," seemed incapable of comprehending the moral agencies; they knew nothing of the value of prudence, and self-reliance, as means to extricate

from the consequences of their former errors ; and the Superintendent declared—" coercion appears to be the only force they are capable of appreciating." In a word, they were unfit for the world, by reason of their crimes ; they were unfit for the Penal Colony by reason of prison mismanagement at home. Under these circumstances, and knowing that from want of good arrangement, the chief mischief springs, and knowing too, that, by sending such Convicts from our Gaols to our Colonies, they but retarded the advancement of our dependencies, the Directors set vigorously about their work of reform, and we shall permit them to relate, in their own words, some particulars of the course adopted :—

" The same feeling which prevents our inflicting on a colony convicts who have not been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline, also precludes our bringing forward prisoners for discharge in this country on *Tickets of License* as in England. We consider such *Tickets of License* to be a sort of guarantee to the community, that in consequence of a prisoner having been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline and reformatory treatment, he is considered a fit subject to be received and employed by those outside the prison.

" Such reformatory course not having hitherto been pursued in this country, we have not felt ourselves justified in recommending the use of *Tickets of License*."

In their *Report* for 1855 the Directors state.—

" We are of opinion that the employment of Convicts, selected on account of their general good character, &c., in small bodies on public works in various localities, under circumstances of exposure to the ordinary temptations and trials of the world, when the reality and sincerity of their reformation may be fairly and publicly tested, will present the most favourable chances for their gradual absorption into the body of the community. The public feeling is too general that all convicts are alike, and they are judged by the standard of the worst and most degraded. Such being the case, it is not to be wondered at that all respectable classes shrink from contact with them on their release from prison, as indeed they may well do, so long as they have a "*prison character*" only to refer to, earned under a strict discipline, surveillance, and restraint. It is, doubtless, an established fact, that many of the worst and most hopeless criminals will behave well under such circumstances, and will consequently obtain on discharge good "*prison character*;" therefore, what guarantee can any one give, that in giving employment to a released Convict, he is not harbouring a depraved and irreclaimable criminal, if he has no means beyond this "*prison character*" of learning anything of him. It is well known to all who are acquainted with the class to be found in

our Convict Prisons, that they present every descriptive character, and very various degrees of guilt, crime, and force of circumstances, rather than from innate and vice; some are more hardened by a longer career in prison, though still not destitute of all proper feelings, and affording good ground for hope of their ultimate sincere reformation; while others, it must be admitted, are speaking, altogether vicious, almost dead to any good, and hopelessly irreclaimable, but this last class is comparatively small. We hope by means of a careful selection of Convicts, their *general* as well as "prison character," by their removal to small bodies in various localities, comparatively free from surveillance) that the public will gradually become aware of the difference to which we have alluded, that many are not utterly irreclaimable; and that by degrees they will be willing to extend a helping hand to such as may really be deserving of their aid and encouragement.

"We believe that a general desire is felt by the community to aid in the restoration of these fallen members of society, all, or nearly all, shrink from personal contact with them when they become convinced that a *careful discrimination* exercised in the selection of the Convicts to be employed is indicated—that there are some of whose real and sincere good hopes have been formed—and when they know that this class of Convicts at least will be no longer regarded as less outcasts. If means cannot be devised to induce them to hold out a helping hand to re-establish the reform schemes for their improvement and reformation which, however ably devised, however zealously carried out, are comparatively fruitless.

"At Fort Camden, situated at the entrance to the harbor, where there is a branch of the Spike Island Prison, a party of selected Convicts who are now employed, under circumstances will admit, in the manner which we suggest, on Public Works in various localities, on or shortly after their discharge or license, or otherwise. This local position, the best which we can at present command, is not altogether remote from the objects which we have in view, inasmuch as being in a comparatively remote position, the Convicts subjected to this test are thrown into the world as much as we could wish, and are placed under circumstances which present sufficient difficulties, altogether satisfactory tests of the extent to which they can be placed in their future good conduct, and the reality of their reformation; but their employment here will afford an opportunity of testing, in a considerable degree, their good conduct in judging their fitness to be trusted under circumstances of ordinary life. We propose, therefore, that we obtain works more suitable for the objects we have in view, and draft the selected Convicts from Spike Island to this

stance, before trusting them under circumstances of greater exposure, which will enable us the better to sift the really deserving from those who do not give much fair promise.

"The Works which will be required at Lusk Common, preparatory to its occupation as a Juvenile Penal Reformatory, for which purpose we hope it will be shortly appropriated, will present one good field for the further trial of the scheme proposed. Here selected convicts employed on the Works will be more thrown in the haunts of the man, and the sincerity of their reformation and good intentions will be fully, fairly, and publicly tested.

"The Convicts thus selected will, of course, be compelled to work, at least, the ordinary hours required of free labourers; and we expect that their labour will more than cover the cost of their maintenance and supervision.

"Schooling and general instruction will be confined to the evenings, during the same hours which they might, if free, devote to similar purposes.

"We trust that other public Works may be found on which the labour of this class of Convicts may be profitably employed.

"Selected Convicts have as yet been tried to a very limited extent; but so far as they have been placed under less than the ordinary restraints of the Prison Discipline, as at Fort Camden, and in the Boat Service of the Prison, &c., their conduct has been almost uniformly unexceptionable, which, at least, gives encouragement for their being further tried."

Having thus arranged the prisons under their management, the Directors were in a condition to observe, closely and accurately, the result of their labors; and having carefully watched the whole working of the system adopted, and after consultation with his colleagues, Captain Crofton, the Chairman, resolved to test the following plan of the gradual restoration to liberty of the Ticket-of-leave men.

Finding the Smithfield Prison was no longer needed as a Prison, he stated to all employed within its walls, that it was about to use it in a peculiar manner, and that turnkeys, so called, would be no longer needed. That he was about to collect, from all the Convicts establishments in the island, the men of the very best characters as prisoners, and who were entitled, at an early day, to Tickets-of-leave. That these men were to receive the suit of clothes given to Ticket-of-leave men on quitting prison, that he would send these men to Smithfield, that he would not make them free men, nor yet would he, by any means, let them consider themselves prisoners. That each of these men, ignorant of a trade, should be taught one. That no man should leave the Establishment until, if possible, some

means of honest livelihood had been obtained. That every man should perform his part in the management, some cooking, some sweeping, all useful. Every one of the turnkeys should know some trade, and should act as foreman of his craft, and sit down to instruct his pupils—in fact, that all within the walls should be usefully employed; and that the rules should be observed:—

SMITHFIELD PRISON.

DAILY ROUTINE OF DUTY FOR EXEMPLARY

A.M.		
H.	M.	
5	0	Ring Bell—Fold bedding—Clean Cells.
—	30	Officers' Parade—Unlock Cells.
—	35	Empty Night Buckets—Prisoners Wash.
—	45	Assemble to Prayer.
6	—	Ring Bell—Commence Labor.
8	0	" " Breakfast—Exercise afterwards.
—	40	" " Officers' Parade—Examine Men.
—	45	Prisoners resume labor.
P.M.		
2	0	Ring Bell—Dinner—Exercise after.
—	55	" " Officers' Parade.
3	0	Prisoners resume labor.
5	0	Ring Bell—Commence Lecture.
7	0	" " Supper.
—	30	Commence Reading—Prayer, &c.
8	45	Ring Bell—Prisoners to cells and lock up.
9	0	Out Lights.
Time—		Fold bedding—Cleaning Cells—Wash, &c.
Meals—		Breakfast and Exercise forty-five minutes, Dinner
and Exercise		one hour, Supper thirty minutes
Lecture, Reading,		Prayer, and preparing for bed
Labor		... ..

From 5 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Shave on Wednesdays and Saturdays, Saturday

feet examined.
 Saturday Evening, Clean Shirts, Stockings and Neckties.
 Sundays and Holydays, Prayer, Reading and Exercise.
 To Pump Water, Clean Wards and Yards, White Wash.
 Cook, taken as required in rotation daily from Mat-pickers.

These rules came into operation on the first of January 1856. At that date the inmates of Smithfield numbered 54, inspected by 8 officers. Of these 54 only 10 proved themselves unsuited for the Institution.

required watching, and for this there was no time to spare.

On the 21st of February, there were 8 officers, and 48 inmates, of whom I have the following return of employments for that day:—Shoemakers, 13; tailors, 6; net-makers, 13; carpenters, 2; brushmakers, 6; nailor, 1; weaver, 1; picking and teasing mats, 5; store assistant, 1; cook, 1; in hospital, 4; total 48.

The Netmakers, Matworkers, and Brushmakers, were not employed at very well paying occupations, but many of these men were old, and incapable of learning the other trades; and yet, being of good conduct, could not be excluded from the benefits of the institution.

Netmaking is a trade which may be learned in a week, or less; and any body with fingers capable of ordinary work can earn at it four or five shillings a week; and the knowledge of the fact that an old, reformed man is able to earn this, or some such sum, may induce his friends to receive him kindly on his discharge from Smithfield. To this topic, however, we shall presently have occasion to return.

Captain Crofton, however, was not content with these excellent aids to Reformation; he knew that where the life of the Good Prisoner ends, the life of the Reformed Man begins, and he resolved that he would not permit the inmates of Smithfield to go forth without some species of knowledge of Common Things. All their hours, to five o'clock in the afternoon, were fully employed, but from that hour till seven o'clock, the time of supper, was open.

Being always anxious to secure the services of teachers trained by the Board of National Education in Ireland, Captain Crofton selected Mr. Organ, who had been for many years engaged as manager and teacher of adult evening schools. It was not Captain Crofton's intention that Mr. Organ should teach, as ordinary pupils are taught, from books. Men who work from five o'clock in the morning are not prepared to sit down to study lessons from school books at five o'clock in the evening. But in Smithfield, through the admirable system of lectures, the school hour is looked forward to as the pleasantest duty of the day.

Mr. Organ does not treat his audience as prisoners or as children; he treats them as men, as he was accustomed to treat his pupils in his night-school. He does not make

speeches, he *tells* them of Com earth, the planets, the tides ; of world ; of physical geography ; its Colonies ; of the rates of wa honest industry in each of the them and explains to them, the arithmetic ; and as ignorance, not shameful in his eyes, he h with his class, that any man prehend any portion of the disc hand, and at this signal the teac to the place where the man sits, to him, and does not leave him all is understood.

Thus the time, from five o'cl sed, and from that hour until se in conversation with the me copies. And each Saturday is of the men on the lectures of th

When he entered upon his d that some of the men were unal amongst those in the Institutio two young men of very good teaching, he employed the th advanced men in writing and re

A selection of books on use men after Lecture, and those employ themselves in corresp the letters of course passing Governor.

When an inmate of Smithfie tion or employment, amongst knew, he names some person v his services, and forthwith, if he

* The Directors of Convict Prisons in their selection of Head Masters. I that a Prison Teacher cannot show r ought to produce. The best result c is just that of which he cannot prod We can trace his work only in the g Plainly, and in fact, the Prison Teac with the schoolmaster's duties supers

a letter is written for him addressed to the person named by him. Let us, for example, take a case in point, the man being unable to write.

The clerk addresses a letter to John Murphy, Esq., of ———, and begs to inform him that James Mahony, now in Smithfield, and who was formerly in his employment, is desirous of again entering his service, and that any information which Mr. Murphy can give relating to Mahony's family will be acceptable.

This letter is useful in more ways than one; it may gain a place for Mahony, and if it fail in this, it may gain information as to the circumstances and reputation of his family, and thus, if he go back to his native place, the Directors know pretty accurately his chances of living honestly, and are able to judge if it be necessary to give the Police authorities a hint of the man's character. As a general rule, however, the men are advised not to return amongst their friends, unless the friends be honest, reputable people, or unless the man can obtain *immediate* employment.

No employer need engage one of these men without the fullest information being afforded. The Special books show the sentence, offence, previous character, and prison character of the man. The books, showing his conduct in Smithfield, are open to all, and are kept carefully, exactly, and mainly.

The men themselves keep books showing their earnings, as every good artizan or workman should do and thus a spirit of self knowledge and self dependence is acquired, for each man knows that if in his own book he enters his earnings, so, as accurately and as closely, is his good or bad conduct registered by the officers. If he gain the best marks for one branch of conduct, he must strike a balance he be but good or moderate in others: he is taught that he must strive to be the best of the best, and that in thus obtaining a position none is so deeply interested as himself; that on himself alone must he depend, and of himself must he work out his progress to excellence.

When he leaves Smithfield his earnings are not given to him; he must return at the end of six months and claim them in person, unless he can show good reason for his absence, and thus the Directors hope to gain some knowledge of each man's conduct during the most trying period

of his life, the first six months after he quits the institution, and thus too, they hope to avoid the just stigma attached by Mr. Recorder Hill, the late Mr. Sergeant, Rev. Mr. Clay, the Rev. Mr. Field, M. P., and others,* upon the hasty and indiscriminate grant of Tickets-of-Leave had been granted in the case of those convicts who were considered to be Good PRISONERS.

The best conducted men are also sent in to the city as messengers on the business of the institution, and are entrusted by their fellow-inmates with the purchase of the luxuries allowed by the rules. No man has ever been made of intoxication or dishonesty by any of those messengers. Mr. Organ writes, in his *Reports to the Directors*, thus:—

"It being a self-imposed duty of mine, approved by the Directors, to deavour to secure employment for the men before they are permitted to leave the institution, I have devoted a considerable amount of time to the fulfilment of this task; and I have been successful in getting men employed in the county and city of Dublin.

"There are at present in the county and city of Dublin 100 licensed men and three free men, and I classify them as follows:—

Licensed Men.

Weavers	.	.	.	1	Sweeps	.
Shopmen	.	.	.	1	Shoemakers	.
Painters	.	.	.	1	Tailors	.
Masons	.	.	.	1	Servants	.
Carpenters	.	.	.	1	Labourers	.

Free Men.

Shoemakers :	.	.	.	1	Labourers	.
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"Knowing the great importance which is attached to the ticket-of-leave question, I have carried out a systematic visitation of every man employed from the institution within twenty miles; I find that they are, with one exception, giving the most complete satisfaction.

"They are steady, sober, honest, and industrious."

The results of these visits are thus, in the *Report of the Directors*, but to which Colonel Peel refers, though he had it four months before the book in his possession, declared, after eight years' experience by Mr. Organ:—

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, VOL. V. NO. 20, &c.

"The good conduct of the men for whom I have been fortunate enough to procure employment, through the right feelings of worthy Employers, emboldens me to make repeated applications to the same Employers for others of our men."

"To find continuous employment for the men is sometimes rather difficult; nor do I wish to have it inferred that even to find employment at all for them at all periods of the year is easy. Much exertion is required, and a wide circle of friends necessary; but all these, without the good conduct of the men themselves, would soon prove valueless. This I impress upon them inside and outside the Institution, that all depends upon their own conduct; and I always keep before them how much harm even one man can do, and how far easier it is to make enemies for themselves and the system by the slightest act of misconduct, than to make friends by a long series of good, honest, and unexceptionable conduct."

But the system does not end here. There is a police supervision over the ticket-of-leave men. Upon this point Captain Crofton writes as follows at page 19 of his *Notes*:—

When Supervision is made a System and a Duty, there need be but little fear of Policemen acting indiscreetly. As it is in England, a Policeman is aware that a suspicious character has appeared in his neighbourhood, but does not know under what circumstances he is, therefore, suspecting him perpetually, and watching him continually; When it becomes a Duty to be performed discreetly by a confidential Officer, no such irritating espionage would or could take place. Both these phases have been tried in this Country. *Before* recognised Supervision took place, there was an irritating espionage, without an efficient check on the Criminal. Since that time, the public have been protected—the System of Prison Training tested on the most indisputable ground, and the well conducted Criminal uninjured. In their last Report, after the most careful consideration, the Directors of Irish Convict Prisons state in allusion to a special return:—

"It will be at once observed, and should be particularly noted, how far more complete is the Return A. which is applicable to Convicts conditionally pardoned (discharged on Licence), and that it is incomplete only as regards those gone to England and Scotland, to which countries our Police Supervision does not extend. How instructive for future guidance the comparison may be made is obvious. To appreciate its value, however, and fully to recognise the importance of adopting means to produce such a return as A, it will be necessary to advert to an error, and a very fatal error, prevailing in the United Kingdom at the present day, on the subject of Crime, viz., that conclusions are drawn from statistics in connexion with the number of detected offences committed by discharged Prisoners. We are not satisfied or dissatisfied with a certain per centage of convictions."*

* Alluding to a Return giving positive information of Convicts on Licence.

*We ignore the undetected offences,** and thereby paralyse which should be brought to bear against crime. Our Criminal Statistics of the United Kingdom more perfect, as in other countries they are made, crime with the utmost efforts at reforming the Criminal proved good. We must not rest satisfied with the discharge of many years' growth as a well-conducted Prisoner; his training has been of the right description, it is beyond the Prison walls. For our sake and for his, we follow him; his training is incomplete unless we do exercise such a supervision as shall aid him in his good, and keep him from his evil intentions. The objection, that such a supervision would be an interference with the liberty of the subject, is us to make the liberty of the Criminal the bondage of the subject. Such a supervision, acting detrimentally to the well-being of the newly released Convict, would be by the abuse, and not by the use, an important Police Duty. It is a momentous subject, one of all our troubles, and should not be rejected on insufficient grounds. Crime is rampant. Criminals tell us that they are committed with impunity before detection, of which state of account. We have now but one colony that will take account of it, and it has become necessary, absolutely necessary; that we should and professed Criminals should henceforward no longer be allowed to prosecute their callings comparatively unrestrained.

"It has been proved, in this country, that such a supervision is beneficially to the community as well as to the well-being of the Criminal, and we have yet to learn that the Irish Convict has a predilection in favour of Police and Law than those of other countries. The duty of supervision should be, in fact, a continuing one, and could be performed by well selected Officers in communication with the Prison Department.

"There is yet another reflection for those who hesitate at the adoption of such supervision. The countries that have distinguished in their efforts to reform their Criminals have instituted a judicious supervision over them when discharged, and rightly judge, such a system to be a powerful aid of their reformation. The more we surround the Criminal with difficulties, the fewer offenders we shall number.

I cannot but notice here an observation on the part of Mr. Jebb, that "in Ireland the feeling of the Country is against the Convicts than it is in England, and that it is Van Dieman's Land." This remark, assimilating Ireland to Van Dieman's Land, must arise from a total misunderstanding of the feeling of the public, and those who give employment—the feeling is not what it is, but quite the contrary. As Convicts, however, are not to be well prepared for release, have hitherto done well, and from the feeling that that Supervision acts as a check on the public, there is less reluctance felt than at first when they are employed.

* Police Sergeant Loomes's Account states that twenty-two had been committed before detection.

On turning to Colonel Jebb's evidence in the First Report of the Transportation Committee of 1856, I observe, in reply to one question amongst many very pertinent ones put to him by Sir John Pakington, (Question and Answer, 1,253, page 120):—

"1253. Would it not be quite practicable to arrange a System under which men might be discharged with Tickets of Leave; but under which it should be known only to the Police of the district, or possibly to the Magistrates of the district, that they were Ticket-of-Leave Men?"—"I think that would be a great object if the Ticket-of-Leave system were continued as a principle, and that it would be desirable to effect something of the sort. It might, no doubt, be practicable by communicating confidentially with the Police Authorities, who might see parties who were inclined to employ those people confidentially, and who might receive and pay the money that was due to them."

But this is a very serious question to the public, with reference to the Penal Servitude Act of 1857, inasmuch as *in the one case* Prison good conduct will entitle an advanced Criminal to be let loose and unchecked on the community at minimum periods of his sentence; * *the other*, he would receive a discharge at the *same period*, but conditional on his subsequent good conduct, *sufficient Supervision and more*, being established to effect this result.† The benevolent individual Supervision recommended is theoretical and incomplete, and practice would prove unsatisfactory. We are by no means to conclude that all Convicts discharged and remaining in the United Kingdom *intend* reforming their lives, if even they are aided so to do, and it is our Duty to note the conduct of all. We are bound to require very strong proof of well-doing before we credit the Reformation of an advanced Criminal. It is better, therefore, to have an efficient check in the event of his ill-doing, and if we consider what a good system of Reformatory Training has done for him during his incarceration, we need have no hesitation in thus protecting ourselves against his relapse on release. Although, under a good Prison system, we have punished him as he deserved to be punished, we have so endeavoured to train him for better things—the idle, to become industrious—the thoughtless, to consider—the rogue, to be honest. If he uses this Training to his advantage he is, by his own exertions and Gratuities, enabled either to prosecute industry at home, or to remove himself voluntarily to lands where his antecedents will not appear against him. I believe that efficient Training will tend to the latter, and in my opinion better, result, and that the majority of well-intentioned Criminals will, under a proper system, apply their faculties to this wise purpose. Experience enables me to confirm only this opinion.

If, after all these advantages of Training, the Criminal neglects his opportunities, the State can have no further concern for him, save through the Police. It would be a mere mawkish sympathy and

The regulations under the Act of 1857 leave the question as to whether the discharge is to be conditional or unconditional still open.

* This leave is no bar to the Criminal who wishes to quit the country—supervision only affecting those in the United Kingdom.

want of consideration for more honest and better men, and hesitate at restraining him from his evil courses.

Whatever excuse or sympathy may be urged in his behalf, the plea of parental neglect, destitution, &c., *before* he enters a proper system of Prison Training, there could be none *after*; but the *gauge* of that system should be a *requirement*.

Let us now consider the case of the ticket-of-leave man in England.

Let us just look at the system adopted in this country. Say, of *The Nobbler*, when his time of discharge is up. *The Nobbler* may have a father and mother, but he is of the criminal class (this is the worst cross one can get). *The Nobbler* has grown up in a perfect knowledge of the shifts and dodges of his trade. We have known *The Nobbler*, in every stage of development, from the baby, we may say, in his own peculiar training place, the Condemned Cell; and we know that if he is reared in crime, it is very hard, indeed, to get him out of him." Now, we have seen many *Nobbler* families who have gone through every stage of immorality and scoundrelism, from picking pockets to robbing, and from assaulting the police to dancing upon the heads of the unfortunate, forlorn women who live with them, and who have seen these ruffians though sentenced to Transportation, set loose upon the community, at the expiration of the term of the sentence; why? because the LAW is not severe enough because they had good PRISON characters!

We are writing now of the Prison characters of *Punch*, and Dickens, and the *London Scoundrel*. Read tumble and mouth, and grin—and they are made by facts, to tumble, and mouth, and grin, if they can get pages, and gain pence, by laughing at what they have laughed at—the prisoner who has *only* the character; but the prisoner who has a character can do public works can be made, if the right system is adopted, a man of entirely a different stamp; and the result is to collect that we are still, even with *all* these changes, far from our ideal, he is really, one of half a dozen *Nobbler*, in view.

Well, *The Nobbler* has had his separate confinement, he has got on some public work, and his time has come for "The Ticket:" the chaplain tries to procure

for him; suppose his place of conviction to have been Liverpool, the chaplain, at *The Nobbler's* suggestion, tries there. Now, suppose employment is or is not, procured, but *The Nobbler* goes at a certain time. He, rascal as he is, has, as he would say, "gone in to win," and he has tried to please every body: he is a "handy man"; he turns himself to any thing; he makes as much money as he can by prison earnings, and, in a new "fit" of clothes, he goes off at the appointed time to the railway station, accompanied by an officer; his fare is paid, he gets his post-office order, for the first instalment of his earnings, on the office of the place which he goes, and the charming innocent starts upon a new road of life. He arrives: "the active and intelligent constable," Brown, has not been informed, as he should have been, that his old friend, *The Nobbler*, has gone back, after a four or six years' sojourn in prison and on public works; but Brown "spots" *The Nobbler*, and he tells Robinson to look out, for *The Nobbler* has come back. The two constables, Brown and Robinson, do look particularly sharp after *The Nobbler*. They may look too sharp, and deprive him of work; or they may see him going about with *Dow-Jim*, or the *Larky Boy*, and they may know that he has honest means of support, and they may have full and ample proof that he is rearing a whole new army of little *Nobblers* and *Nobbleresses*, with a code of moral laws like that set down in Sir E. B. Lytton's *Paul Clifford*—"Never steal when any one is looking at you;" Brown and Robinson may know, and *do know*, that all scoundrelism is going on and progressing, but the police authorities appear to be communistic. We cannot see the difference, practically, between Prudhon and Sir Richard Mayne, except in this, that Prudhon knows his business, and Richard Mayne, C.B., admits that he is quite ignorant of his business, and directs his officers to do that which the law says they could not do.*

Colonel Jebb, R.E.C.B., receives *The Nobbler's* papers a month before *The Nobbler* is to be discharged: the chaplain finds in his enquiry papers: *The Nobbler* has, in addition, red marks from all the authorities, and the papers are sent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who, in a wonderful fiction, is supposed to read them. Now, it

* See Post, Sir R. Mayne's evidence.

appears from the evidence that the Secretaries read reports of the conduct of Ticket-of-Leave men during the period over which the tickets extended, and always directed that the bird shall be allowed to commit a new offence before he is arrested, even though it is, in all points, contrary to the system, and to the intention of the Legislature.

Without entering into the topic as to whether the convictions of Ticket-of-Leave men are eight or thirty per cent., we are quite willing to admit that the Ticket-of-Leave System has not been satisfactory in England; but we must, even whilst making this admission, declare, as many others have done, that the system has had no trial at all in England. A man who has completed his time he is, provided his previous conduct has been good, entitled to a Ticket-of-Leave; he is granted; he is taken to the railway station; he is sent back to the very place in which he was committed; his return is not notified to the public. He arrives at the end of his journey: he may be inclined; but work is hard to be procured: still, if he is honest; he may even obtain employment at once; but he may lose it if his master discovers that he is a Ticket-of-Leave man; and, having no Patronage Society to help him, he falls back amongst his old companions. The police have been well inclined. The police authorities have sent him back to his original haunts, and leave him to his fate. They know that he is without honest means of support, and place him with the worst class of rogues; two police officers declared, before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1856, that they would not consider themselves bound to arrest any Ticket-of-Leave man unless he committed a new offence, even though he had forfeited his ticket on open breaches of every condition endorsed upon it.

* The following is the form of the Licence delivered to a Ticket-of-Leave man on his liberation:—

ORDER OF LICENCE to a CONVICT, made under the
Vict., chap. 99, sect. 9.
Whitehall, day of 18

HER MAJESTY is graciously pleased to grant to
was convicted of at the for
of on the day of
then and there sentenced to be transported beyond

For example, Police Sergeant Mark Loomer has been fourteen years in the Metropolitan Police. He knows all the thieves and Ticket-of-Leave men. He knows one man who has been back about four months on Ticket-of-Leave from either Bermuda or Gibraltar, and he has not less than twenty boys and girls, of ages between twelve and sixteen years, engaged under his able tuition in stealing, and one of the pupils was up for trial whilst the witness was being examined.

term of years, Her Royal Licence to be at large in the United Kingdom from the day of his liberation under this Order, during the remaining portion of his said term of transportation, unless it shall please her Majesty sooner to revoke or alter such Licence. And Her Majesty hereby orders that the said be set at liberty within 30 days from the date of this Order.

Given under my hand and seal,

Signed (by the Secretary of State).

(True copy).

Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons.

(On the back.)

NOTICE.—We beg the reader's special attention to the terms of this Notice.—

1. The power of revoking or altering the licence of a convict will most certainly be exercised in case of his misconduct.

2. If, therefore, he wishes to retain the privilege, which, by his good behaviour under penal discipline he has obtained, he must prove by his subsequent conduct that he is really worthy of Her Majesty's clemency.

3. To produce a forfeiture of the licence, it is by no means necessary that the holder should be convicted of any new offence. If he associates with notoriously bad characters, leads an idle and dissolute life, or has no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, &c., it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be once apprehended, and re-committed to prison under his original sentence.

DESCRIPTION.

hair	
eyes	
eyebrows	
nose	
mouth	
complexion... ..	
stature	
make	
height... ..	feet. in.
trade	
born at	
friends reside at	

Now, it is very remarkable that Sergeant such good terms with this man, that he had his Ticket-of-Leave; he knew all about the girls; he knew that many Ticket-of-Leave re-conviction, do not themselves appear in crime, but prefer to devote their scoundrel instruction of a future race of rogues. But Looime is not to blame; the Home Office, and Mayne, K.C.B., are the persons who have Ticket-of-Leave men to break, with impunity, conditions which make the Licence a protection. Here we have the chief officer of the London declaring that he thinks he never saw a Ticket-of-Leave man, that he did not know what conditions were attached to it. This evidence of Sir Richard Mayne is weak, and proves so clearly why the Ticket-of-Leave system is not satisfactory in England, that we insert it here:—

“3459. Mr. Ker Seymer.] I find these words on the Ticket-of-Leave, ‘The power of revoking or altering the licence of a convict will most certainly be exercised in case of’ ‘To produce a forfeiture of the licence it is by no means sufficient that the holder should be convicted of any new crime, or associates with notoriously bad characters, leads an idle life, or had no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood; it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be at once apprehended and re-committed to prison for a full term of his original sentence.’ Is that latter part ever carried out to answer that question; that should be better known to the Home Office; but as far as I know, my answer is, it is not carried out.

3460. Do you report persons answering to this question to the Home Secretary?—I have reported some.

3461. You do not make it your business to report to the Home Secretary the answer to the endorsement upon the back of the Ticket-of-Leave?—No, I have not done so. I have not seen a ticket-of-leave, and I never had, officially, any opportunity of knowing what the words were.

3462. Then you have had no instructions upon this subject?

3463. These being the terms on which these men are released, do you not think it would be a great check upon them if they knew that the conditions of the ticket-of-leave were such as to force them to do so?—I think it would.

3464. Mr. Massey.] Would not involve a great deal of trouble on the part of the police, which it is most desirable to avoid. That is a difficulty of another kind; it would.

3465. Mr. Ker Seymer.] Supposing it is better not to enforce that condition, would it not be better to erase it from the back of the ticket-of-leave?—*I did not know that that endorsement was on the ticket-of-leave.*"

Here as we have stated, we have the whole secret of the so-called failure of the system—of the system never tried, never tested, because its vital principle was systematically ignored by the Home Office, and ignorantly neglected or despised by the police authorities. Not alone in England has the system been thus abused, but it has been equally mismanaged, or rather not managed at all, in Scotland. Every protection and security was ensured by the conditions in the endorsement, but through the non-observance of the very conditions the system has fallen into disrepute, and obloquy and fear are excited by even the name of a Ticket-of-Leave.

Difficulties or prejudices, as to the employment of Ticket-of-Leave men in England, would have been always of serious and pressing importance, even if the system had been carried out in its fullest and most perfect integrity, instead of neglected, slighted, overturned, completely subverted as has been, by official blundering, official ignorance, or that departmental isolation into which too many officers in the public service cast themselves—attempting to carry out to the utmost of their ability, the lately expounded but long practised system of "How Not To Do it." We have heard one of the ablest men in England say, that a genuine red-pist, one of the *Tadpole* and *Taper* species, would think himself guilty of a great and unwarrantable exceeding of duty if he were to know, or try to know, what was being done, not alone in the next room, but at the next desk. We were inclined to question the general accuracy of our friend, but looking towards the Lords' and Commons' Reports on Transportation before us, we are obliged to admit that he was right: we were obliged to admit that he was wofully right, for whilst the *Doyces* may starve, and hope, and die under "the Circumlocution Office" administration, the *Nobblers* live, flourish, and garrot, under the same destructive nothingism and know-nothingism policy of which the evidence already quoted, of Sir Richard Mayne, K.C.B., furnishes so brilliantly dolorous a specimen.

The Ticket-of-Leave given to the holder tells him, broadly

and plainly, that it will be revoked if he is in such places, in bad company, in his old haunts, and without any apparent means of living honestly. He is in such conditions in one day, and the police know it, and he is committed to the authorities, who wait until he has committed a new crime. But supposing that he does not wish to commit a new crime; supposing he has been through starvation and amidst the despair of going to be honest; supposing that he knows, how, that he was in prison, suffering the penalty of his folly, as the case may be, his wife has supported him and has lived on in hope of the joy of the pardon; supposing that, on coming out of prison, he finds that all the world looked upon him frowningly; that he could not procure work because he was a thief; that he was a man; supposing that his wife loses her work; that he has heard that her husband has come home, and that he is supposing that he begs work for the wages sufficient to procure the food of a palsied beggar; supposing that he sees his children starving; supposing that he sees a child thrown into the world in cold, and want, and without a nurse, no doctor, no fire, no anything, to support it; that he is not a beast; supposing all these things to be true, and leave man's lot, (and we do not suppose them to be every circumstance here stated to have, with our knowledge, happened a dozen times within the last twelve months) what is he to do—to steal. True, and in the quiet cell, of the good, kind chaplain, of the good days on the public works, may rise up before him the shadowy dream of the good resolutions formed in his early days may flit before his mind; but there—before him stand children, and lies his wife and their mother in prison, the chaplain, and the labors of the present in the terrible present now around him—falls, and then he is arrested, and then he is brought before the calendar before the Judge, and then the learned Judge dresses the Grand Jury, and says that a thief is upon the calendar, charged with a murder; and then the learned Judge, who, like every man has been reading *The Times*, (why should he not?) we suppose without knowing it parrots *The Times*. The Grand Jury go away to their room in a state

astonishment at the condition of the country; *The Times* writes a "leader" on the charge of the learned Judge, and calls on the country to return to Transportation; *Punch* gets up a picture; the nursery maids substitute Ticket-of-Leave man for Old Bogy; revolvers go up, and suburban residences go down.

Now, whence comes all this mischief? From these immediate sources:—First, letting the men out before there is certain proof of reformation. Second, through not arresting them upon the first discovered breach of the conditions of the Ticket. Third, through our having provided no Refuge for the honestly disposed men, to which they can return when out of work, these Refuges being most plainly and evidently necessary, until the public mind shall be able to distinguish between a common culprit, turned out of a common gaol, and a reformed man discharged with a Ticket-of-Leave, given upon careful investigation, from a Convict Prison.

Thus the reader is enabled to understand why Irish ticket-of-leave men have gone on well, English ticket-of-leave men ill—it is because the system has been carefully worked in Ireland and anxiously neglected in England.

Turning now to another portion of Colonel Jebb's report we find him declaring that Captain Crofton's plans are not original, and looking at Smithfield he exclaims "That's my Thunder." We give Captain Crofton's answer; our own papers in this *Review* and the *Record* of the day prove Captain Crofton's accuracy. He writes:—

It has been shown, in discussing the first chapter, that although Colonel Jebb does not recognise anything in the discipline of the Irish Convict Prisons, which does not possess the type in his plans, there is, however, a very great and a very obvious difference. Smithfield, he states, appears to be established on the principle of the Refuge at Fulham. Smithfield Intermediate Prison was established and occupied in January, 1856. The directors' report for 1855, gives the reason for intermediate prisons being required, and the quotation is made in my notes on the observations in the first chapter. My evidence, in May, 1856, to a Committee of the House of Commons, explained the system, and gave the *results* of the experiment *up to that period*. I, at the same time, elaborated a plan of an intermediate system, which I stated that our board believed would simplify the difficulties of the convict question. Two years and four months have elapsed since this evidence was given. The closest possible experience has been obtained of 1,500 prisoners under that system—

the greatest labor that could be devoted, the most perfect could be devised, have been applied to this subject. They have been, that my anticipations have been amply realized, the directors most strongly confirmed. At the period when the field results were given by me, the building of Fulham was not even completed, neither was it occupied until after the difference between the two, as I shall show, is greatly increased. The inmates of Smithfield have been paid from its income. Gratuities, according to the work they perform, and the Dietary is reported sufficient, and that is all.

The following is the "Fulham Dietary" (page 13):

"*Breakfast*.—Cocoa, one pint (made with one half lb. of one-half oz. sugar, two oz. milk), and six oz. bread.

"*Ordinary Dinners*.—*Sunday*.—Cold beef pie, and potatoes. The pie to contain four oz. of cooked meat, to be made of four oz. of flour, and one oz. of dripping. *Monday*: Baked mutton, five oz. of cooked meat; four oz. of one-half lb. of potatoes. *Tuesday*: Boiled beef as an ordinary do., do. *Wednesday*: Beef pudding, to contain four oz. when cooked. The paste to be made of four oz. of flour, one oz. of suet; or the same quantity of Irish stew, with potatoes; one half lb. potatoes. *Thursday*: Boiled mutton, four oz. of cooked meat; four oz. of bread; one-half lb. of potatoes. Baked beef, with the same quantity of bread and potatoes. Soup, one pint (made with three oz. of cooked beef, three oz. of potatoes, one oz. of barley, one oz. of onions, one-half lb. of potatoes, and six oz. of bread. Women employed in the wash, and other hard labour, to have one oz. of meat in addition to the broth each day, excepting Sunday and Wednesday. Men employed to have 1½ oz. of cheese, and two oz. of bread, as may be convenient.

"*Tea*.—One pint of tea (made with one sixth of an oz. of fourths of an oz. sugar, 1½ oz. milk), and eight oz. bread.

This Dietary for Prisoners would have, in our opinion, produced contentment from motives of animal gratification. In fact, the very principle we wished to inculcate, had the coarse fare, would be thus sacrificed. It appears from the Report of the Directors of English Convict Prisons (published), that inmates of Fulham have committed thefts four, and five times, and have still been retained to improved fare and modified treatment. Punishments and dark cell confinements take place. These are all very important differences in principle. The removal to the Ordinary Prison is the sole Punishment in the Prisons, and the high tone that should prevail is thus preserved, although no offences are overlooked, the results have been of rare occurrence, and that but few offend.* earned at Smithfield, according to the work performed.

* Only forty offences in two years and nine months.

† The work performed will favourably compare with Government Establishment in the United Kingdom.

to convey to the mind of the Convict, that industry (of which he keeps such an account as enables him day by day to realize its value), will be his *principal aid* in replacing himself in an honest course ; and if he is properly instructed *as to its use and not its abuse*, it will effect that result, acting, as I believe, generally and more beneficially in conveying him where his antecedents will be no bar whatever to his future, and it is to be hoped, very different course. In some cases of employment in this country, the Convict deposits his Gratuity, or a portion of it, with his Employer, as an earnest of his good intentions ; in others, he supplements it (if insufficient) when in employment, until he has saved enough to quit the country. The total amount of Gratuity in Ireland, of a Convict under sentence of four years' Penal Servitude, whose conduct has been most satisfactory throughout, and accompanied by the most active industry, would be (inclusive of every possible earning and Gratuity) £7 0s 2d. In England, it is £14 2s 9d. We consider even the former to be sufficient. We have had no "Patronage Society" to aid a criminal on discharge, and yet large numbers have left the country by means of this Gratuity ; it has sufficed them with great economy and privation to go to where their labour is wanted. They have gone and have done well. It is but right that their circumstances should differ from those of the ordinary Emigrant, and that their passage to free life should be somewhat rougher.

With regard to our Female Convicts, we did not approve of an Intermediate Prison ; believing that under any arrangement there would be considerable difficulty in obtaining employment for them on Discharge. In the Directors' Report for 1855, page 8 and 9, they state :—

"A Government Institution would answer for a mere Refuge, but not as a medium through which the individual will be re-established in Society ; for under any Rules, it will be looked upon as a Prison, and on the discharge of the Inmates, the same difficulties will be felt as at present in our Convict Depôts. For this reason, instead of increasing the existing Government Prison Establishments—a plan attended with much expense, delay and difficulty—we proposed, in December last, to the Irish Government, that Convicts whose conduct has been exemplary should be drafted into existing Private Charitable Institutions willing to receive them, where the disposition of each Inmate would be studied, and the Certificate of character founded on that study, together with recommendations, would then be considered sufficiently satisfactory to obtain her employment."

This course was immediately sanctioned, and we have for the last two and a-half years placed them in "Refuges," a course which has answered uncommonly well, and has been the means of replacing a very large majority in a respectable course of life, either at home or in the Colonies.

The results obtained at Fulham prison in England (according to the recently published Reports of the Directors) evince the difficulties that beset the Female Convicts in obtaining employment, and confirms this opinion very strongly.

Colonel Jebb, although an Irishman, has been in England that he has become a thorough Britisher. He, like all old traditions, fears that Captain Crofton is not sufficiently *detering*. The Colonel resembles a man who when remonstrated with by his wife for beating a woman with whom he cohabited, says, "you, the more a chap licks 'em the more they love him." We know that it is very difficult to induce a man to do anything which he calls a system. The best of Merton is ever before him, and in this question of Discipline his ablest friends have occasionally been obliged to keep him wrong. We know that the Prison of Correction is now admitted to be one of the best institutions in the Kingdom; we have frequently consulted for sound information, and for enlightened opinions, the invaluable Reports of its late veteran Chaplain, our friend, the Rev. John Clay; but thirty-six years ago Sydney Smith, notwithstanding his clear soundness of world-wide sympathies, and his reforming temper, was writing in *The Edinburgh Review*, of the Prison of Correction, just then introduced into the Kingdom, as not rendering prisons "terribly useful." He contended that all the looms of Preston Gaol were destroyed, and that for them should be substituted the tread-mill, or some species of toil where the prisoner could not see the result of his labour. It was contended that this labour should be monotonous, dull, as possible,—all pulling and pushing, ironing, and writing. It was said that although *ironing* should be put upon prisoners before trial, yet after trial it was a great advantage to be derived from the disengagement of irons and of a particolored prison dress, and pain, and suffering—wasted, useless, and unprofitable, according to Sydney, the foundation of a new system. Reformation was never thought of; it was recommended that a prisoner committed for three years should pass a part of that period in *complete* darkness, in complete *solitude*, perhaps in complete *solitary idleness leads to repentance*). The prisoner should be exempted from cold, be kept perfectly clean, be given sufficient food to prevent hunger or illness, wear decent dress and moderate irons, and have no communication with any body but the officers of the prison and the

These were Sydney Smith's opinions in 1821, but in 1856, the old fire of Henry Brougham, in its brilliancy, its ardor, and its power blazed up once more, and thus he wrote, answering the Colonel by anticipating him, in that noble paper on *The Inefficiency of Simply Penal Legislation*, read at the Bristol Meeting of the National Reformatory Union:—

"All writers upon the subject of penal laws have laid it down at the outset of their tractates that the only end of punishment is to teach others by example, and to prevent the criminal himself from repeating his offence. But they forget the second head of their discourse almost as soon as they have laid it down, or they only keep it in view so far as to show that the means of prevention are the destruction of the offender by his death, or the removing him from the country by exile, or the incapacitating him from wrong doing by perpetual imprisonment. None of them, so far as I am aware, contemplate the case of those convicts who are again to enter society, either by return from transportation or by discharge from imprisonment; and yet to one or other of these classes belong by far the greater proportion of all who are sentenced. But I go a step further, and ask what right we have, even in the case of perpetual imprisonment, to leave the criminal unreformed? Then, if he be reformed, I finally demand what right we have to continue his imprisonment one hour, unless for the sake of the example afforded by his suffering—a reason the weakness of which I have, I really think, already sufficiently proved?

"The result, then, of our inquiry has led to this proposition, which I venture to lay down as resting on arguments wholly irrefragable, viz., that all punishment should be conducted mainly with a view to reforming the offender. I regard the culprit as our patient; I consider the judge who consigns him to punishment as the parent, or guardian, or master, who sends his child, or ward, or workman, to an hospital; I look upon the state as the superintendent of that infirmary; and the governor with his assistants as the physician with his helpers occupied in bringing about a cure. The malady is rather chronic than acute, and it is always infectious; but the treatment is to be regulated by principles, guided by knowledge, tempered with kindness and tenderness, yet administered with a firm and unflinching hand. There is occasionally a fatal result—sometimes a long protracted cure; but in the vast majority of cases the skill and the care of the physician prevail, and the result is happy for both the patient who recovers his health and the community which avoids the contagion."

Captain Crofton replies as follows on the Colonel's fears as to the loss of a deterring effect:—

"The whole of this Chapter argues a total misconception of the system."

When it was decided not to give the Convicts sent to the Servitude Tickets of License, it appears that, in the English Prisons, this class of Prisoners gave a great deal of trouble. It was recommended by Colonel Jebb that they should be allowed luxuries in dietary, stated in my Notes on the First Report. On its being suggested to the Directors of Irish Convicts that they should adopt it, they thought proper to write a Letter, dated 1856, also given in the same Notes.

A perusal of this Letter will, of itself, clearly show that the Directors considered should be the ruling principle in dealing with criminals under a heavy Sentence of the Law. At this time, the immediate Prisons were, on their recommendation, approved as probable, therefore, that any System would have been adopted by them or sanctioned by the Government, so utterly inconsistent with the above Official Communication. The facts were supposed, otherwise.

Hard work, and the lowest fare the Medical Officer could get was the Rule established—so low, indeed, in the first instance, as to call for his official remonstrance.* The amount of his fare from the Prisoner, the Fare provided, the previous Prisoner's imprisonment, amounting to upwards of four-fifths of his time, not cheered by high Gratuities and animal gratifications, accompanied by Penal association from the hour he enters the Prison, combine to render his position most unenviable.

Prison Discipline and Prison Treatment should not be based on the supposition that it is *not* known; it is *such* a nature as *might* be known, and *yet* not operate as the deterring element; if it will not stand that test, it is rejected as unsound. I extract a portion of the last Address signed by the Directors, and fully concurred in by Captain

"In conclusion, we believe the Prison System now in vogue in the Convict Department in this country to be as opposed to the encouragement of the Evil-doer as it is favourable to the reformation of the Criminal who has suffered a sufficient Penalty for his crime, and who desires henceforward to live on the proceeds of his industry, instead of on that of the community. He needs no other inducement so to do, and these are acquired through the extra labour of the sweat of the brow, of the Offender.

"The objection to the System, of its offering a Premium for crime, if ever made, can have no place here. The early stages of the System are sufficient to convince an inquirer that the objection is quite invalid. The Dietary, from the commencement of the Sentence, is the lowest the Medical Officer can permit. The enforced Order, Cleanliness and Regularity, the absence of any oppressive of an air of comfort to the casual observer, is the most repugnant to the previous habits of the Offender, and most thoroughly opposed to his ideas of enjoyment."

Experienced persons, conversant with the Irish System

* Instances have, indeed, been known of Convicts purchasing from their Gratuity to better their allowed Ration.

daily action (Captain Whitty and Captain Knight, for example). known full well that it is not possible to find any known System of Imprisonment consistent with enlightenment, requiring more from Criminals than is done in this country. The result is, perhaps, the best evidence of success, but few return, and the well-doing of the majority can be *proved*, not *supposed*.

No Prisoners have left this country for Western Australia for the last five years; so that no assistance in absorption has been given, the System has had to stand or to fall on its merits.

Under the New Regulations, it is quite clear that, Penal Servitude to Western Australia is to be a reward for good Prison conduct; this will be evident in a comparison of a Ten years' Penal Servitude Sentence to be carried out at *home* or in *Western Australia*.

EXTRACT FROM RULES.

"If he is sent to Western Australia, he will be eligible for a *Ticket-of-Leave* in five years. If detained at home, with *good conduct*, he will be retained for *seven and a-half years*."

With reference to the quotation from Mr. Organ's Report, made by Colonel Jebb, it must be remembered that he was then speaking to a class of Prisoners who anticipated being released on *Ticket-of-Leave* in Western Australia instead of in this country, a course they would have infinitely preferred.

Sufficient has already been extracted from the Annual Report of the Directors of Irish Convict Prisons for 1857, to show how utterly delusive are negative Statistics. To conclude that 70 or 75 per cent. of the most advanced Criminals (too bad to be even trusted in Association before liberation), indiscriminately discharged, are withstanding the strongest and most real tests of free life, because they are *not reported* to have been re-convicted; and because written information has been received of hundreds, by the Chaplains, where many thousands are in question, is another and, perhaps, the strongest proof of the *urgent requirement of more positive and more reliable information*, as pleaded for in the Directors of Irish Convict Prison's Report of 1857.

To show the utter futility of such a conclusion, from the mere fact of Convicts not being known as Re-convicted, I again refer to Police Sergeant Looime's Evidence before the same Committee, and whatever errors he may have made and acknowledged, in frequently confounding *Ticket-of-Leave* Men with those unconditionally discharged, he is quite clear that *the class* of whom he speaks are Convicts who have been under sentence of Transportation. He states (Second Report, Questions and Answers, 2618, 2619, 1629):—

"2618. What are the kinds of offences that you have found these *Ticket-of-Leave* Men committing?—Some have been sent away for Housebreaking to very heavy Penal Servitude, and for Highway Robbery. They may commit *many offences before they are detected*; they may commit *twenty very serious offences before they are detected*, after coming back; and I have seen them the same day that they have come back with their old companions again.

"2619. Have those men had an opportunity of getting into work, do you know?—I do not think they ever tried; I have seen them

when they have come back in a day or two, and they are day and night, with these parties with whom they are repeatedly ; drunk about the streets with females. I am an exception ; I think some men go to work ; I know some.

"2620. You have spoken of those who have misconducted themselves ; have you the means of knowing whether men Leave Men have conducted themselves well on their what proportion they bear to those who have conducted ill?—I think the majority have conducted themselves since they have been home ; where one is reformed back, I think I may say ten or twenty return to the again."

Had the latest Report of the Directors of Irish Convicts been quoted from, instead of one written eighteen months ago, would have shown that their *anticipations* have been *justified*.

As confirmatory of this statement, I shall, as briefly as possible, quote some statistics of the results of the Intermediate Prisons in Ireland:

Discharged from the Intermediate Prisons since January 1856,	1856,	.	.	.	.
Of this number were discharged with commuted sentences		.	.	.	.
unconditionally,		.	.	.	.
Discharged on License		.	.	.	.

Of the 511 unconditionally discharged, only five were consigned to the Convict Prisons. This is on most positive and tested information.

Of the 816 discharged on license, forty-five have had their licenses revoked, fifteen of the forty-five for keeping bad company, failing to report themselves, &c. The re-convictions, only thirty, not four per cent., although 467 of the 816 were re-convicted, and the information is in their cases positive, and reliable.

When I further add, that from fifty to sixty discharged are under constant notice in this city, and that among those whose evil and daring deeds have formerly made them notorious to the Police—that many of these have for two years been in daily work ; that I am in the habit of regularly communicating with the Police, for the purpose of checking and correcting any report I may receive—it will be evident how much the Intermediate System and its results are accomplished, not alone, but in conjunction with the reformation, the firm, judicious, and not inquisitorial use of the system.

An augmentation of numbers need not increase the difficulties.

* It will be noted also that many of these Convicts are in the habit of training others to their evil courses ; their conduct is therefore of the greatest importance.

inconvenient extent, as the system in each Intermediate Prison regulates its own inmates internally and externally.

NOTES ON CONCLUSIONS DRAWN.

1stly. I have already endeavoured to show that there is no foundation for the conclusion that the character of the Convicts and circumstances of the two countries are essentially different. The remainder of this conclusion assumes that knowledge of character may be desirable in Ireland, but that it is unnecessary and inapplicable to England; and that Officers have a better opportunity of judging the character of men in large masses than in the smaller numbers located in Intermediate Prisons, which is contrary to all experience.

2ndly. This objection has been shown to have no applicability to Intermediate Prisons as they *ought* to be established. No Prison dietary or system *seen* or *unseen* should be of a character to sacrifice the deterring element of punishment. If based upon this principle, there need be no fear of exhibition to the public. It is notorious that the Dietary and Gratuities, &c., of different Convict Prisons in England, are as well known to those outside as inside the walls.

3rdly. Supervision not having been even tried in England, it is premature to conclude a failure, if inaugurated under a well considered system.

After a most careful and minute investigation on the part of a Committee of the House of Commons in 1857, they report (Sixteenth Resolution), "That every Convict on his release with a Ticket-of-Leave, *ought* to be reported to the Police of the town or district to which he is sent."

It is assumed by Colonel Jebb that the statements of indiscreet conduct on the part of the Police, given by Convicts who have been again convicted, and are endeavouring to excuse themselves from idleness and crime, are correct, although there is Police and reliable evidence to the contrary.

It is fallacious to argue that "Ticket-of-Leave" men have been marked as a class and have *thereby* suffered, as no notification having been made to the Police of the circumstance, this would have been clearly impossible. They have been noticed in *common* with other discharged Convicts; and if they resorted to the same haunts, it was the duty of the Police so to notice them. It is in evidence before the House of Commons' Committee that the Police did not properly distinguish between Ticket-of-Leave men and other discharged Convicts. All on which they could *clearly speak* was, that they were Convicts who had been under sentence of Transportation, and that they spoke of *these men generally* when they said they considered but one in ten or twenty were trying to live honestly; that the Police never interfered with those who were so doing, but in some cases absolutely assisted and advised them. I have quoted this in my notes on Chapter VI. (Police Supervision.) These facts, and the experience in this country, does not warrant the assertion that the use of Police would injure the well-intentioned Criminal.

The system has worked well in this country under precisely similar circumstances to England (not those of a Penal Colony), and there does not appear to be any reason to conclude that in that coun-

try the essential element in a good Policeman, *discretion* there being ample evidence and Magisterial experience in England to the contrary.

In discharging Convicts conditionally instead of unconditionally, at the same period of time, under the act of 1857, it was necessary to be satisfied that employment was obtained, no misconduct charged before liberation; the power of recommitment for misconduct, and sufficient exercise of Supervision to prevent the power becoming nugatory, would suffice. It has already been shown how important this may be used as protective to the public.

4thly. The Gratuity of a four years' Penal Servitude in England 14l. 2s. 9d., and in Ireland, 7l. 0s. 2d. If put to a proper use of this Gratuity, there does not appear to be any pressing necessity for further taxing the community here. Those under longer sentences can earn still higher Gratuities.

5thly. No system alluded to in page 165 appears to be better than the Government already aiding by Gratuities, as it could be by special training, to as great an extent as, under a proper system, is required. When every other rational course has been tried and failed, the proposition alluded to might be considered. It would, however, tend to prevent self-reliance, and is in accordance with the principle insisted on by Colonel Jebb in Chapter, "*dispersion*" being a congregation of Convicts in one place, charge on works undertaken by the Government.

After deprecating any necessity for a change of system, Colonel Jebb states:—

"I would, in conclusion, quote the opinion of not one but of many witnesses, but one who, at the same time, has always been a philosophical view of social questions connected with Crime and its causes. Mr. Thompson, speaking of the present system of Penal Servitude and Management, and the difficulties which suddenly presented themselves on the Cessation of Transportation, says, 'The Christian principle, much common sense, and much insight into the whole plan; it commends itself to the best feelings of the public, interested in the temporal and eternal well-being of the community. It is a strong proof of the moral advance of our age, that at the moment it was required such a scheme could be produced. No means existed for carrying it into effect.' And after more fully he states, 'There is nothing of sentimentality in the Management—Conduct is judged by works, not by words, not by professions. It seems difficult to imagine a more complete or more likely to accomplish its purpose.'"

Considering the nature of the question under discussion, it is necessary that I should quote further from the same author. In the last Chapter, entitled "*Penal Servitude as it ought to be*" 391, Mr. Thomson states:—

"There is a great defect in any Penal System which excludes once from the exclusion of a Prison Cell, or even from the Labour gang, to the full, unrestrained liberty of the subject. What is wanted is a testing place to ascertain the actual value of previous Discipline—a half-way house betwixt the Prison and the

world—a place in which character may be truly proved, for the Convict's own good and that of the public.”—p. 3914.

“Hitherto, when a man was convicted and sentenced to Penal Servitude, he was confined for a short time in a common Prison, strictly separate from others, then removed for nine months to Pentonville, where he had the full benefit of the Reformatory System already described, under the care of the admirable Governor and Chaplain; next he was removed to Portland, and there he was associated with others in hard Labour, but under the strictest superintendence.

“If we consider all the circumstances under which this man is placed, it becomes very obvious that his conduct during his Penal Servitude, must furnish a *very uncertain*, not to say an *altogether fallacious criterion*, by which to judge his Character; and this is the true reason why the Public has shrunk instinctively from contact with the holder of a Ticket-of-Leave.

“For the time the Convict is a total abstainer, whether he will or not: he cannot rob or steal, for he is constantly under lock and key; he is exposed to no temptation to crime; in short, his whole character, so far as outward demeanour extends, is *forcibly* changed for the better, even in spite of himself.

“Much has been already accomplished on behalf of Criminals, and we must now take yet one large step onwards, and prepare for them something intermediate betwixt the Associated Labour Prisons and the World, a position where the Convict's character can be truly tested to the satisfaction of *himself, of his Officers, and of the Public*, and from which he may come forth with a Certificate which he need not be ashamed to produce, and which a Master need not be afraid to receive.

“The great Establishments at Portland and Dartmoor were steps in the right direction. At these places there is much liberty in certain respects, and considerable individual responsibility, though there still too much resemblance to a Prison to afford us sufficient tests of reformation of Character. What is now wanted is not the erection of costly edifices, with ample Staff of Officials to each, but only arrangements which may easily be made both in connexion with Public Works, and, perhaps, even in extensive private undertakings.”

After recommending an Intermediate Establishment, Mr. Thompson, at page 396, in a note, says:—

“It is very satisfactory to find, since the above pages were written, that a plan, similar in principle, though slightly different in detail, has been brought forward, and ably advocated by Captain Crofton, Chairman of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons, in his ‘Remarks on the Convict Question’” (Dublin, 1857,) pp. 5, 6.

It is well known, in introducing the Ticket-of-License System to the House of Commons, on August 9th, 1853, that Lord Palmerston resaw and invited suggestions and improvements. He stated:—

“The whole System must be considered as an experimental one to a great degree; and if in the working of it fresh suggestions should occur, or other improvements appear likely to be easily accomplished, Her Majesty's Government would be most happy to receive any such

suggestions from others, and profit by the lessons believed, however, that on the whole this was the best to be devised to meet that great change in circumstances, and us from pursuing that course which had hitherto been pursued.

Colonel Jebb states, at page 105, Chapter VIII.

"It must not be inferred from the observations that I would argue against an Intermediate Stage, is under a superior class of Officers, and with all need as an *abstract* question."

And, again, at page 107, fifth concluding observation to recognize the vitality of the principle which governs the Intermediate System. He states:—

"It would be very desirable to afford Convicts more information or instruction in connexion with their future conduct during the last few months of their confinement."

It is, therefore, probable that it will not much alter the *abstract* question in England, but that it will, even in action and limited experience, itself develop sufficient to invite a further and a more extended application of it.

I have made these notes in defence of a system which has demonstrated retrograde, but which, in its results, has enabled the Directors of Irish Convict Prisons to employ Convicts in detention for the convenience and economy of the Public, in circumstances of great trial, without the aid of Police or Guards. This System has been shown not only to improve the moral condition of the Criminals subjected to it during their detention, but subsequently to their liberation; and has increased facilities for dealing with them after discharge, so as to materially protect the community by rendering evildoers less noxious. I have refrained as much as possible from any matter not rendered incumbent on me by the circumstances, neither have I quoted the numerous authorities on the subject, who have minutely inspected and publicly recommended the Intermediate System. I have merely completed the list of names from authors cited by Colonel Jebb in favour of the system.

There are few conversant with this subject who, in the years past, recognised a great want in our Convict System. In the chain without which (however much threatened by the construction, &c., we may have ameliorated the condition of former years) the work was still incomplete, and unsolved. This deficiency (become more evident as we have been obliged to discharge our Convicts at home) has led the members of this Board to direct their special attention to the supply of this want, to provide this link. Without originality of thought, they have practically applied the principles advocated by the highest authorities on this question. In five years' experience of the Prisons and Prisoners, these principles have for nearly three years been applied. The results are placed before the public in the last report of the Directors (1857): they are favourable and true, and will merit and receive consideration—so favourable

conversant with the daily action of the System can for one moment doubt its soundness—so true, as to invite the institution of the only real test, "Supervision after Liberation."

Before concluding this paper we must give one other extract from the *Notes*, as it furnishes a conclusive answer to Colonel Jebb's objection as to the value of Convict Labor. Under the general heading of "Questions connected with the Introduction of an Intermediate Prison," Captain Crofton thus, at Chapter V., writes :—

Questions connected with the introduction of an Intermediate Prison.

A detachment of Prisoners going to and from the Main Prison at Portland to Vern Hill, under a Military Guard, bears no resemblance whatever to "Intermediate Prisons." Such special classes as are described here and at Dartmoor are analogous to classes of the same description at Spike Island, which are sent from thence to perform works at Queenstown and Haulbowline daily, though not under a Military Guard.

It is, therefore, an entire mistake of the Governing principle of such Institutions, on the part of Colonel Jebb, when, oblivious of the special training appliances, &c., he states the change could be inaugurated in an afternoon, or by merely doubling his rate of Gratuities. The moral standard has not suffered, as feared by Colonel Jebb (as the results will show), but, on the contrary, has been very much raised. It is far easier to convey moral example to the few than to the masses—due care being taken that the agency be suitable. The experience of the ablest Reformatory Authorities support this assertion.

Colonel Jebb next alludes to the probability of any portion of the Gratuities given to Convicts in these stages causing quarrelling, pilfering, trafficking, gambling, &c. All these things are possible; *the possibility is the test*. If they occur before liberation they will assuredly do so after.

Such, cases, I can state from the practical experience and constant attention of nearly three years of the System, will not arise to act detrimentally to the discipline of the Establishments, provided that a proper system prevails, and the offending members are at once removed from the association, the tone of which they were endeavouring to lower.*

Colonel Jebb states that the whole life of a Convict is an exercise of great forbearance, and that *little temptations* are of no avail. I would rather term the Prison life of a Convict that of *compulsory restraint* than of *great forbearance*. If the little temptations amount to quarrelling, pilfering, trafficking, gambling, the power of getting

* There have been only forty removals for misconduct during the whole period, although 1,500 Convicts have been subjected to the System.

drunk, abusing trust, &c., I cannot consider them as neither do others conversant with the habits of Criminals.

A perusal of the last Annual Report of the Directors of the Convict Prisons, published four months since, would show that Colonel Jebb's objection, "that the risk of *losing liberty*" preclude the possibility of messengers giving way to temptation. He would *there* have found that the Intermediate Prisons for a great part filled with those under sentence of Penal Servitude, and that their conduct in them *could in no way shorten* the term of their imprisonment. The results for the past year are equally favourable. This is, perhaps, the most complete answer to the objection that can be given.

Reference being made to an Estimate of 100 Prisoners in two Huts, and Colonel Jebb having proceeded to show the location of 100 Stone-cutters, each man should be charged 1s. a-week instead of 9s. It is merely necessary to re-estimate the cost of ordinary labour, and its application to the same lands, &c., the object being to show how inexpensive it need be. It would have been equally easy to estimate the cost of Stone-cutters from Spike Island; but such employment was obtained, and when obtained as at Portland, received a very different appreciation of its value from 18s. per week. Mr. Cooke's (the Admiralty Engineer's) evidence to the Select Committee of Refuge in July, 1857, with reference to the labour of Portland Convict Prison.

The following Questions and Answers appear to express the difference of opinion that exists with reference to estimating the value of labour:—

"1544. Then, in point of fact, you may say that the value of the Convict labour, as compared with free labour, is not more than 1 to 2½ or 3."

"As nearly as possible from 1 to 2½ or 3."

"1560. You would, therefore, only recommend the use of Convict labour where you are obliged to maintain it, and whether you employ them or not?"—"Just so."

"1572. So that, as far as regards the cost at which the labour is performed, though you have Convict labour for no other purpose, there is no economy in employing it?"—"Exactly."

"1573. So that, unless it were with a view to the reformation of Prisoners, and other considerations irrespective of the cost, more intimately connected with Prison discipline, you would, from your experience, recommend the use of Convict labour?"—"That is quite the case."

It is, therefore, much safer and less disputable, for the purpose of estimating the value of the labour of a convict, to refer to the value of clothing, &c., made in the Intermediate Prisons, than to the value of the labour of a convict, as we have considered it a better course to check the value of the convict's labour, estimated by the Superintendent of the Intermediate Prisons, than to the value of the labour of a convict, as estimated by the Superintendent of the Intermediate Prisons, than to the value of the labour of a convict, as estimated by the Superintendent of the Intermediate Prisons.

The prices estimated at Smithfield have been found to be a better test, than which there cannot be a better.

We have now placed this whole matter of The Irish Intermediate Convict Prison, or of *Jebb v. Crofton*, or of the Colonel *v.* the Captain, as the reader pleases, before him, but it is a grave and serious question, and involves this consideration also, that a public servant, honest, zealous and able, as ever served a people, or deserved well of the commonwealth, is exposed, in these kingdoms, to slanders and misrepresentations of English Officials, who because they have themselves grown old in that same service, are not satisfied that younger and abler men should work whilst work is in them to do that duty to the Nation which they see they can accomplish.

We have watched anxiously and closely every plan, and system, and phase of a scheme introduced by the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland; from a petty provincial Board we have seen them rise into a Department to which America, and the more advanced European States, have sent for advice in matters of Prison Discipline. Matthew Davenport Hill, one of the oldest, ablest, truest friends of the Reformatory system, for adults or juveniles, has written a paper upon the Irish Convict Prisons, read by himself last October at Birmingham, at the first meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, (and to which Colonel Jebb does not refer, although Mr. Hill states that he examined *every* phase of the Prisons and paid particular jealous attention to Smithfield,) and we are able to state that after a four years' knowledge of this Board, and after a perfect acquaintanceship with its modes of visiting, and inspecting, we believe that more genuine results, more full, perfect and complete successes, were never achieved by any Government Board in so short a period.

The sources of the success are two-fold. Every member of, and every body under, the Board attends to his duty; every Convict is, as far as man can do it, INDIVIDUALIZED; Captain Crofton does his own peculiar business as Chairman, and takes the opinion, second-hand, of no man's character, and so he and his brother Directors have succeeded.

We were their earliest friends, at a time when it was not the fashion to notice Prisons; now that it is the fashion it is only fair to give what the Press generally says about this Battle of the Prisons; so in an Appendix to this paper we insert a few LEADERS from the vast proportion of the

Journals, more especially London, which have columns to the consideration of this, the *Note* Crofton, addressed to the Chief Secretary for

APPENDIX.

From the Leader, September the 4th, 1855.

THE INTERMEDIATE PRISON SYSTEM.

JEBB versus CROFTON.

There is a new feud between England and Ireland test against anything like a union between the two this time the O'Connellite is an Englishman, a man conservative, a representative of the *status quo*; while, the whole right lies with Ireland, and the leader who the representative of that country is an English country holding office in Dublin Castle. The two combatants extraordinary warfare are Colonel Jebb, who stands the Commission as director of the convict prisons in Captain Walter Crofton, who holds a precisely similar Ireland. About a month since Colonel Jebb's report on prisons was published, and in this volume, which it is director of the convict prisons to present to the Home are some rather comprehensive observations on the prison discipline, which Colonel Jebb sets himself to the freedom, independence, and dash of a newspaper annual report on convict prisons had been the *Morning Morning Herald*, and the Colonel had been writing a he could not have discharged his duty in a more apt. In fact, he seems to consider himself as the editor and in dashing at the Irish system he is only firing "our contemporary." The conclusions at which his elaborate criticism ultimately arrives are stated by him.

First. The character of the convicts in this country circumstances, differ so much from those in Ireland, the congregating them together under less control than exercised would not be calculated to render them more charge, or give the officers to whose care they might better, or even the same opportunities of judging of as those which exist at present.

Secondly. That even if such objects could be promoted by selecting convicts into separate small intermediate with diminished control and more voluntary action of convict discipline in such a form would impair the character and deterrent effects of a sentence to penal servitude on all accounts, it is most essential to preserve as the able of our secondary punishments.

Thirdly. That however desirable it may be in a prison however successful in Ireland, it would be impossible to carry out any general superintendence over discharged by the police without interfering with the means of employment, and thus a greater evil would be created which could possibly follow.

Fourthly. That the experience gained in Ireland of the advantages of assisting prisoners on discharge, fully confirms the views that have been frequently pressed upon the attention of the importance of such a measure, in order to secure the results of a good system of discipline.

Fifthly. That if such means could be systematically organised as proposed, page 165, it would be very desirable to afford convicts some special information or instruction in connexion with their future prospects during the last few months of their confinement, not in separate intermediate establishments disconnected from the prisons, but in the stage of discipline which precedes discharge.

Now it is difficult to conceive any representation of so compact a length which could contain a larger amount of misconception, misstatement, and *suggestio falsi*. No one can suppose that Colonel Jebb is intentionally misrepresenting, or that he wishes to state what is not the fact in a "safe" manner, but his position on this particular question has been such as to blind his eyes to the truth, while he has the strongest moral interest in not seeing it. Since the people of this country, however, have an interest in knowing the facts, Captain Crofton has performed a public service in publishing a reply to Colonel Jebb in the form of *Notes on Colonel Jebb's Report on Intermediate Prisons*, printed by Messrs Thom and Son, of Dublin. We take Captain Crofton's *Notes* as a memorandum, but we may remark that having kept the subject constantly in view long before the present contest between England and Ireland was created—before, indeed, the present system of convict discipline was established—we can confirm Captain Crofton's statements to a great extent from our own knowledge, and can sustain his opinion with our own, and without qualification.

It will be observed that, in the first conclusion, Colonel Jebb assumes that the character of convicts differs from the character of the same class in Ireland and that the circumstances differ; which may be true if the Colonel simply means that one may hear more of the brogue in Ireland, that the convicts may exhibit a larger proportion of violence and a minor proportion of theft, that they may be Roman Catholic rather than Protestant, and so forth. But essentially the classes are the same,—ignorant men, ill-bestowed in life, growing up with passions and bodily powers which they know not how to control,—hungry, lawless, uncared for, and falling into bad courses through example and circumstance. One of the distinctions which Colonel Jebb pretends to see is, that in Ireland the general feeling is more with the convict than in England; a conjectural inference drawn from the treatment of lawless characters by the peasantry in the sister island, while Colonel Jebb applies it by assuming that the employing classes are more ready to receive discharged convicts as workmen and servants. There is not a shadow of evidence to support this assumption.

The second of his conclusions assumes that the convicts for the intermediate establishments must be selected, and that the general discipline must be modified: These, again, are assumptions the reverse of the fact. In Ireland, as Captain Crofton shows us by these

Notes, the convict goes through the larger proportion in the ordinary prison; should his conduct there become eligible to be transferred to one of the intermediate prisons, those in which the convicts are employed on rude labour, or on some kind of artisan work, according to their previous training and capacity. But there is no other "selection" in this system. There are seventy-five convicts, or indeed a larger number, put up for transfer, or later, available for this transfer; the selection is made from those found in that residuum of convicts who prove to be incorrigible, or who perpetually relapse, and who must serve the whole sentence in unmitigated and unqualified imprisonment. Besides the intermediate prisons, the prison directors have latterly established the use of ingeniously constructed out-door prisons, capable of holding about one hundred men, and easily put up again where out-door labour may render such a measure requisite. This enables no small number of convicts to be employed in out-door work. While they are thus engaged they are subjected to hard prison fare; and they have the opportunity of performing work harder than that which is exacted in the ordinary prison. Their privileges consist in the opportunity of earning a small gratuity, which they may lay out at once or lay it up for the future; in going together, and in enjoying some degree of freedom, under the strictest watch and guard. To a great extent the system of out-door employment renders the prison self-supporting; but the cost of the prisoners is gradually trained in some cases to the life of industry and freedom out of doors, in others to that life, but for making their first acquaintance with it they have never known it.

Colonel Jebb's third conclusion assumes that a system of police superintendence over discharged prisoners may be maintained in Ireland, and it is impracticable in England; but here again he dashes his head against the rock of evidence which is before him, not only in Ireland but in England. Such a system of police is maintained in this country, as Captain Crofton quotes the blue-book of the Select Committee on Prisons, of about three sessions back—that committee which Colonel Jebb endeavours to convince that transportation must be continued, because it would be impossible to control the convicts at home or to prevent their re-entrance on discharge.

But in Ireland the prisoners are discharged; there are between fifty and sixty convicts in the city of Dublin, and they are employed. New as the system is, some of these men have been in regular daily employment for two years. And how is this accomplished? By the unceasing exertions of Captain Crofton, of the Dublin Police, Lecturer, and of their coadjutors, to find employment for the men at their duty, to multiply employers, to multiply opportunities of success in this direction, and in short to carry out the system which Colonel Jebb pronounces to be impossible. Every man is able to the unwilling; possibility sometimes means necessity, and the will to do the thing. Colonel Jebb assumes that a system of police superintendence is impracticable, because, he says, in the ex-

Observations, if the police know the convict, his employer will know, and his fellow-workmen will know, and he will be driven away from his engagement. This may have been true in some instances where, as in England, the police have no distinct indications to guide them, but in Dublin, under the ceaseless superintendence of Captain Crofton, the police manage to maintain a watch over the discharged convicts; they are the instruments to convey to the head-quarters a standing report upon the behaviour of the men, a report marked by extraordinarily few instances of failure; and as we have seen already the system continues to expand, instead of being prevented by the impracticability which so alarms the imagination of Colonel Jebb.

In the fourth of his conclusions, admitting the impressiveness of the experience gained in Ireland, Colonel Jebb insinuates, as he has done more distinctly in an earlier portion of his Observations, that the intermediate system carried out in Ireland originated in England, and almost with his own department. He points to the Refuge at Fulham, established on the strength of an opinion by Lord Palmerston, that it would be very desirable to place *women* "in some intermediate condition between close imprisonment and discharge on licence"—not a very specific description, certainly not indicating anything like the system we have already described. But this treatment is applied to women exclusively; Colonel Jebb contending that men should be dealt with in masses, women alone individually. He shows no grounds for this extraordinary anthropological dictum. There can be no doubt that the value of mass treatment is very similar with regard to men and women both, and that the training of both sexes must principally depend upon the close application of a system to the individual character. In the case of women, however, there is rather a considerable difficulty. Their numbers are not so great amongst the convicted classes, and it generally proves that their characters are more irregular, while there is much greater difficulty in restoring them to regular life, partly on account of the severer retribution which attends the fall of woman. Thus an intermediate stage is applied by any official machinery with much great difficulty, while there is not the same large demand for it. On the contrary, it has been found in Ireland that a charitable apparatus, the agency of certain charitable associations, has been sufficient for the purpose and the most suitable; and this is very intelligible when we remember how much women are governed by feeling, and how good a medium such associations are for the application of feeling to the case. The system employed in Ireland, however, with regard to men, whose numbers and condition demand the whole strength that the State can bring to bear upon the subject, began with Captain Crofton and his associates in the Irish department, in 1855 or before, when they endeavoured to adopt the process of individualising as the basis of the reformatory system. Colonel Jebb's fourth conclusion is evidently calculated to create the impression that if he does adopt the Irish example, it is only because Ireland has adopted his example, but he will not be suffered to carry off that impression long.

The fifth conclusion assumes that the best plan of carrying out the intermediate training for men would be, not by separate prisons, but

by "some special information or instruction," &c.—too vague. He assumes that the Irish system would be introduced in England, because a gang of men have been employed on the fortifications, at some distance from Portland; he thinks that if the Irish system were introduced anywhere it might make them more zealous at their work, but might lead to some disorder. For within the Portland Prison rooms have been tried—rooms in which the prisoners meet for meals, for reading together, and for conversation in the evenings, with such serious detriment to their moral training. He has begged the discontinuance of the experiment. Colonel Jebb imagines that these cases amount to something more than the Irish system in England: we will not insist on the standing of the reader by showing how puerile is such a notion. Evidently his idea of "some special information or instruction" consists of a little schoolmaster tutoring—a sort of lecture-writing-lesson style of treatment for the men some of whom they are finally discharged from prison; and again we will leave the reader by exposing the puerility of that notion. The system has been barely three years in operation; since 1848 1327 prisoners have been discharged from the intermediate prisons unconditionally, 816 on licence. Of the 816, 30 per cent. were convicted. Colonel Jebb assumes that 30 per cent. were discharged in Ireland we find on practical experience that only 4 per cent. Of the same number, 45 have had their licences revoked and been called to prison for relapsing into bad courses, drinking, &c. The result on these subjects is positive and specific. Of the 511 discharged from the intermediate prisons unconditionally, 5 have been re-arrested, not one per cent. It is needless to contrast this practice with that in Ireland with Colonel Jebb's unfounded and unauthoritative assumptions.

From the Spectator, September 4, 1858.

ENGLISH AND IRISH PRISON

Why did Colonel Jebb in his annual report on the state and prospects of English convict prisons, include a comparison of the Irish convict prisons? Perhaps we shall be able to answer the question when we have glanced at the character of his observations, and compared his view of Irish prisons with those of the English.

Colonel Jebb, principal Director of English Convict Prisons, has placed on record his present ideas about the Irish system. He starts from the principle that "male convicts must be treated as masses rather than according to their individual characteristics. Individuality must be more regarded with female convicts than with male. Associated rooms" giving increased liberty of taking exercise, of reading, and of conversing during evenings, have been introduced in the English Prison of Portland, taking men from the solitary system, and allowing some fifty of them to assemble in a hall, but the Rev. Mr. Moran, and his successors in the office, have each and all represented that there is a gradual

moral advantages which can be gained," and have urged the discontinuance of the associated rooms. If it were proposed to select some of the best men for association, there would then be a loss in withdrawing the exemplary men who are spread through all the working parties. About a mile and a half from the Portland prison, 200 men are employed on the fortifications of Vern-Hill, a position which Colonel Jebb thinks analogous to that of the huts; and if there were some additional indulgences granted to these men, they might perhaps use more exertion, and might possibly be trusted to go a journey with messages; but such tests of moral character would be valueless in an English prison. Colonel Jebb admits that assistance on discharge is "the secret of success in any system of reformatory discipline," but in the Irish case, he says, "only 75 per cent of the men are selected from the body as anxious to enter on an honest course of life," and they are altogether different from the class of English convicts. However, he discovers one cause of the success in Ireland, and he even intimates some effort in the same direction for England.

"The chief cause of the measure of success which has attended this experiment (in Ireland) may with greater probability be traced directly to the amount of assistance afforded to the men through his [Mr. Organ the Lecturer's] indefatigable labours in providing places of employment for them, in visiting them after discharge, in encouraging and protecting them at the period of their greatest difficulty, the crisis of their fate. He modestly keeps its importance out of sight, but it appears nevertheless. . . . New hopes, new resolutions, and better feelings have, in the majority of cases, been imparted to prisoners; and it is inconsistent with common sense and common justice not to make an effort to give them a fair chance of bringing them into play.

"Experiments are in progress in forming a connecting link between the prisons and various benevolent societies in this country, which, it is hoped, may give more effect to those efforts."

The English director assumes from the experience gained in this country during the last four years and a half with the release of 5,500 convicts, that "the prospect or continuance of employment of the great majority only depends upon their fellow-workmen and neighbours not knowing that they were ticket-of-leave men."

But the circumstances in Ireland, he maintains, are different. The intermediate system there is extended to males which I have shown would not be expedient here." Besides, later in his lucubrations he discovers that the object of imprisonment is not the reformation of the prisoners, but "the prevention of crime" by deterring example; and he thinks that the system has been as much softened in England as it should be.

"It is the clear and solemn duty of a Government to take measures for reforming a criminal whom the sentence of the law has placed under their control, and fitting him to become a better member of society. Much has been done, and much success has attended the efforts made in this direction; but no plan has been thought of in which the punishment due to crime has been lost sight of.

"It is my firm conviction that the Government have gone quite as far in the way of encouragement, discipline, and care for the prisoner's best interests—as is either expedient or necessary. Convicts now stands, plainly exhibits these features; whilst the sentence which has been passed by the judge have been attended."

On all these considerations, he deprecates the experiment in England as that tried in Ireland. Most thinks, "that however desirable it may be in a prison, however successful in Ireland, it would be impossible to carry out any general superintendence over discharged by the police without interfering with the means of employment, and thus a greater evil would be created which could possibly follow." For throughout his report Colonel Jebb assumes the total difference between England and Ireland.

We shall soon perceive that the English Director has a total misconception of the facts as they have been experienced of the Irish system, and we shall understand how he misconceives the facts as well as so misapplies them. Colonel Jebb's starting principle has been absolutely erroneous. It has been ascertained that the effect of discipline, castigation, moral restraint, or reformatory is in proportion as it is carried out individually, principally the case with regard to men. With respect to women, experience again has reversed the converse of this rule. It is not so satisfactory in the case of the female as in the case of the male. It is generally counted that any influence on women is less certain in its effects, from a less fixity of character, a greater susceptibility, and a tendency to be influenced by the circumstances. Moreover, the whole sex being in a less responsible position than the men of the grade or circle to which they belong, it necessarily follows that women are less often punished by the criminal law. Perhaps, also, something may be said that women are on the whole more conscientious than men, and less addicted to evil of any kind. Whatever the causes may be, the fact is that female convicts are much fewer, but being fewer, that very fact makes those who are convicted as being more reckless in proportion to the average of their sex than the convicted men are, less easy to manage, and at the same time infinitely more difficult to be discharged. Who will take a woman from prison? The English Director wears the aspect of an impossibility stated in terms of fact. The directors of Irish prisons have justly come to the conclusion that men are not so readily to be treated by the method of the English prisons, but by the intermediation of charitable institutions, as the Golden Bridge and other admirable associations have referred in former papers. But imagine setting on foot a system of charity in this way to perform the great purpose of reformation to those masses of eight or ten thousand prisoners of whose reformation Colonel Jebb will give no credit.

The English Director thinks that intermediate treatment will succeed because a gang of men employed at Vern-Hill,

superintendence, are not in a highly reformed state, and the associated rooms at Portland have not succeeded. He might as well have drawn his conclusions from any chain-gang in Australia employed in the back settlements, or from any number of convicts that he pleased to turn experimentally into a bar-parlour. It is quite true, as Captain Crofton allows, that great advantages are attained by dealing with men in masses, according to general rules which promote order and discipline; but such rules are not all sufficient. The convict suddenly thrust out of that semi-military organization into society is transferred from a highly artificial state to the chaos and temptations which are the ordinary condition of "the dangerous classes." The object of the intermediate prison is not to hold out luxury and better living as a "reward" for the good conduct of the prisoners,—not to offer such a dietary as that used at the Fulham prison for females, with its meat pies, puddings, baked meat, soup, vegetables, and general variety of "carte",—not to promise the prize of high earnings—in England the gratuity of a discharged convict may be £14, in Ireland it is £7. The object of the intermediate system is to secure a graduation of the prisoner's change. In that stage he is allowed some degree of association,—under supervision; some degree of freedom,—while he continues to employ it properly; some opportunity for earning money. To a very modest extent, he receives a certain degree of instruction, particularly calculated to open his mind, and to fix his attention upon his future responsibility in the world. He is under a treatment which does not allow hope itself to *surprise* him, but which makes it dawn gradually in his mind, while he is still under the chastening influence of hard fare and hard work. He is not coaxed and pampered into better behaviour, but trained into better habits. Hence the hundred men who are associated in one of the working huts of the Irish system continue to observe discipline and to fulfil their duties without any demoralizing effect from the association; but such treatment bears no resemblance to the labour gang at Vern-Hill, or to the associated rooms for eating, reading, and conversing of evenings at Portland. And of course what Colonel Jebb infers as probable if the Vern-Hill and Portland experiments were carried out further, has no force whatever against the actual experience of the hut system or of the intermediate prisons in Ireland.

Amongst the extraordinary assumptions of Colonel Jebb is the one that it is impossible to maintain a police supervision without such an interference as would deprive discharged convicts of their employment. Now it is remarkable that there *has* been a certain observation over discharged convicts, kept up without interference except in the cases of those individuals who have gone back to bad courses. Who is it that tells us this fact? Sergeant Looe as a witness before the Transportation Committee of the Commons. And of what place does he speak? Of London. Undoubtedly there are inconveniences attending the observation of the police, who, when a man of previously bad character enters a neighbourhood, become suspicious of his movements, and for want of any definite plan resort to a species of watching which amounts to espionage, with much irritation to the individual and perhaps some danger to his employ-

ment; but this objection ceases when the police have vision of higher officers anxious to secure the success. This has been found in Dublin.

The success of the Irish prisons we have already seen. Of 816 discharged from the intermediate prisons were discharged unconditionally, 816 on licence. Conditionally discharged, five have been reconvicted to Colonel Jebb rather boasts that not more than two back in England—but of the remaining seventy per cent only negative information. Of 816 discharged on licence we learn that 467 have been reported on—many have been reported on in England or Scotland, where there is no such supervision per cent] having been reconvicted; while 45 have been reconvicted, 15 of the number for keeping bad company, neglect to report themselves. Fifty or sixty of the victs are under constant notice in Dublin city; and men once notorious for evil and daring deeds, yet have been for upwards of two years in regular daily work.

This last paragraph seems to settle Colonel Jebb's theory that work would not be found for discharged convicts. In Crofton's Notes we have the reason at once.

"The good conduct of the men for whom I have been able to procure employment, through the right friends, employers, emboldens me to make repeated applications to employers for others of our men. To find continued employment for the men is sometimes rather difficult; nor do I infer that even to find employment at all for the men of the year, is easy. Much exertion is required, and many friends necessary; but all these, without the good conduct of the men themselves, would soon prove valueless. This is the reason why, inside and outside the Institution, that all depend on their own conduct; and I always keep before them how much one man can do, and how far easier it is to make friends for themselves and the system by the slightest act than to make friends by a long series of good, irreproachable conduct."

Yes, this is the reason for the success in Ireland—the personal activity of the superiors. One reason why Colonel Jebb has conceived so imperfect an idea of the facts is that he has looked to the reports of Captain Crofton's Organ eighteen months back, not to the annual report of four months since, with a year's additional experience. The reason is, that some time since, Colonel Jebb communicated a positive opinion that no intermediate system could be carried out, and that therefore transportation must be continued. And the reason why, in reporting on the English system, Colonel Jebb has gone aside to notice the Irish system is, that the success across St. George's Channel stands as a shining example to officials who still neglect its practical example, and who compromise between the truth which it has established and the assumptions which it has refuted.

QUARTERLY RECORD
OF THE
PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND
OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.



FAMILY INTERESTS.

To the Editor of the Irish Quarterly Review.

Dear Sir,

I believe the simple history of my experience will best effect the object I have in view in writing you this letter.

I gave you in my former letters proof of the necessity of having some certain employment secured for the girls who should be ready to leave reformatories. I cannot cease to impress this all-important point, as otherwise the hope of perseverance must be faint indeed.

It is true all agree as to this being essential; but yet it is discouraging to find that many seem to think the industrial part an after thought that can wait its time: this I believe a fatal error, as it will be no longer time to begin to establish what can only succeed after a long trial and unwearied labour. Above all, the secret of the reformed girl must be kept, and yet how do so, if the period of commencing Industrial Establishments be deferred until the children now about to be adopted for reform be ready to leave their blessed homes of shelter.

We have been so long aware of this want, and so sure that it would be recognised, that in spite of difficulty and debt, we have kept on our industrial school; and now it has taken a new phase.

While our laundry was in operation I had occasion to ask a benevolent Guardian of the South Dublin Union for an introduction to the Matron in order to take out some girls to work. His answer is still ringing in my ear: "I will give you one certainly, but I would not advise you to take any of the inmates, *as they are all bad.*" He did not say it unkindly—but he thought it only fair to warn me, as he knew I had innocent girls at work in St. Joseph's, and feared to spoil them, and expose me to lose property which should be confided to their charge, if I received them into the

Having given up the laundry for the reason in the former letter, and provided places for our re-
 and other interns, we removed our extern
 dren to a house convenient to the principal p
 could not resist making an effort to save so
 children of the Union. We have brought ou
 and have engaged a matron ; they are now
 us, and are beginning to earn something to
 port by making shirts for a house of business
 you will perceive by our report in your adver
 taught household work, and trained to earn
 For the means of carrying on this work,
 dependent on the charity of the public, and
 tion is not sufficiently known, we are now
 sixty pounds to the treasurer. Surely so
 will come to our aid.

Now I believe that we belong to the Reformation and to claim partnership with them, is to de-

companionship with all that is good and noble. It behoves us therefore to make our title clear, for we deeply value the glorious connection. There are no drones in Reformatory Societies: all are helpers; no mere good wishes and good will is accepted; acts are the only title deeds recognised; no honorary sleeping partners are admitted; the spirit of devotedness in which the work was founded has stamped itself on all who cooperate, and each in his own measure has given thought or pen or act to the work, and this is why it has suddenly startled the world by the catholicity of the sympathy it has called forth.

And yet there are a few amongst the "esprits forts" who ridicule the work and its missionaries: flat jokes, and sallies of attempted wit, are said to have been repeated as coming from those whose hearts are kind and whose talents are acknowledged. How can reflecting and enlightened gentlemen forget the weight attached to their opinion. Nay, incredible as it may seem, the really good and kind have so far forgotten their nature as to sneer at those who have reached a hand to the penitent! How unaccountable is the world in its inconsistency!

Let us make one bargain with those who are so ready to condemn and sneer at the efforts to reclaim the criminals; let no one dissent, unless he or she has given proof of being engaged in helping and saving the innocent. It will be generally found that those who thus find fault, are not foremost in any charitable undertaking; for how could charity set in contradiction to itself by speaking so directly contrary to the spirit of the teachings of the Author of all charity.

But I am wandering from my object, which is to show how essential it is to support the Industrial schools. Some time since, we got a large order for work, too large for our own institution, as want of means has forced us to part with a number of our good workers. Refuse the order, I could not, as I well knew how many would be served by it. So I got help in various quarters, and engaged many other Industrial Establishments in the south of Ireland to take part of my order; holding myself responsible for the whole. I did not wish to leave the prisoners out in the good work, so I went to Newgate, and engaged some very good workers. The matron very kindly did all she could to promote my wishes. She had but five inmates who were capable, as it

was very nice plain work that I wanted to see. The time approached for the completion of the work, when I went to hasten the Newgate branch, but all would have been ready sooner, had not the girl sulked, and consequently caused a delay, but she finished her task. After having paid for the work, that the prisoners would not get any remuneration, I asked to be permitted to see the girl who had done the work so nicely, and perceiving she had little to show but a cell, I asked and obtained permission to proceed, and also with a prayer book. Soon after I received a second more hurried order, and to my agreeable surprise was at once finished by the girl, who is now in the workhouse, she having been several times convicted of the worst punishment, viz., solitary confinement.

I asked to see her again to thank her, and she expressed surprise at her finishing her work so soon. She said she wished to please me in doing so, and I waited until two o'clock in the morning to have her. It was some very fine knitting, and when I asked her if she had light, she shewed me that a gas lamp was behind the barred door, and that by thrusting her arm through the bars she was able to have light on the work. She worked away! This poor girl was one of the worst tempers in Newgate; a few weeks after her conviction for her, I was told she had become utterly reformed, and was several times since in the dark cell of the reformatory been in her day she would have continued so long unreclaimed!

I also visited two others who had worked for me, whom I had rewarded in like manner. They had interesting history. They had come from the South of England, confined for attempting to burn it. One was sentenced to seven years in the Union, and had first been confined for a month for having cut down a line in the workhouse, a skipping rope! The other was also sent to the Union for a period. She had broken the leg of a stool, and was confined with others for insubordination, and since the reformatory became hardened. Were not these two cases, had they been in operation?

Thank God, though many have been lost, yet many now be permitted to elapse before the saving

plied to our poor young defaulters. I visited some others in the prison the same day, and promised them if they became really good and penitent, I would be ready to give them work when the time came for their leaving the prison.

Now then, I do ask all and each of the Patrons and Benefactresses of Reformatories to help St. Joseph's Industrial Institute. It is the hope of the prisoner, and the salvation of the Union orphan. Those we now have were nearly all from nine to fourteen years in the Union. There they should have died or come out to cause death or infamy to many perhaps ; for we know that the sad fate offered them cannot be confined to themselves :—they are sent out to scourge those that will not help. Surely I have made my case clear ?

I will not distrust your kindness by apologizing for the length of this letter. It was impossible to abridge the facts. The fate of Industrial training in Dublin is now in the hands of your readers, who will, I hope, help us. A few years of support will enable such establishments to become valuable even in the eyes of traders, and keep us at least in existence until Ragged and Industrial Schools are aided by government grants as they are in Scotland, and as I have no doubt they will soon be here. You will then hear no more from
E. W.

Richmond, December, 1857.

THE
IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXXII.—JANUARY, 1859.

ART. I.—EATING AND FEEDING—LIVING AND
EXISTING.

1. *Comments on Corpulency, Lineaments of Leanness, Memoirs on Dietetics.* By William Wadd, Esq., F.L.S., Surgeon Extraordinary to the King. London: Ebers and Co., 1829.
2. *The Original.* By Thomas Walker, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister at Law; and one of the Police Magistrates of the Metropolis. Third Edition. London: Renshaw, 1836.
3. *The Cook's Oracle, Containing Receipts for Plain Cookery, on the Most Economical Plan, for Private Families: Containing also a Complete System of Cookery for Catholic Families. Being the Result of Actual Experiments Instituted in the Kitchen of William Kitchiner, M.D.* A New Edition. Edinburgh: Cadell, 1843.

Many years ago, years when short-waisted coats, and flower-pot hats were in vogue, we read a book, then popular, upon the good things and the bad things of the table. We bought the book, and it lies before us now, with many a mark of hurried thumbing, and of rough and ready reference, about its old familiar covers and pages.

This volume consists of a short Latin poem, which is little more than a very elegant versification of a common French bill of fare, and a copious body of notes, in which the antiquities of most of the dishes commended in the text are fully and satisfactorily explained. The quantity of information conveyed in this last part of the work is really quite astonishing; and we are sure Gourmand, Gourmet, and Glutton, must be equally grateful to the author. The first note, or rather dissertation, is occupied with some sketches of the Roman luxury

of the kitchen ; after which the writer passes in-
ing judicious remarks :—

“ However extravagant and foolish the whims of
sonages of ancient Rome may appear to a sober
we must, in justice to their taste, cursorily observe,
a material difference between a *gormand* and a *g*
seeks for peculiar delicacy and distinct flavour in
presented to the judgment and enjoyment of his d
while the other lays aside nearly all that relates to
sure of creating or stimulating an appetite by the
of the cates, and looks merely to quantity. This h
view, and tries how heavily it may be laden without
health. The *gormand* never loses sight of the ex
taste so admirably disposed by Providence in the
where sits the discriminating judge, the human tong
is anathematized in the scripture with those brutes *q*
est. The other appears guilty of no other sin than
too minute an attention to refinement in commensal

“ We find besides a curious shade between the Fr
gourmand and *gourmet*. In the idiom of that nation
indulging in the worship of *Comus*, the word *gourm*
stated above, a man who, by having accidentally b
the different tastes of eatables, does accordingly select
the most pleasing to his palate. His character is that
and answers to the appellation of an *epicure* in the
word, as we use it in English. The *gourmet* on the
siders the theoretical part of Gastronomy ; he spec
he practices ; and eminently prides himself in disc
degrees and most evanescent shades of goodness a
the different subjects proposed to him. In fact, th
has long been used to designate a man who, by
drops out of the silver cup of the *vintner*, can in
what country the wine comes, and its age. This d
lately acquired a greater latitude of signification, and
since it expresses what the two other words could no

“ From the foregoing observations we must co
glutton practices without any regard to theory ;
Gastrophile. The *gourmand* unites theory with prac
denominated *Gastronomer*. The *gourmet* is merely
little about practising, and deserves the higher app
trologer.”

He then descends to the cook, whose history t
Greece, and Rome, down to the Palais Ro
celebrated eating places of modern day, is v
described. After listening to the high and ju
he bestows on the expert practitioner of the co
m melancholy to find, that according to the author
great French author, “ Cooks, half-stewed, and

when unable to work any longer, generally retire to some unknown corner and die in forlornness and want." But it is added most emphatically, that "Corneille, *le grand Corneille*, had no better fate, since he also died in obscurity and distress, a similarity which ought to contribute to their consolation." Among other curious particulars relative to the history of the cook, we find, that in the time of the first Roman emperors, his salary was very commonly about £1,000 per annum—that Mark Anthony once presented a cook with the unexpected gift of a whole corporate town, or municipium, solely because he had dressed a pudding to the satisfaction of Cleopatra—and lastly, that the French, in all things ungrateful, have derived from this profession their names for a rascallion, *Coquin*.

As for the dishes themselves, the soups are of course first of the first. *Sorbilla*, the Latin name, means nothing more than *that which may be swallowed*; but that which may be *most easily* swallowed, came not unnaturally to be always understood by it. The author's definition is complete *secundum regulas*. "A secretion or dissolution of the various juices contained in the muscles and fat of animals, as bullocks, calves, sheep, chickens, &c. in a menstruum of boiling water." "The soup," says a gastronomic author, "may be called the portal of the edifice of a French dinner, whether plain or sumptuous." It is indeed the *xine qlla non* with that ingenious people. Upon it the whole fabric of the repast reposes, as earth does on the bosom of ocean. It is the great substratum destined to support, with the association of the natural gastric acids, the whole mysterious work of digestion. "*C'est la soupe*," says one of the best of proverbs, "*qui fait le soldat*." It is the soup that makes the soldier." Excellent as our troops are in the field, there cannot be a more unquestionable fact, than their immense inferiority to the French in the business of cooking. The English soldier lays his piece of ration beef at once on the coals, by which means the one and the better half is lost, and the other burnt to a cinder. Whereas six French troopers fling their messes into the same pot, and extract a delicious soup ten times more nutritious than the simple *roti* could ever be. It would seem, by the way, as if anciently *leeks* had been the principal ingredient in soups, for *porridge* is evidently derived from *porrum*. The love of the Romans for that vegetable is well known—hence Nero's nickname of the *leek-eater*, or *Porrophagus*.

Under this head of leek soups, our author says,

"Rabelais, the humorous vicar of Meudon, distinguishes, in his jocose way, two sorts of soups. *Soupe de Prime*, Prime-soup; and *soupe de levriers*, soup good for hounds, the meaning of which stands as follows: The first designates that premature delibation of broth, which the young monks in the convent used to steal when they could from the hour of "Prime," a service performed at about seven or eight in the morning, when the porridge-pot, with all its ingredients had been boiling for the space of one or two hours, (the dinner was served at eleven) and when the broth, full of eyes swimming gently on the golden surface, had already obtained an interesting appearance and taste. It was a sort of beef tea, the lusciousness of which was enhanced by the pleasing idea of its being stolen—*nitimur in vitulum semper*. On the contrary, *Soupe de levriers*, greyhound's soup, means that portion of the porridge which was served to the novices after an ample *presumption* in favour of the *Magnates* of the monastery. This was good for nothing, and monks of inferior ranks were ready to throw it to the dogs. The French call *rain* "soupe de chien." The egg-broth of the miser, who fed his valet with the water in which eggs had been boiled, comes under the denomination of the said "soupe de chien," harrier's broth."

From leeks he proceeds to cabbages—of which he says—

"Cabbages of all species, playing a principal part in the porridge and other dishes, and holding eminent situations among the *Dramatis Personæ*, from the first act to the catastrophe, in the interesting entertainment of a good dinner, deserve to be particularly mentioned.

"The Romans are said to have brought into Gallia the use of the green and red ones which they had received from Egypt. But, upon looking more intimately into the case, it appears that the white *brassica* migrated from the northern region to Italy. Indeed the horticultural art of obtaining that round and close form, which distinguishes some species of this useful plant, does not seem to date farther than the age of Charlemagne. The bigness and rotundity of that head gave origin to the name. *Cabus* from *Caput* and *Cabbage* evidently from *Cabus*, with the Italian augmentative, *accio* or *aggio*—*cabbaggio*.

"Chrysippus, a famous physician of Onidos, wrote upon the multifarious qualities of this *Olus*, not a single chapter, but a large volume. Galenus and Matthiolus have been very loud in its praise. Pliny, in reckoning the various kinds of *cabbage*, gives a long account of its virtues, but says little upon its use in cookery, as a noted plant among the esculent ones. Cato is very lavish in his encomiums upon this cruciferous vegetable; and, with Pythagoras, holds it as a general remedy for all diseases.

"The red cabbage stewed in veal broth is accounted, upon the continent, a specific cure against pulmonary complaints, and what is called here consumption. Pistachios and calf's lights are added to it. For this purpose red cabbage is especially cultivated in French kitchen-gardens. This reminds us of an anecdote which passed current at the time we heard it:—A young clergyman, rector of a

country parish, was called upon to preach a sermon upon a grand solemnity, at which the bishop of the diocese, who was a cardinal, appeared in the Roman purple, surrounded by his clergy in their white surplices. The preacher performed his task to the approbation of every one. After the ceremony, his eminence, meeting him, seemed to wonder at his not having been abashed when in the presence of a cardinal in the full blaze of his red paraphernalia. The simple and honest clergyman replied : " Yoar eminence will cease to wonder, when you know that I learnt my discourse by heart in my garden, and used to practice declamation before a plot of *white* cabbages, in the centre of which stood a *red* one."—A preferment was the reward of this answer.

" Were we to attend scrupulously to the Greek adage often quoted and never rightly understood, *Δις κράμβη θάνατος* " Twice cabbage brings death," we might be afraid of using it freely in soups and other dishes ; but after hunting most strenuously the sense of this saying through the intricate meanders of the *Delphini* and *variorum* notes, and other commentators, concerning the following line of Juvenal, Sat. vii. 154.

" Occidit miseros *crambe repetita* magistros,"

we must confess that we see no harm in it, and would boldly advise the whole fraternity of snips to go on, undauntedly as they do in their daily and furious onset upon this, their most favourite, mess.

" The signification of the adage remains still unenucleated. Our opinion is that, in the numerous Greek schools erected at Rome the first declension of substantives was *κράμβη, ης, η* ; *crambe, crambes rambé*, as we have here *musa, musa, musa*, a song, of a song, to a song, as a specimen. The daily repetition of this noun by the hesitating, stammering, simpering schoolboys, must have been exceedingly tiresome, and enough to kill the disgusted masters—*experto credo Roberto*. Gifford, in his translation of Juvenal, eludes, or rather misunderstands the sense ; for he says :

' Like hashed cabbage served for each repast,

The repetition kills the wretch at last ;'

however, Juvenal, who points at the Greek proverb, does not explain it."

Innumerable varieties of the soup species are subsequently introduced, amongst which the turtle is not forgotten.

Callipash hinc gustum languentem provocat ; indé
Novum ministrat appetitum *Callipes*.

Potages à la Reine, à l'Ecossaise, à la Xavier, à l'œil de perdrix, &c. &c. &c. all follow in due order, but on these we must not enter. Of all these, beef is, or ought to be, the ground-work—and so no wonder that our author should favour us with a dozen pages all about BEEF. He hints that the ox was worshipped in the proud temples of Memphis, under the name of Apis, solely or chiefly on account of the excellence of the

dishes which are formed at his expense—and exhibit more learning of the same sort. He also expresses some feelings of regret, in observing how many are unworthy of sharing in those bovine honours, and excluded, in consequence of the foolish prejudices of Young Asses,* he informs us, were served upon Mæcenas himself, when he entertained Augustus. The Roman epicures, however, certainly delighted in the testimony of Pliny, (book 29, chap. 24.) in favour of young and well-fattened puppies—which dish, I say, still continues to be in vogue among the Chinese and Esquimaux. Plump and well roasted bats are, laid on a bed of olives, and served up, to the joy of the mandarins of the Levant; and Scaliger remarks, that mouse-vour is sweeter than that of the finest chickens. We all know, say the same thing of frogs. Hedonists fricasseed in Greece. Hamster rats are fricasseed in Lapland, and Laplanders feed on fried squirrels. We ourselves paid five shillings, that a certain dear friend of ours† would eat a mouse-pie—and lost. In short, *chacun à son goût*.

It is a sad mistake in the arrangement of Brantôme, that certain of the most precious dishes are introduced at a period when no gastrologer, who does not possess something of the practical powers of the Gourmand, can do them anything. Among these, game of all sorts may be mentioned with reverence be it spoken—a roasted goose, although it may be dubious to be classed among *game*. These things are done better in France. There the goose and the partridge after his kind, are sure to make their appearance at a more early stage of the procession than the roasted goose, amidst his flood of apple sauce and pears. The thighs and liver of the goose, are learnedly made into pies, and properly truffled, “

* Quere—Whether, had they lived in these days, they have been satisfied with cutting up young Whigs or not.

† He got through the the task with great ease, and when the pie was done, to eat a mouse roasted in the fur with oat cake-crumbs, for the same sum—but we decline any more such experiments.

gras," are reckoned a most delicate article, well worthy of entering almost at the threshold of the feast. Shocking stories are told of the means resorted to by the French gourmets, for the production of that enormous size of liver in which the chief charm of this dish is supposed to consist. But indeed, we need not go so far from home—for we were very well acquainted, not long ago, with a humane gentleman in the west of Scotland, whose kitchen constantly exhibited a shelf of geese, nailed to the wood by the webs of their feet—quite close to the fire. In that situation, there is no doubt they had almost as fair a chance for the liver complaint as the master of the house himself. Spallanzani, as we all know, made a series of experiments to discover how many pins and bullets, &c., a hen could swallow. We think he and our west-country friend ought to have been both of them subjected to some little touches of the *LEX TALIONIS*. Had Dante known of them, there can be no doubt he would have lodged them together by the side of the main oven of the infernal—the one nailed to a shelf, that his liver might swell—the other devouring corkscrews and metal tooth-picks, *ad infinitum*.

We have no intention of going regularly through the long string of topics embraced by the sumptuary plan of our author. Let our readers be satisfied with a few of the crumbs that fall from his table, such as the following. Talking of pheasants, he says,

"The beauty of the bird when alive, the flavour and quality of his flesh when properly dressed, are too well known to claim a long description in this note. Gastronomers, who have any sort of aversion to a peculiar taste in game properly kept, had better abstain from this bird—since it is worse than a common fowl, if not waited for till it acquires the 'fumet' it ought to have. Whole republics of mag-gots have often been found rioting under the wings of pheasants; but being radically dispersed, and the birds properly washed with vinegar, every thing went right, and every guest, unconscious of the culinary ablutions, enjoyed the excellent flavour of the Phasian birds."

Of the *Tetra*, *Tetra*, or *Cocq de bruyère*.

"Heath-cock, is the real name of the *moor-cock*, and the rest of the black game so well known in the hyperborean parts of Great Britain. Several naturalists of easy credulity have believed and propagated as probable, if not indisputable, that the great *Tetra*, or *Tetra*, the monarch of the wood, perched on the branch of a tree, calls to him his wandering hens; and that, after having dropped

some mysterious liquid from his beak, he sends them fit to propagate his royal breed. This bird is also red or black game. The following lines allude to in the poem :

Where smooth, unruffled by the northern
The crystal lakes, in Alpine rocks enshrined
Reflect the verdant scene, and gently babble
With silver waves around the grass-grown
Of woody hills : there to his cackling d
On blooming heaths and secret lawns di
The *Gor-cock* calls, the sultan of the gro
On eager wings they fly—

Of herrings he remarks, that when *fresh* ways serve them up with melted butter and p in it—a hint worth attending to.

He then goes on thus about mustard.

"The etymology of mustard ought to be recorded. In 1382, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, going to Dijon, his revolted neighbours, and Dijon having furnished it its *quantum* of 1000 armed men, the duke, in recognition, granted to the town, among other privileges, the right of bearing his armorial ensigns with this motto, 'I long, I wish ardently.' In consequence of this condescension, the Dijonese municipality ordered to be beautifully sculptured over the principal entrance, which was done accordingly. But time, *tempus edax*, a constant drop of water which causes the destruction of monuments, *non ri sed sape cadendo*, or some particular accident, obliterated the middle word *me*, the remaining ones, *mon* and *arde*, occasioned the name in the following manner. For a long time, the merchants of Dijon have been, and still are, dealers in *sénére*, or, *anapi*, (mustard seed), by the method of grinding it with salt, vinegar, and oil, in order to preserve it, and send it to all parts of the kingdom. In the *sénére* pots they used to paste a label, ensigned with the duke's arms and the motto as it accidentally remained on the gate of the city, *monit-tarde* ; hence the name which has preserved to this day. It might be observed, that the pungency of this little seed, expressed in Latin by *ardere*, in old French by *monlte arde*, 'it burns much,' is the real *thema* of the word. But it does not appear that these were ever scholars enough as to borrow from Cicero a denomination for the object of their trade. In latter times, an eminent mustard-manufacturer of Dijon, himself somewhat acquainted with Latin, since he had over his shop door, *Munitum tardat*, *Dirio rixam* ; the *Dijounoise* ; 'Dijon-mustard.' Pliny pretends that it is an antidote against venomous mushrooms. B. xix. c.

Of oysters he says—

"The Athenians held oysters in great esteem. They were not common at Rome, and consequently fetched there a very high price; yet Macrobius assures us, that the Roman Pontiffs never missed to have them every day on their tables. From the fourth century to the reign of Louis XIV. they were nearly forgotten; but they soon came again into vogue, and from that time have kept up their reputation. Gastronomers, we know, can swallow three or four dozen before dinner, and then sit down to eat heartily and perhaps better than if they had abstained from them. They clear the stomach of accidental phlegm, increase the gastric juices, and, by their natural coolness, condense the air which may be fixed in the organs of digestion. When good, they are wholesome, but poisonous when bad."

Of lobsters.—

"This crustaceous fish, which, when in season, is delightful for the taste, purity, and firmness of its flesh, grows to a large size, if concealed in the rocky caverns of the deep, it can avoid the rapacity of its enemies, among whom the fisherman is not the least dangerous. Lobsters sometimes measure two feet and upwards; but Olaus Magnus, Hist. L. 21, c. 34, and Gesner *de Piscibus*, L. 4, pretend, that in the Indian seas, and on the shores of Norway, lobsters have been found twelve feet long, and six broad, seizing mariners with their gigantic claws, and dragging them along into the deep to devour them!! The French proverb says, 'a beau mentir qui vient de loin.'"

The pike he styles "the tyrant, the terror, the destroyer of the fish-pond," and then proceeds:

"The poet represents him dressed, as the French style it, 'au bleu.' Boiled in wine, with onions, carrots, parsley, pepper, and salt, he is allowed to get cold; and then, laid on a napkin in stateliness, supported by a tray, he takes his situation on the table. It is deservedly reckoned by all Gastronomers very excellent eating. The flesh is white, firm, and tasteful, and the bones (which the French, in all fishes, properly call *arrête*, from 'arreter,' to stop, because they stop the voracity of the eater) are, in a large subject, so slender, so pliant, that they can easily be put aside, or if accidentally swallowed do no harm. Pikes grow to an astonishing size. The skeleton of one, which weighed 350 pounds, has long been preserved at Mannheim. Thrown in a pond by the Emperor Barbarossa, with a brass elastic collar, he was taken up in 1497, at the surprising age of 267 years. On the collar was engraved the following inscription in Greek:

'I am the first fish which was put into this lake by the hands of the governor of the universe, Frederic II. the 5th of October, 1230.'

Lacépède (*Hist des Poissons*) pretends that the existence and bulk of fishes and amphibious animals may increase to an incalculable extent."

Next comes *asparagus*, or *sparrow-grass*, or, as it is sometimes called for brevity's sake, *grass*.

"This vegetable possesses great volatility of purgative powers. The name is of Greek origin, sprouting entirely naked from the ground; that is, without leaves or stalks."

"It reminds us of a curious trick which a wag, a countryman, who had no knowledge whatsoever of such a production as asparagus. They were travellers, arrived, on a Friday, at an inn in a small town near London, intending to sup and sleep there. The wag asked the waiter, 'What has he had to give them?' There was nothing in the kitchen but asparagus and eggs. 'Well, then, let us have fire, whilst we are eating it, boil us some of your best asparagus done accordingly: the omelet was served up in a trice. I cut it in two,' said the knowing one, 'you will divide your plate, and I the other half to mine.' The waiter assented, the omelet was divided, and declared delicious. Then comes the asparagus. 'I do not remember to have seen these sorts of things before,' said the countryman, 'but I will look—' 'Are they peculiar to this part of the world?'—'No,' said the wag, 'this is a preliminary question, 'We will do,' said the waiter, 'before;' and he severed the whole bunch in two. In the whirl of the dish, the white part became the lot of the countryman, who, beginning to tear and chew and masticate, declared, with a solemn oath, that as this was the first time he had also the last time he would attempt to make a meal of it. The wag, of course, enjoyed the whole of the vegetable heads of the vegetable."

From a whole treatise about eggs, we extract the following, which, we think, may be useful.

"Sometimes eggs are positively roasted. In country fires is constantly used, the cottager half buries his eggs in position in hot ashes upon the hearth; and when the eggs ooze on the top of the shell, the eggs are fit to be eaten. Not ignorant of this practice, for he says, Met. viii.

Ovaeque, non acri leviter versata favilla.

—New-laid eggs, with Baucis' busy care,
Turn'd by a gentle fire and roasted rare

Gastrologers are of opinion, that, done in this manner, eggs are much better flavour than when boiled. Fancy goes to the taste.

"After all, the most extraordinary manner of cooking eggs it stands recorded, to turn them round in a sling slightly boiled. This was, we are told, an Egyptian assertion is, that long eggs contain a male, we also doubt; although Horace declares that the indisputably held by the epicurean 'bon-vivants' in every age, the *Schola Salernitana* gives a good precept about eggs:—

Si sumas ovum molle sit atque novum.

If thou takest an egg, let it be soft and new.

"The surest mode of trying an egg is to apply the tip of the tongue to the blunt end; if it feels warm, and the acute end cold, it is a proof that no fermentation has yet taken place."

There is a very entertaining little appendix on the subject of wine, which sets out with observing, that the words, *wine*, English, *wein*, German, *vin*, French, *vinum*, Latin, and *οἶνος*, Greek, are all sprung from the Hebrew *יין*. He says—

"Before, and even since the introduction of 'Gascoygne' wine into this island, vineyards were well cultivated and thriving in several parts of the kingdom; for we find, that a certain quantity of wine is ordered to be paid instead of rent to the chief lord of a vineyard—*Vinagium*, i. e. *Tributum a vino*. Mon. Angl. 2 Tom. 980. But, in course of time, Bacchus courteously gave room for the pursuits of Ceres, and the golden harvest of corn superseded the purple produce of the vintage.

"It is an erroneous idea to suppose that white wine is exclusively the produce of white grapes. Fermentation alone determines the colour. The juice contained in both the white and red grape is nearly as colourless as water; except in one peculiar species, which is called the dyer, 'raisin teinturier,' the liquor of which is of a purple hue, as deep as that of the mulberry. It is used as an auxiliary to deepen the tint of red wine. If the juice of the grapes, which have been gently pressed by the feet of men in the tub at the vineyard, is drawn off in casks, and allowed to ferment without the skin, the seeds, and the stalks, which contain the colouring elements, the wine will certainly be white. On the contrary, if the liquor is left to ferment with them, the wine must be red. If the fermentation of the white liquid is stopt in proper time, the wine becomes brisk and sparkling, on account of the quantity of fixed air which is confined within it: if this air, a sort of gas, is permitted to evaporate, the wine becomes still and quiet; in this with a few practical exceptions, consists the whole mystery. Wines require more or less time to ripen in the casks, in order to let the lees settle at the bottom; and the art principally lies in the knowledge of the proper time to bottle the wine. A thick crust does not always show that the wine is good, but often that it has been bottled too soon. White wines produce no crust; a proof that the grossest parts are lodged in the skin, seeds, and stalks of the grapes.

"The practice of clarifying wine before it is bottled off by means of whites of eggs, was known to the ancients. But Horace, though a practical gourmet, was not well acquainted with the theory of the art, for he mistakes, Sat. 2. 4. the yolk for the white as used for this purpose.

"Several authors of tried knowledge have, in other countries as well as in this, written scientific and interesting dissertations upon

the wines of the ancients, to which we refer the Gastronome, confining ourselves to the names of some of those particularly esteemed in our days.

"As to the product of the grapes, it can not be denied that France has long borne the palm in the contest; and the wines of the kingdom may be classed under three principal heads, Champagne, and Languedoc, or Meridional wines, which are subdivided into three species, *mousseux*, *tranquille*, and *still*, and sweet.

CHAMPAGNE.	BOURGOGNE.	GASCOGNE.
Ai	Avalons	Berges
Arbois	Beaune	Bourdeaux
Epernay	Chablis	Catena
Haut-villiers	Chambertin	Claret
Langres	Clos de Vougeot	Condemne
Montagne de Rheims †	Coulanges	Graves
Ricey	La Romanee	Hermance
Sillery	Macon	Lafite
Tonnerre	Migrenne	Pontet
Versenay	Nuits ‡	St Pierre
	Pomard	Sauternes

"So great was the repute of some of these wines, that a public *Thesis* was held at the Faculty of Medicine on the mighty question, which of the two was best, 'Bourdeaux or Champagne.' As for the 'Vins de Gascogne, Bourdeaux,' the quantity which is exported has always been so considerable, according to Froissart, as early as 1372, upwards of 200,000 annually and exclusively freighted with this commodity.

"Besides these, several 'vins de liqueurs' are produced in France; as *Ciotat*, *St. Laurent*, *Lunel*, *Frontignac*, &c. The *Port*, *Sherry*, *Madeira*, *Malaga*, *Tugal*, and the island of *Madeira*, offer us a considerable variety. The banks of the Rhine and the Moselle enliven, with their sparkling wines, the tables of the Gastronomers of all polite nations."

So much for this very clever little work, which we have made cannot fail to recommend in particular to our classical and travelled readers. We have seldom seen a display of elegance and ingenuity than the versification of this poem itself exhibits, nor with a more easy vein

* "*Languidiora vina.*—Hox.

† "Part of the produce of this famous hill was exported to the table of the king of France.

‡ "The celebrity of this wine dates from the illness of Louis XIV. in 1680.

§ "This denomination originates from *Claretum*, an ancient name of wine and honey, clarified by decoction, the Romans, French, and English, call *Hippocras*; and it was from this that the red wines of France were called *Claret*."

|| "This name is generally applied to the white wine."

than in the notes. The book appears to have been written a long while ago, and is anonymous. But we dare say the author must be well known at one or other of the universities.

Of all the sensitive beings that people this earth, man, unquestionably, experiences most suffering.

Nature originally doomed him to suffer by the nakedness and delicacy of his skin, the form of his feet, and by the instinct of war and destruction, which accompanies the human race wherever it has been found.

The brute creation has not been visited by this malediction; and but for a few exceptions, arising from the instinct of reproduction, pain in the state of nature would be absolutely unknown to the greater part of the species, whereas man, who can only experience a temporary pleasure, and that by a very few organs, is liable, at all times, and in every part of his body, to suffer the most excruciating torture.

This decree of fate is still aggravated by a number of diseases which have sprung from the habits of the people, so that the most exquisite pleasure can never, either in intensity, or duration, compensate for the great suffering which accompanies some disorders, such as gout, tooth-ache and rheumatic pains, strangury, and that which is caused by the severe system of punishment in use amongst some nations.

It is this very dread of pain that causes man, without his perceiving it, to throw himself blindly into the opposite extreme, and makes him passionately cling to the few pleasures which nature has placed within his reach.

It is for this same reason that he wishes to increase them, that he forms them and indulges in them—in a word, that he adores them, since during the reign of idolatry, and for many centuries, all pleasures were looked upon as minor deities, presided over by superior gods.

The severity of new forms of religion did away with this patronage; Bacchus, Cupid, Comus and Diana are no longer but poetical souvenirs; yet the custom still prevails, for under the most serious forms of our belief we see marriages, baptisms, and even funerals made the scenes of festivity.

Repasts, according to our interpretation of the word, commenced with the second age of the human race, that is when it discontinued to live on fruit. The preparation and distribution of food obliged the family to assemble; the father distributed to his children the produce of the chase, and the children rendered the same service to the father when old.

Those meetings, at first confined to member family, were extended by degrees to neighbours.

Afterwards, when the human race had extended, the traveller was entertained at these primitive repasts with what he knew of distant countries. Thus originated the repasts with its rites, which are reputed sacred by all nations. There is no people, no matter how barbarous, or uncivilized, that does not consider themselves bound to protect the stranger, to whom they consent to share their bread and salt.

It was the repast that must have originated the language, either because it is an opportunity constantly occurring; or because the leisure which it affords and follows the repast begets confidence, and conversation.

Such, by the nature of things, must have been the origin of the pleasures of the table, so that we should distinguish them from the pleasure of eating which preceded them.

The pleasure of eating is that direct and actual gratification of a want which is being satisfied.

The pleasure of the table is a reflected sensation, produced by the different circumstances of occurrence, the things and persons connected with the repast.

The pleasure of eating is common to us with all animals; it merely implies hunger, and what is necessary to satisfy it.

The pleasure of the table is peculiar to the human race; it implies a certain amount of care and attention to the preparation of the repast, in the selection of the place, the company, and the pleasing of the guests.

The pleasure of eating requires, if not to be hungry, at least to have an appetite; and the pleasure of the table is independent of both one and the other.

These two states may be observed at our repasts.

At the first course everybody eats greedily, without conversation, or paying any attention to what may be said. At every rank in society the individual may occupy his mind with everything but to take part in the great work of the repast. But when hunger begins to be satisfied, reflection is introduced. Conversation is commenced, a new order of things is established, and he who before did nothing but eat, becomes a conversant, and an agreeable guest, according as the great Director of things has given him the means.

The pleasure of the table does not permit rapturous transports of joy and ecstasy, but it gains in duration what it loses in intensity, and it is particularly remarkable for the privilege it enjoys of disposing us for all the others, or at least consoling us for their loss.

For we observe that after a good and well-regulated repast, both mind and body are particularly at ease.

Physically, for as soon as the brain is refreshed, the whole countenance brightens up, the colour is heightened, the eyes become brighter, and a gentle warmth is diffused through the entire body.

Morally, wit is sharpened by it, the imagination is kindled, and good things are said and circulated; and if La Fare and Saint Aulaire, are transmitted to posterity with the reputation of clever writers, they owe it to the fact of their being agreeable guests.

Besides, we often see united at the same table every variety which hospitality, in its broadest sense, has introduced amongst us,—love, friendship, business, speculation, power, solicitation, patronage, ambition, intrigues: this is why the festive board comprises everything, and that it produces fruit of every flavor.

Industrial accessories.—It is a necessary consequence of these antecedents, that all human industry has been brought to bear on increasing the intensity and duration of the pleasure of the table.

Poets complained that the neck being too short was an obstacle to the pleasure of eating and drinking; others regretted that the stomach was too small; and man has succeeded in delivering this organ from the duty of digesting the first repast, to have the pleasure of enjoying a second.

This was the final experiment to perfect the pleasure of taste; but if, on the one hand, we have not been able to pass the bounds placed by nature, we have had recourse to accessories which, at least, admitted of more latitude.

Vases and cups were ornamented with flowers; the guests were even crowned with them. Banquets were held under the canopy of heaven, in gardens and groves, in presence of the wonders of nature.

To the pleasures of the table were added the charms of music and the sounds of instruments. Thus, while the court of the King of Phœnice were at table, Phœmius sang the praises and the achievements of the warriors of past ages.

Frequently, too, dancers, jugglers, and mimes, of every costume, amused the eye while the enjoyments of taste; the most exquisite were introduced at those banquets, so that the whole were invited to take part in an enjoyment which was universal.

We have adopted, more or less, according to those various ways of contributing to our pleasure, have also added those supplied us by new discoveries.

No doubt, our refined manners could not tolerate the custom of vomiting, practised by the Romans; but we have better, and we have arrived at the same end, sanctioned by good taste.

Dishes have been invented, so delicate and so light that they are most agreeable to the stomach, without overloading the stomach. Seneca would have called them *esculentas*.

Such is the extent to which we now carry our pleasures, that if the necessity of business did not rise from table, or if the want of sleep did not put an end to our repasts, and we had no fixed rule by which to determine the time that should elapse between the first glass of Madeira and the last glass of port.

However, we must not believe that all those pleasures are indispensable to constitute the pleasures of life. We can enjoy those pleasures in almost their entire extent, if we are able to unite the four following conditions:—at least passable, good wine, agreeable guests, and a good dinner.

It is thus that we have often wished we could assist at the repast which Horace intended for himself, when he had invited, or for the traveller, who might be compelled by bad weather to take shelter in his house. A good fowl, a kid (very fat, no doubt), and, for the dessert, figs, and nuts, with some of the wine made under the vine of Manlius, (*nata mecum consule Manlio*), and the conversation of this genuine poet, we think would be a most agreeable one:—

“At mihi cum longum post tempus veneret
Sive operum vacuo, longum convivæ per im-
Vicinus, benè erat, non piscibus urbe petitæ

*Sed pullo atque hædo, tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornat mensas, cum duplice fœu.**

It is even thus that six friends would regale themselves at the present day, on a boiled leg of mutton and a kidney, washed down with good clear orleans or madoc wine, in France, or genuine port, in England, or glorious whiskey in Ireland; and after spending the evening in free and pleasing conversation, they would forget that there were rarer dishes or better cooks in the world.

On the contrary, no matter how exquisite the meats may be, or how sumptuous the accessories, there is no real pleasure if the drink be bad, the guests indiscriminately selected, with melancholy faces, and the dinner eaten in a hurry.

Next to eating, that prince of eaters, Sancho, thought SLEEP the best of human goods, as witness his "*God bless the man that first invented sleep.*"

Although there are some men so constituted that we might say they never sleep, it is, however, certain that sleep is as necessary as it is to gratify hunger or thirst. The sentinels on the advanced posts of an army have been known to fall asleep while throwing snuff in their eyes to keep awake; and Pichegru, when pursued by the detectives of Buonaparte, gave 50,000 francs for one night's sleep, during which, however, he was betrayed and arrested.

Sleep is that state of torpor or supineness, in which man, when removed from exterior objects by the forced inactivity of the senses, lives but mechanically.

Sleep, like night, is preceded and followed by two twilights; the first of which leads to absolute inertia, the second brings us back again to active life.

We shall endeavour to account for those two phenomena.

At the moment when we are attacked by sleep, the organs of the senses, by degrees, cease to act; first the taste; then sight and smell; the sense of hearing is still awake, and the touch always; for it serves to warn us, by the sensation of pain, of the danger to which the body may be exposed.

Sleep is always preceded by a sensation more or less pleasing; the body yields to it readily with the certainty of being soon

* The dessert is accurately denominated and alluded to by the adverb *tum*, and by the words, *secundas mensas*.

refreshed, and the soul abandons itself to it with in the hope of being relieved from toil and activity.

It is from not having properly understood that the most learned men have compared sleep to all living creatures resist by every means in the which is accompanied by such peculiar symptoms even the brute creation.

Like all pleasures, sleep becomes a passion, known to sleep the three-fourths of their lives; all other passions, it produces but fatal effects, such as indolence, debility, stupidity, and even death.

The school of St. Salerno only allowed seven hours without distinction of age or sex; this is too severe a restriction should be made for children, as a matter of course, and for females, from a consideration of what is proper for each sex; but it may be taken as granted that to spend ten hours in bed is to indulge in sleep to excess.

In the first moments of sleep our will is still free, we are awake—and thought has not yet lost all its power. *Stupor dormio*, said Mæcenas, a state of which many of us have had unpleasant experience. Some ideas still remain, but they are of an incoherent nature; we experience glimmerings, and we see floating around ill-formed images. But this state does not last long, all soon disappears, and confusion is at an end, and we fall into a sound sleep.

What is the soul doing all this time? It lives, it is like the pilot during a calm, like a mirror in which no image is reflected, like a lute which is not being played on,—it is ready for any emergency.

However, some physiologists, and, amongst others, Dr. Redern, assert that the soul is never inactive, and gives as a proof that a man who is suddenly robbed of sleep, on waking, feels the sensation of a person who is just waking from an operation in which he was seriously occupied.

This observation is well founded, and deserves our attention.

However, this state of absolute prostration does not last long (it rarely exceeds five or six hours); the sleeper recovers its strength, an undefined sensation of freshness begins to dawn, and the sleeper passes into the region of dreams.

Dreams are those impressions which the soul receives without the assistance of exterior objects.

These phenomena, which are so common, and at the same time so extraordinary, are, however, but little understood.

The fault lies at the door of the learned, who have not sufficiently explained them. This, no doubt, will be done in the course of time, and the two-fold nature of man shall be better understood.

In the actual state of science it is admitted that there exists a fluid as insinuating as it is powerful, which imparts to the brain the impressions received by the senses, and that it is from the excitement produced by these impressions that we have our ideas.

Absolute sleep is caused by the deperdition and inertia of this fluid.

We may suppose that the operation of digestion and assimilation, which continues during our sleep, provides against this loss, so that there is a time when man, though he have all that is necessary for action, is not yet influenced by exterior objects.

Then the nervous fluid, insinuating by its nature, is transmitted to the brain by means of the nervous tubes; it flows into the same place, and by the same tracks, since it arrives by the same way; it must, therefore, produce the same effects, but with, however, less intensity.

The cause of this difference seems to us easily accounted for. When man awake is affected by an exterior object, the sensation is clear, sudden, and necessary; the entire organ is in motion. On the contrary, when the same impression is transmitted to him during sleep, it is only the exterior portion of the nerves that is affected; the sensation must, therefore, be less intense, less determined.

In plainer words, while man is awake the entire organ is affected, but when asleep, it is only that part which is next the brain that is acted upon.

When the nervous fluid is thus carried to the brain, it flows to it through those channels destined for the exercise of some of our senses; this is the reason why it produces there certain sensations, or a series of ideas, sooner than others. Thus we fancy that we see, when the optic nerve is affected, that we hear when it is the auditory nerve, &c.; and it may be noticed as a singular fact, that it is at least very rare that the sensations we experience when dreaming have any relation to either taste or smell; for instance, when we dream about a parterre, or a meadow, we see the flowers without perceiving the per-

fume; and if we imagine ourselves assisting at see the meats, but we do not enjoy the taste.

It would be a study worthy of the most learned why it is that there are two of our senses which the soul during sleep, whilst the others act not awake. We know of no physiological work on

It may also be remarked that the more the which we experience in sleep affect us internally they are. Thus the most sensual ideas are compared with the grief we feel when we dream of a favourite child, or that we are going to be hanged cases we awake either covered with sweat, or both

However extravagant or capricious be those which occur to us in sleep, we shall see, on examining them, that they are but remembrances, or a combination of remembrances. We are inclined to say that dreams are a memory of the senses-

The strangeness of dreams, then, merely consists in an unnatural association of ideas, which has no relation to time, or place; we never dream of anything of which we have not some previous knowledge.

We would not be so much surprised at the contents of our dreams if we reflected that when man is asleep, his four senses reciprocally watching over, and each of the other, the sight, hearing, the touch, and memory, when he is asleep, each of the senses is in its own resources.

We might compare these two states of the brain at which a musician is seated, who, throwing himself carelessly along the notes, plays an air from memory; he could render perfectly harmonious if he used reflection. This comparison might be further extended by reflecting that to the ideas what harmony is to sound, ideas produce others, just as one principal idea produces others of minor importance.

In allowing ourselves to be thus imperceptibly carried away by a subject interesting in itself, we find ourselves in the system of Gall, who taught and maintained that the faculties of the brain are of a multiform nature.

We must not go any farther with this subject than our limits; but we may here note two observations made by a very learned French savant, now no more

About the year 1790, there lived in a village called Gevrin, in the district of Belley, a trader, a remarkably sharp fellow, named Landot, who had acquired a considerable fortune. He was suddenly attacked by such a fit of paralysis that he appeared to be dead. The faculty took him in hands, and he recovered, but not entirely, for he had lost nearly all his intellectual faculties, particularly his memory.

However, he was able to crawl along, and as he had recovered his appetite, he continued to manage his own affairs.

As soon as he was known to be in this state those who formerly had dealings with him thought the time had arrived to be avenged; and with the pretext of coming to keep him company, they came from all directions, to propose bargains by purchasing, selling or exchanging, and such other matters as had been up to that time the subject of their usual trade. But those besiegers soon found themselves mistaken, and that it was necessary to reduce their terms.

The cunning old man had lost none of his commercial skill, and the same man who did not recognise his servants, and sometimes, even forgot his own name, knew the current prices of the day, and the value of every perch of meadow, vineyard or forest, within three leagues round.

On those subjects his judgment was unimpaired, which, as it was but little suspected, the greater number of those who were endeavouring to entrap the feeble old merchant, were themselves taken in the snares they had prepared for him.

Second Case.

There lived at Belley a M. Chirol, who had served a long time in the life guards, both under Louis xv. and Louis xvi.

His intelligence was equal to the services he had had to perform all his life; but he was particularly remarkable for his skill in gambling, to which he was passionately addicted, so that he was not only master of all the old games, such as ombre, piquet, and whist, but when a new one was introduced, he thoroughly understood it after the third round.

This M. Chirol was also attacked by a fit of paralysis, and in such a manner that he fell into a state of almost complete insensibility; however, two of his faculties were spared, for he could both eat and play.

He regularly visited every day a house in which he had been accustomed to play for twenty years, and seating himself in a corner, remained motionless, and apparently half asleep, without noticing what was passing around him.

As soon as the game was introduced he was invited to form one of the party, which he invariably did, as he struggled towards the table, and then it might be seen that though he was deprived, by paralysis, of nearly all his faculties, he never on that account lost one point of the game. Shortly before his death M. Chirol gave a convincing proof of his skill at play.

When at Belley, I received a visit from a M. Delins, if I remember well, a banker from Paris. He was the bearer of several letters of introduction, and being a stranger and from Paris, was

It was a delightful sensation ; and perhaps many persons have had similar dreams. But what I think most remarkable is, that I remember to have perfectly understood (so it appeared to me at least), the means by which I arrived at this result, which seemed to me so simple, that I was only surprised they were not sooner discovered.

On awaking, I had quite forgotten the solution, but the conclusion remained ; and from that time I found it impossible to dissuade myself that sooner or later, some more enlightened genius will make the discovery ; at all hazard I have taken a note of the circumstance.

Second Observation—It is only a month since I experienced, while asleep, a most peculiar sensation of pleasure. It consisted of a delicious tremor in every part of my body. It was a kind of delightful stinging sensation, which, beginning in the epidermis, from the feet to the head, affected me even in the marrow of my bones.

I fancied I saw a violet flame playing round my head.

'Lambere flamma, comas, et circum tempora pasci.'

I am of opinion that this condition, which I very sensibly felt, lasted about thirty seconds, and I awoke in a state of astonishment, bordering on terror.

From this sensation, which is yet quite fresh in my memory, coupled with other observations which have been made on ecstasies and nervous people, I have come to the conclusion, that the limits of pleasure are neither known, or fixed, and that we do not yet know to what a degree the human body may be beatified. I hope that, some centuries hence, physiologists will take up these extraordinary sensations, and will procure them at pleasure, in the same manner as we invite sleep by opium, and that by these means our posterity will be compensated for the frightful sufferings we are sometimes subject to.

The proposition which I have just put forward, is somewhat supported by analogy ; for I have already observed that the power of harmony, which affords such intense pleasure, so pure, and evidently so much sought after, was entirely unknown to the Romans ; it is a discovery which is not more than five hundred years old.

Having gone to bed, one night, in the year 1800, without having experienced anything remarkable during the day, I awoke about one o'clock in the morning, the usual time for my first sleep ; I found myself in a state of cerebral excitement, altogether extraordinary. My conceptions were strong, and my ideas profound ; the sphere of my intelligence seemed to have been extended. I sat up in the bed, and my eyes were affected by the sensation of a pale, hazy and undefined light, which in no way assisted in distinguishing the surrounding objects.

From the number of ideas which rapidly succeeded each other, I should think that this state lasted several hours, but, according to my time-piece, I am certain it only continued for half an hour, or a little longer. I was rescued from it by an incident, exterior, and independent of my will ; my attention was drawn to the things of this earth.

Immediately, the luminous sensation disappeared, I felt myself sinking, the limits of my intelligence became contracted, in a word,

I was myself again. But as I was quite awake, my mind feebly retained a portion of the ideas which crossed it.

The first related to time. It seemed to me that past and future were one, and met at the same point, so that it was just as easy to foresee the future, as to remember the past. All that I retained of this first vision, which was the first, was that it followed.

My attention was afterwards directed to the sensations, and they were arranged in the order of their perfection; and having considered the occasion, that we should have as many internally as we have externally, about finding them.

I had already found three, and almost four, in the world, namely,

1st. *Compassion*, which is a sensation we experience in the sufferings of another.

2nd. *Predilection*, which is a preference, not only for one object, but for everything belonging to that object, and for us of it.

3rd. *Sympathy*, which is also a feeling of preference for two objects together.

It may be said, on a first consideration, that these three are but one and the same thing; but what does not being confounded is, that *predilection* is not always sympathy, and sympathy is necessarily so.

Finally, when considering *compassion*, I was led to a conclusion which I believe to be very correct, and which, I should not have thought of, which is, that it is from the derivation of this fine theorem, the principal basis of all ethics.

‘ Ne fais pas aux autres ce que tu ne voudrais pas qu’ils te fissent.’

Do as you would be done by.

Alteri ne facias quod tibi fieri non vis.

Such is the idea I retained of the state I was in when I experienced on the occasion, that I would wish to be as I was, were possible, all the time I have to live, for my own existence.

I will be more easily understood by the learner, for there are few who have not more or less, experienced a similar state.

When warm in bed, in a horizontal position, the mind is active, we are thinking of the work we have in hand, the body comes heated, ideas abound, expressions follow, and we are up to write, we dress, throw aside our night-cap, and sit at the desk.

But suddenly we are no longer the same, the imagination is again, the thread of our ideas is broken, language fails, we have difficulty in finding what before appeared so obvious, often happens that we are obliged to put off the work to a propitious moment.

All this admits of an easy explanation, consider the change of position and temperature has on the brain, and we have again a proof of the influence the state of the mind has on the body.

Man, whether he is reposing, sleeping, or dreaming, is constantly under the influence of the laws of nutrition, and never leaves the dominion of gastronomy.

Theory and experience combine in proving that the quantity and the quality of food have a powerful effect on labour, repose, sleep, and dreams.

The man who is badly fed cannot long endure the fatigue of constant labour; his body is saturated with sweat, his strength soon forsakes him; and for him repose is merely an incapacity for labour.

In the case of mental labour, the ideas present themselves without vigour or precision, and we want both reflection and judgment to analyse them: the brain is exhausted by vain efforts, and we fall asleep in the struggle.

We have been always of opinion that the suppers of Auteuil, as well as those of the *Hotels de Rambouillet* and *Soissons*, must have been of great service to the writers of the age of Louis XIV.; and the clever Geoffroy, (if it were true) was not so much mistaken when he ridiculed the poets of the end of the eighteenth century, on their sugar and water, which he considered to be their favorite drink.

On those principles we have examined the works of some authors whom we have known to be poor and in want, and we certainly never found their works to possess any energy, except when they appeared to be stimulated by the consciousness of their habitual suffering, or by want, often but ill-disguised.

On the contrary, he who lives well, and who renews his lost strength with prudence and discretion, can endure an amount of fatigue which no other living creature can bear.

Napoleon, the evening before his departure for Boulogne, had laboured for thirty hours, both with his council of state, or his minister, without any other refreshment, but two short repasts and a few cups of coffee.

Browne makes mention of a clerk in the English Admiralty who, having lost by accident some state papers at which he alone could be employed, spent fifty-two consecutive hours in re-drawing them out. He could never, without an appropriate system, have been able to resist such fatigue. The following is the system he adopted:—first he drank water, then he took some light food, then wine, jellies, and soup, and finally opium.

We one day met a courier whom we had known in Algeria, and who had just returned from Spain, when

he had been sent with a despatch by the Governor (*ganando horas*). He had accomplished ten days, having only remained in Madrid for all he had taken during this continued jolting sleep, was a few glasses of wine, and some such that if he taken more substantial food he could get to the end of his journey.

Diet has not a less influence on sleep and dream.

He who is hungry cannot sleep; the pangs keep him in a painful waking state, and if, through or exhaustion, he falls asleep, it is light, disturbed.

He, on the contrary, who in his repast, has immediately, immediately falls into a sound sleep; he has no recollection of it, because the nervous system every point in the sensitive organs. For the awakes suddenly, and with difficulty returns, and long after sleep is gone, he still suffers from

It may then be laid down as a general maxim that dissipates sleep. Custom lessens, and even away with this inconvenience. But this is a with Europeans when first they begin to take of food, on the other hand, are mild incentives as those in which milk is the principal ingredient family of lettuces, fowl, purloian, orange flower apples when eaten just before going to bed.

Experience, founded on thousands of observations, that diet determines our dreams.

In general all kinds of food that are in any cause us to dream; such are dark coloured meats, ducks, wild fowl, and particularly hare.

Asparagus, celery, truffles, perfumed sweetened, especially vanilla, are known to possess this quality.

It would be a great error to suppose that we from our table all those somniferous substances which they produce are in general of a light nature, and they prolong our existence, even when be interrupted.

There are some persons for whom sleep is a existence, a sort of protracted romance; that dreams have a continuation, and they finish night what they commenced the night before,

their sleep certain faces which they remember to have seen before, and which, however, they never met.

To the genuine gourmet, sugar, coffee, and chocolate, are indispensable.

By the progress which science has made up to the present day, we understand sugar to be a sweet substance, capable of being crystallized, and which, by the process of fermentation, becomes an alcohol, and a carbonic acid.

Formerly sugar meant only that thick, crystallized substance produced by the cane (*arundo succharifera*).

This plant is a native of India; however, it is certain that sugar was not in common use among Romans; nor did they know anything of its crystallized nature.

We are led to infer from some works of the ancients, that certain plants were known to produce a sweet extractive matter. We read in Lucan—

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos.

But there is great difference between water sweetened by sugar and the cane, and sugar such as we now produce it.

It is in the colonies of the New World that sugar was first discovered, and there it thrives. The sweet juice which was observed to flow from the cane was soon turned to account, and, after various experiments, we have succeeded in extracting from it wine, syrup, brown sugar, molasses, and white sugar of different qualities.

The cultivation of the sugar cane has become an object of the greatest importance; for it is a source of wealth for those who grow it, as well as those who trade in its produce; to the refiner, and even to the government, which derives vast revenue from the duty imposed upon it.

It was the opinion for a long time that sugar could only be produced in tropical climates; but in the year 1740, Margraff discovered it in some plants of the temperate zones, amongst others, the beetroot; and this was afterwards demonstrated by the experiments which Professor Achard made at Berlin.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, owing to peculiar circumstances, sugar having become scarce, and consequently dear, in France, government instituted an inquiry into its nature and qualities.

The result was complete success: it was found that sugar existed in abundance in the entire vegetable kingdom; it was

discovered in the grape, in the chestnut, in the especially in the beetroot.

This last plant soon became extensively cultivated, the object of numerous experiments, which proved in respect, the old world could dispense with the cane. It was soon covered with manufactories which produced with different success, and the art of producing sugar was natural to the soil ; a new science which circumscribed one day revive more fully.

Amongst those manufactories, the most remarkable was which M. Benjamin Delessert established at Paris. He was a respectable citizen whose name was always associated with everything good and useful.

After various skilful operations, he succeeded in overcoming all difficulties, made no mystery of his discoveries, and who might be induced to become his rivals ; he was appointed to the head of the government, and got an order of the Emperor of the Tuileries.

Strange circumstances, the restoration and the return of peace, having considerably reduced the price of sugar in the colonies, the manufacture of sugar from the beetroot lost a good deal of its importance. However, the French establishments still doing a good trade ; and M. Delessert some years manufactured some thousands of tons without loss, which gave him the means of adhering to the idea that it might be one day necessary to have recourse to it.

When beetroot sugar was an article of commerce, the parties, the vulgar and uneducated, found that it had an agreeable taste, not good for sweetening ; some said it was as far as to say that it was unwholesome.

But observations and experiments have proved otherwise, and the Count Chaptal has given us the result of his work, *Chemistry applied to Agriculture*, tom 1.

"The sugar which we obtain from those dets," says this distinguished chemist, "are exactly

* We may here remark that, at its general meeting for promoting national industry presented a gold medal to M. Delessert, a manufacturer of Arras, who manufactures and sells annually about a hundred and fifty thousand kilogrammes of beetroot sugar, which he carries on a successful trade, even when the price of sugar is as low as 2f., 20c. the kilogramme ; the husks after the spirit has been extracted, are used to feed

differ in no respect when they are brought by the process of refining to the same degree of purity. The taste, the crystallization, the colour, and weight, are altogether identical, and we might defy the most experienced to distinguish one from the other."

We will have a striking example of the effect of prejudice, and of the difficulty we always experience in establishing a truth, when we are told that out of a hundred persons in Great Britain, taken indiscriminately, there are not ten who believe that sugar is produced from beetroot.

Sugar has been introduced into the world by apothecaries. It was destined to play an important part there. It was customary, when speaking of a person who wanted something very essential, to say, "He is an *apothecary without sugar*."

This was sufficient to make its use popular; some pretended that it excited; others, that it attacked the chest; some, that it predisposed us for apoplexy. But calumny was soon obliged to give way to truth, and it is not more than eighty years since this memorable maxim was given:—*Sugar does no harm but to the purse*.

Under this impenetrable ægis sugar became daily more in use, and there is no alimentary substance which has undergone so many changes and transformations.

Many persons like to eat raw sugar, and in some cases, the greater part hopeless, the Faculty recommend it in this form, as a remedy which at least has nothing in it repulsive.

Mixed with water it makes a refreshing, wholesome, and agreeable drink, and oftentimes useful as a cure.

When mixed in greater proportion with water, and concentrated by fire, it forms a syrup which admits of all perfumes, and produces in us a cooling effect, always pleasing from its variety.

Mixed with water from which, by the aid of science, we extract the caloric, an Italian discovery, it forms ice, for the introduction of which we are indebted to Catherine de Médicis.

Mixed with wine it gives a cordial, a restorative so prized that in some countries they pour it over the roast joints intended for the table of a new married couple on the wedding day, the same as in Persia they serve up, on like occasions, sheeps' trotters in vinegar.

Mixed with eggs and flour it makes biscuits, macaroons, fillips, and that variety of light pastry which constitutes the comparatively new science of the pastry cook.

Mixed with milk it makes creams, blanchmâs, delicacies which so agreeably terminate the season, substituting for the desire of substantial food perfume.

Mixed with coffee it draws out its aromatic

Mixed with milk and coffee it affords us a valuable nourishment, easy to be procured. It is agreeable to those who are obliged to study immediately. Milk and coffee, *café au lait*, is also much in vogue with ladies; but the far-seeing eye of science has discovered that too frequent use would be injurious to them in the most dear.

Mixed with fruit and flowers it produces syrups, malade, preserves, patés and candy, a method by which we are enabled to enjoy the perfume of flowers and fruits long after the time nature intended.

Viewed in this last light, perhaps it might be considered as a stage in embalming, a practice but yet little known.

In fine, sugar mixed with alcohol produces syrups, invented, as we know, to comfort Louis XIV. and which, flattering the palate by their sweetness, and by their fragrance, constitute at this moment the *ultra* of the pleasures of taste.

But this is not all. Sugar may be used as a preservative of everything; it spoils nothing. Some persons use it sometimes with vegetables, and often with fruits. It is indispensable in those drinks which are most fashionable, such as punch, negus, syllabub, and others of the kind. It is infinite in its applications, which are more numerous than the taste of nations and individuals.

Such is this substance of which the French king, Louis XIII. scarcely knew the name, and which in the nineteenth century is become a matter of necessity for there is no woman, particularly if she be in the fashion, that does not expend more money on sugar than on her bread.

M. Delacroix, a writer as amiable as he was witty, once complained at Versailles of the high price of sugar, then more than 5*fr.* a pound. "Ah!" said he in a piteous accent, "if ever sugar is sold again for less than this, I will never drink water without its being sweetened." This was heard; he lived till lately, and we hope he

Coffee was first discovered in Arabia, and notwithstanding, the various transplantations which this plant has undergone, it is still from that country the best coffee is procured.

An old tradition says that coffee was first discovered by a shepherd, who observed his flocks to be unusually excited and playful whenever they browsed on the coffee berry.

Whatever credit we may be disposed to give this old story, it is certain the observing shepherd is entitled to but half the honour of the discovery; the other half undoubtedly belongs to the man who first thought of roasting the berry.

A decoction of raw coffee is, in point of fact, an insignificant drink, but carbonization develops in it an aromatic quality, and produces an oil which distinguishes the coffee such as we have it, and which would never be known but for the intervention of heat.

The Turks, who are our masters in this respect, never use the mill to bruise coffee; they pound it in mortars with pestles made of wood, and when these instruments have been long in use, they become precious and are sold at a high price.

We once had several reasons for ascertaining, if in reality there was any difference between those two methods, and which was preferable.

We therefore toasted with the greatest care a pound of the best mocha.

We divided it into two equal parts, one of which we ground, and the other we bruised after the manner of the Turks.

We made coffee of both those powders. We took an equal weight of each, and poured over it an equal weight of boiling water, treating both portions alike in every respect.

We tasted this coffee, and had it tried by the greatest connoisseurs. The unanimous opinion was that the result of the bruised powder was far superior to the other.

Any one may satisfy himself by the experiment. In the meantime we may give a remarkable example of the effect which either of those methods is likely to produce.

"Sir," said Napoleon, one day to the Senator Laplace, "how is it that a glass of water, in which I put a bit of sugar, appears to me much more agreeable than one in which I put an equal quantity of bruised sugar?" "Sire," replied the philosopher, "there are three substances whose principles are exactly the same; namely, sugar, gum and starch; they only differ on some conditions which nature has yet kept secret: and I believe it is

possible that by means of the collision produced some portions of the sugar pass from the state of solution which causes the difference you have observed.

This circumstance obtained considerable notice, and subsequent observations have pronounced in favour of the method.

Some years ago the best method of making coffee was an object of general study in France; and for by the fact, which was not then generally known, the head of the state indulged in it to excess.

It was proposed first to make a cold infusion by steeping, or reducing it to powder, to boil it for half of an hour and then strain it, &c.

We tried all those methods, and even those which were proposed up to the present time, and from experience we come to the conclusion that that which is called the French method is the best, which consists in pouring boiling water over coffee, which we have put into a china or silver filter with very small holes. We take the first decoction at the boiling point, strain it a second time, and we have a good coffee as we need desire.

Amongst other methods of making coffee it was proposed putting it into a boiling kettle under high pressure, but we were able to obtain a little extract, only from the threat of a Cossack.

Doctors have given different opinions concerning the qualities of coffee, and have not always agreed with themselves. We will pass over this difference of opinion, and only occupy ourselves with what is of more importance, its influence on the organs of thought.

There is no doubt but coffee has a powerful influence on the cerebral organs; and a man who drinks it for too long is sure to be deprived of his sleep.

Sometimes this effect is lessened and modified, and there are many who are thus excited by it, and are obliged to discontinue its use.

We have stated that this effect was modified, and this does not prevent its affecting us in another way. We have observed that those who sleep well at night are required to keep them awake during the day, and fall asleep during the evening, if they have not slept after dinner.

There are also many others who are drowsy during the day if they have not taken their cup of coffee since morning.

Voltaire and Buffon were very fond of coffee, and it is possible they are indebted to it, the former for that admirable clearness and perspicuity which characterize his works; the latter for that exalted harmony which we find in his style. It is plain that many pages of the essays on Man, on the Dog, on the Tiger, the Lion, and the Horse, were written in a state of great cerebral excitement.

The want of sleep caused by coffee is not an unpleasant sensation; our ideas are very clear, and we have no desire for sleep. We do not feel so restless or unhappy as when it is produced by some other cause; but it is very probable that this unseasonable and unnatural excitement will be fatal in the long run.

Formerly none but adults took coffee, now every body takes it; and perhaps it is the injurious effect which it has on the mind which hurries on that immense crowd which every day fills the avenues leading to Olympus and the temple of memory.

The shoemaker who was the author of the tragedy, the *Queen of Palmyra*, and which all Paris was running after, was passionately fond of coffee; he raised himself far above the carpenter of Nevers, who never took exciting drinks.

Coffee is a much stronger drink than is generally believed. A healthy man might live to a good age, drinking two bottles of wine daily, the same man would not live near so long by taking an equal amount of coffee; he would become a lunatic, or would die of consumption.

We saw lately at Leicester square in London, a man who by using coffee to excess, became a cripple; he did not appear to suffer, and was resigned to his condition, having limited himself to five or six cups a day.

It is the imperative duty of all parents strictly to prohibit the use of coffee to their children, if they do not wish to have them become mere withered little machines, stunted in their growth, and old men at twenty.

This advice is particularly applicable to the people of Dublin, whose children are not always as strong and healthy as if they were born in the country, in Tipperary for instance.

We are of those who have been obliged to renounce the use of coffee: and we shall conclude this paragraph in relating a circumstance which particularly brought us under its influence.

Having been required by the head of a department to prepare a certain document, which we wished to take the greatest care; and having got but very short notice, we should have it the next day; we determined to wait till night. In order to provide ourselves against sickness, we seasoned our dinner with two large cups of strong coffee.

We returned home about seven o'clock to receive the necessary instructions, and instead of the papers we expected, we received a letter informing us that in consequence of a law we know not what, red-tape formality, we could not appear before the following day.

Thus disappointed in the fullest sense of the word, we returned to the house where we had dined, and sat down to piquet without perceiving any of that inattention to our mind for which we were remarkable. We were disappointed in the strong coffee for this, but in deriving this advantage from it we could not but feel uneasy, and were to spend the night.

However, we went to bed at the usual hour, and if we had not a good night's rest at least we had four or five hours' sleep, which would bring us comfortable to the next day. We were much deceived—two hours in bed, and were farther from sleep than before, in a state of very strong mental excitement, and our brain to a mill whose machinery is in motion without anything to grind.

We felt that we ought to turn this disadvantage into an account by doing something to invite sleep; and we set about putting into verse a short tale which we had read in a French work.

We soon concluded it, and as we were not more tired to sleep than before, we commenced a second tale. A dozen lines exhausted our poetical fancy, and we were obliged to give it up.

We therefore passed the night without sleeping for a moment. We rose, and spent the morning in the same state, without deriving the least relief either by rest or occupation. In a word, when we went to bed at the usual time we found that we had been forty hours without sleep.

Those who first landed in America were not so much in their thirst for gold. At that time nothing

any value but what was produced from the mines ; agriculture and commerce were in their infancy, and political economy was a thing not yet born.

The discovery of precious metals was of little use then to the Spaniards, since they are depreciated as they multiply, and we have within our reach better resources and surer means of increasing our wealth.

But America, where every variety of climate renders the soil extremely fertile, has been found peculiarly well adapted for the cultivation of the sugar cane, coffee, potatoes, indigo, vanilla, cocoa, &c., and these are the only treasures.

If those discoveries have taken place in spite of the opposition of jealous nations, we may reasonably suppose that they will be increased tenfold in succeeding ages, and that the researches of the learned men of Europe in all unexplored countries, will enrich the three kingdoms with a variety of substances, capable of producing in us sensations like the vanilla, or will increase our elementary resources as cocoa.

Scientific men have agreed to call a mixture produced by the kernel of the cocoa tree roasted, with sugar and cinnamon, chocolate : such is the classical definition of chocolate. Sugar is an indispensable component part of chocolate ; for with cocoa alone we could only produce cocoa-paste and not chocolate. When we add the delicious odour of the aroma to the sugar, cocoa and cinnamon, we have the *ne plus ultra* of perfection to which this preparation can be brought.

Such are the few substances which taste and experience have substituted for the numerous ingredients which formerly composed chocolate, such as pepper, all-spice, aniseed, ginger, and many others which were often mixed with cocoa.

The cocoa-tree is a native of South America ; but it is also found in the islands and on the continent ; but it is now agreed that the trees which produce the best fruit grow on the banks of the Maracaibo, in the valleys of the Caracas, and in the fertile province of Sokomusco. The kernel is much larger there, the sugar less tart, and the aroma most exquisite.

Since we became more familiar with those countries, we are enabled to make daily experiments, and experienced judges can no longer be deceived.

The Spanish ladies of the New World are passionately fond of chocolate, to such a degree that, not content with taking it several times in the day, they sometimes have themselves

supplied with it in church. This love of indulgence brought upon them the censure of the Bishops, who paid it the slightest attention, and a Theologian whose metaphysics were as refined as his morality, of that sort of man, and formally declared that chocolate was not taken while fasting, provided it were made of milk. Applying in favour of his fair penitents the old Latin proverb, *non frangit jejunium*.

Chocolate was introduced into Spain about the sixteenth century, and soon became very popular in consequence of the decided preference given this agreeable beverage by the nobles and also by the monks. The habits of the Spaniards have not changed in that respect; and even now, throughout the Peninsula, it is customary to introduce chocolate on the occasion presents itself and that politeness which is characteristic of refreshments.

Chocolate crossed the mountains with Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip II., and wife of Louis XIII. She also contributed to introduce it by the presents she made to their brothers in France. The ambassador of France also assisted in making it popular; and at the death of the Regency, it was more generally used than ever. Then it was taken as an agreeable nourishment, and was taken as a drink of luxury, and through a series of ages.

We are aware that Linnæus calls the cocoa-nut the drink of the gods. That he should find this quality in chocolate, is a question that was often attributed to the fact that the Doctor was partial to it himself; others again attributed it to his goddess, as it was a queen who first introduced it.

Chocolate has been the subject of many learned treatises, the object of which was to determine its nature, its uses, and to place it in the list of our warm, cold, and hot food; and we must confess, however, that the researches have done but little for the advancement of the subject.

But it remains for time and experience, to prove that chocolate, prepared with milk, is an element of food as wholesome as it is agreeable, nourishing, and easily digested; that it is not so beautiful as coffee, on the contrary, it improves in the stomach, and is admirably suited to those whose minds are occupied

application in the study of the pulpit or the bar, and particularly to travellers; that, in a word, it agrees with the most delicate stomachs; that it has been used with success in chronic diseases; and that it is prescribed as a last resource in diseases of the pylorus.

For these different qualities chocolate is indebted to the fact of its being nothing but an *eleosaccharum* (an essential oil); there are few substances that contain in equal portions more alimentary particles, which accounts for its being so strengthening.

During the war cocoa was very scarce, and, consequently, dear: it was then it was thought to substitute something else for it, but to no purpose, and one of the blessings of peace was to rid us of all those different mixtures, of which we were obliged to partake to avoid giving pain, and which were no more chocolate than an infusion of chicory is Mocha coffee.

Some complain of not being able to digest chocolate; others, on the contrary, that there is no nourishment in it, and is too soon digested.

It is very possible that the former have only to blame themselves, and that the chocolate which they use is of an inferior quality, and badly manufactured; for good and well made chocolate will always be digested, even by the most delicate stomach.

As to the latter, the remedy is an easy one; let them take at breakfast a small savoury pie, a cutlet, or a kidney à la brochette; let them pour over this a bowl of Sokomusco, and let them thank God for having given them a stomach with such digestive powers.

This gives us an opportunity of offering a suggestion which will be found most useful, and may be received with confidence.

If, when we have well and copiously breakfasted, we immediately take a large cup of chocolate, we are sure to digest perfectly in three hours' time, and we could even dine. We induced several ladies to try this experiment, they having assured us that they suffered much from indigestion. They always found the greatest relief, and were lavish in their praise of our prescription.

Those who use chocolate are found to enjoy the most perfect and constant good health, and are less subject to those diseases which, though trifling, often interfere with our happiness. Their *embonpoint* is also more stationary, which any one may

prove in the society of those with whose habits familiar. And here we may note the properties of chocolate, properties which we have verified by a series of experiments, the results of which enable us to warn those who have drunk too deep the cup of luxury, who may have passed in study a considerable portion of the time which should be given to sleep; let the student who feels his intellect impaired; let him who is too moist, time weigh heavily upon him, and who is too difficult to support; let him who may be sufficiently fixed idea, which prevents his directing his mind to any other subject: let all those, we repeat, take a small quantity of amber chocolate, with from sixty to seventy grains of amber to a pound of chocolate, and then, the next morning upon it, they shall see all but a miracle performed.

Very good chocolate is made in Spain; but when it came into England and France had soon to be discovered that, as those who were employed in preparing it for the most equally skilled, whenever the chocolate was ordered, it had to be consumed as it was received.

The Italian chocolate is not adapted to the climate of Europe, in general they roast the cocoa too much, and the chocolate is bitter and weak, because a portion of the cocoa is reduced to a state of charcoal.

Chocolate being much used in France, even in the most refined circles, making it, but few were able to bring it to perfection, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing it.

We must first be able to distinguish good chocolate from bad in all its purity, for in every box, no matter how carefully selected, there is always some of inferior quality. A person properly understanding our own interest, will not purchase cocoa, which, in all honesty, we should reject.

The toasting of cocoa is a very delicate operation, and requires an amount of tact approaching almost inspiration. Some who have it by nature, and are rarely deceived.

There is also a particular talent required to determine the quantity of sugar necessary; it should not be too uniform, but regulated in proportion to the use intended to be used in the manufacture of chocolate, the degree of toasting to which it is intended to be subjected.

The pounding and mixing require also equal attention, inasmuch as the chocolate will be more or less perfect according as this operation is perfectly or imperfectly performed.

Other considerations should guide us in the selection and quantity of aromatics, which should not be the same in chocolate intended for food as in that which is to be used as sweet-meats and dainties.

This selection and quantity of aromatics should be also regulated according to the amount of vanilla necessary.

For some time machines have been used in the manufacture of chocolate: we are not of opinion that it is better on that account, but it lessens considerably manual labour, and those who manufacture chocolate by machinery can afford to sell it cheapest. Nevertheless, they sell it sometimes dearer, which goes to prove that the true commercial spirit has not yet taken root in France; for certainly the advantage gained by machinery should be equally profitable to the merchant and the public.

Being an amateur of chocolate, we have gone the round of all the manufactories, and have selected that sold as Chocolate Masson, at 28 Rue de Richelieu.

We must not be surprised at this, for Mr. Masson has brought to his aid, in the manufacture of chocolate, vast information.

The chocolate manufactured by Mr. Masson owes its superiority to a good selection of materials, and a fixed resolution to permit nothing inferior to leave his establishment; while he himself superintends with a masterly eye all the details of the work.

Adhering to a wise doctrine, and by a judicious system, he has also succeeded in producing agreeable remedies for those of his numerous customers who may have a tendency to disease.

Thus, for those who are thin and delicate he has provided a strengthening chocolate, *au saiep*; for those suffering from nervous disease, an antispasmodic chocolate, *à la fleur d'orange*; for those of an irritable temper, a chocolate of the oil of almonds; to which he will, no doubt, add *the chocolate of the afflicted*, perfumed and portioned, *secundum artem*.

But his chief merit is, that he has given us, at a low price, an excellent chocolate for daily use, which affords us a substantial breakfast; and which, when mixed with cream, is so pleasant at dinner, and refreshes us in the evening in ices, croquettes, and other dainties of the drawingroom, not to mention the charming, fun-provoking pastilles and lozenges with or without mottoes.

Here our paper ends, but if it have made surely it has also instructed him in that very of "knowing and being," namely, how to end to render his very repast a medicine. We hear, in conclusion, as Sir William Temple said in *Health and Long Life*,—"Thus have I traced fallen in my way or thoughts to observe correct health, and which I conceived might be of use be known and considered: and it may at Derbyshire charm, which is used among sick words,—'IF IT DOES THEE NO GOOD, IT WILL DO THEE NO HARM.'"

ART. II.—ABOUT SCULPTURE.

Guide to the Crystal Palace and its Park and Gardens. By Samuel Phillips. A newly arranged and entirely revised Edition. By F. K. J. Shenstone. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1858.

One day, last October, we were standing in the National Gallery, before Murillo's *St. John and the Lamb*, wondering that one who could create such marvellous effects of chiaroscuro, of coloring and of texture, and yet could, in the Saviour's friend, make us see only a peasant boy. Any Christian can understand what the picture means; it has been wood-cutted, and engraved over and over again; around us were glorious pictures, but pictures for the full enjoyment of which some knowledge of history or of art was necessary. As we stood before the Murillo, there came to "look at" it, a man about forty years of age, and his little son about five or six years old. They had all that half-wandering, half-stupified expression so common amongst the mass of visitors to our public museums, the class who are at home at Madame Tussaud's. The little boy said, pointing to the picture, "What is that, Pa?" Pa reads the name on the frame and says, "St. John and Lamb;" and after a second or two, lost in his case, in looking at the picture, says, "should you like a cut of lamb, dear," and so they go on to view the Venuses and Susannahs with perhaps Hollywell-street eyes.

This man was but the type of eighty per cent. of those who visit our public galleries. The mutilated statues of the Crystal Palace, the putty additions, the scribbled comments in the alcoves, all prove how coarse the popular mind yet remains; but the national system of exclusivism, and the national system which has made the possession of shillings, not the possession of taste, the test of admission to all great art exhibitions, are alone to blame.

Ignorance of some of the most important and interesting facts connected with art, particularly sculpture, is as common amongst the would-be learned as are a deficiency of taste and want of appreciation amongst the unlearned, and possibly there are reasons for this state of things.

Considering the excellence which the ancients attained in

the fine arts, it is astonishing how little has been known by posterity respecting the works and methods of the distinguished artists ; of the methods of their sculpture we know nothing ; indeed we believe that many persons imagine that Phidias and Praxiteles actually held a chisel and mallet in their hands, hewing out the statue from the block, with no other guide or model than their own minds. We recollect to have read somewhere that Michel Angelo laboured with such enthusiastic ardour, that statues extricated from the encasing rubbish were more marvellous to see him ! Nothing, however, could be more ridiculous than the supposition of this species of the method of operation in sculpture ; an art which requires the most patient and minute carefulness, and in which the model is made by fashioning the clay model. It is not the chisel which fashions the marble ; an humble species of manual labour scarcely removed from the toil of the common labourer, the task of the labourers in the workshops of the sculptors, as a Gibson.

But what renders the methods of the ancient artists more curious as an object of inquiry, is, that they used steel or tempered iron, they should have been able to work with so much felicity not only in marble, but in the substance of the precious stones. Their dexterity was more extraordinary when we reflect that it is not possible to employ the magnifying glass to inspect the minute details of their gems, cameos, intaglios, and medals. It is not conceivable how such works could have been executed without the aid of spectacles or the magnifying lens. If we possessed the magnifying mirror is extremely rare, and the looking-glasses being made of metal, it was a great disadvantage that they should discover the magnifying mirror on a polished concave surface. By some reflex application of the concave mirror their gem engravers may have been enabled to see how we think it would not be difficult still to ascertain in what manner this was done. It has been supposed that they employed a drop of pellucid water in the form of a piece of metal ; but we cannot, however, form any notion of the manner in which this magnifying mirror was rendered useful to an engraver. But a pretty ingenious savant, and which we would recommend to the attention of our opticians, has suggested

has discovered, that by nicely perforating a bit of paper, or any superficial substance, a plate of metal serving the best of all for the purpose,—that in proportion to the size of the hole, a very considerable magnifying power is obtained over objects closely under the eye, and that distant objects are brought apparently nearer, and seen much more distinctly than by the unaided sight. It is therefore possible, that the ancient gem engravers may have made use of some contrivance of this nature.

Our information with respect to the methods of the painters of antiquity is also almost a blank. Their excellence both in drawing and in colouring cannot be questioned; for with such evidence as we possess of their attainments in sculpture, it is almost impossible, without a denial of the force of ocular demonstration, to refuse our acknowledgments to their superiority. We are told, indeed, that Zeuxis formed the composition of his Juno* from the peculiar beauties of all the most beautiful women in Agrigentum; and that Apelles made use of burnt ivory mixed with varnish to augment the effect of his colours, and to defend them from the action of the air.† But with the exception of these two solitary facts, the one in the art of design, and the other in that of colouring, we possess no practical information respecting the methods of the ancient painters. The use of the black or burnt ivory by Apelles has been questioned by many writers on the fine arts as an improbable misconception; but Mr. West did, we know, employ it with so much success, that the colouring of his later pictures, compared with that of his earlier, does not appear to have been produced by the same hand. It serves to tune, if the expression may be allowed, the various tones of colouring into one consistent frame of harmony.

Historians differ about the birth place of sculpture. But the art was undoubtedly early cherished in Asia. Laban, we are informed, adored idols‡ abominated by Jacob. Some, however, are of opinion, that the Ethiopians were the first who employed visible symbols as objects of adoration,§ and that of course they were the inventors of sculpture. Others ascribe the invention to the Chaldeans, and refer, in proof of their hypothesis, to the statue erected by Ninus in honour of his father. But

* Pliny, lib. xxix. Cap. ix.

† Cavaliere Ferro, vol. i. p. 41.

‡ Genesis, chap. xxxi. and xxxv.

§ Contarino il Vago, p. 420.

the Greek philosophers considered Egypt as the cradle of the arts; and Plato says, that works of painting and sculpture may be found in Egypt executed ten thousand years ago. Pausanias thought that at first the priests exhibited a stone, or the trunk of a tree, as the emblems of their gods. Herodotus, the father of profane history, says, that the ancient Egyptians were accustomed to carve the one end of a stick into the form of a head, and, with scarcely more art, to trace a few imperfect lines on the other into a resemblance of feet. In this state they transmitted the art of sculpture to Greece. Pausanias mentions, that there was an ancient statue at Pygolia, which served to illustrate the history of the arts, the feet and hands of which were closely joined to the body, similar, no doubt, to the Egyptian statues in the British Museum. The first attempts in sculpture were no doubt with flexible materials, such as clay or wax. The next were probably with wood, and then marble;—metal, as requiring the aid of another art, was perhaps the last material employed by the genius of sculpture.

The earliest among the Greeks who wrought in marble, were the sons of Dædalus, Dipœnus and Scyllis,* who lived in the first Olympiad, that is, about 576 years before Christ. Phidias, who flourished about 120 years later, carried the art to its utmost perfection. It has certainly not since approached the same degree of excellence, if we admit the Athenian marbles in the British Museum to be his works; and if they were not his works, as there is some reason to believe, we have still but an imperfect conception of the improvements of which the art is susceptible.

On one occasion, when a party of artists were dining with Sir Joshua Reynolds, while Burke and Dr. Johnson were present, the conversation turned on this very subject. Sir Joshua observed, that it was impossible to understand what was meant among the Greeks, by their saying that the art of sculpture was in its decline in the days of Alexander the Great—the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de Medicis being considered as the productions of that illustrious epoch; and neither the ingenuity of Burke, nor the erudition of Johnson, could solve the enigma. But the merits of the sculptures of the Parthenon were then unknown; we mean the Elgin or more properly the Athenian marbles; and it should be borne in mind, that even they were placed in the exterior of the edifice, merely for the

* Pliny, lib. xxxvi. cap. iv.

purpose of decoration. The statue of the Goddess by Phidias was in the interior of the temple.

It might be objected to as a paradox, to say that none of the master-pieces of the sculptors of antiquity have yet been acquired by the moderns, but it is certain that none of those, which we consider as such, were particularly famous amongst the ancients. It is at least doubtful if the Apollo Belvidere is the same statue of which Pliny speaks in such terms of admiration as the work of Scopias.—The Venus by this artist was one of the ornaments of ancient Rome—but it is now unknown. He was the architect of the mausoleum which Artimisia raised to the memory of her husband—one of the wonders of the world. The Standard by Polectetis is lost—a statue in which all the most beautiful proportions of the human figure were so admirably preserved, that it was constantly referred to by artists as a model, and thus acquired the name of the Standard. The Media of Eutocrates is also no longer known to exist. The critics in the time of Praxiteles were divided in their opinion with respect to his two Venuses and his Phryne; but he himself preferred his Satyr, and particularly his Cupid, to all his works, and they also are no more. The story of Pygmalion is of itself a striking comment on the excellence of the lost statues of antiquity; and that of the Colossus of Rhodes shows how far superior in the magnificence of the art the ancients were to the moderns. Glicones of Athens, who produced the Farnesian Hercules, doubtless left other works, which, if not in the same degree, were probably in the same high style of art, but they have all perished. At Agrigentum we saw the foot of a colossal Juno, belonging to the late Mr. Fagan, in point of execution, and greatness of style, equal to anything that ever adorned the Louvre. But although the utmost diligence was employed to find the remainder of the statue, the search was fruitless. At Syracuse, a headless Venus was discovered, which, in the opinion of many good judges, is superior to the Venus de Medicis.

The Jews have never been considered as entitled to any merit as artists, and it has been supposed that the prohibition in the Commandments has been the cause of their deficiency in the arts. But the prohibition only referred to idols of adoration, for Moses himself, the oracle of the command, made the brazen serpent; and Solomon, their wisest king, dealt largely in sculptured pomegranates, to say nothing of the twelve oxen which supported the brazen sea, or of the golden lions that

adorned the steps of his throne. As for the cherubim, which we read so much, we beg for the information of our sculptors to mention, that "a learned student of the Vatican has assured us that the cherubim were not human figures with wings, but circles representing the signs of the zodiac."

The Romans were tardy in their cultivation of the fine arts, a circumstance, which was perhaps owing also to the ancient law of Numa, noticed by St. Augustine, in a controversy respecting the introduction of images of God the Father, into the churches. In fact, the Romans are not considered as having made any great progress in the fine arts, notwithstanding the numerous architectural remains; and even in architecture they were inferior to the Greeks, who distinctively settled the principles of the several orders, by which their buildings were distinguished by that appropriateness of character that at once distinguished them for which they were erected, and rendered them the admiration of succeeding ages. The Romans, in the best epoque, followed the Greeks, but deviating from the true principle, they adopted that false principle which supposes that architecture is a mere ornament independent of propriety of application to its place. The fragments of this corruption of the principles of architecture for a long period were in the practice of the Romans, as we shall have an opportunity on some future occasion of noticing more particularly the progress and state of this country, we refrain for the present from entering into any branch of the subject. It may, however, be necessary, at the meantime, to explain, that the effect of taste in architecture, is equivalent to that uniformity of taste in painting, which we sometimes meet with in historical painting, though every figure is in correct proportion, and the drapery elegantly folded, yet not being exactly adapted to the subject, the general composition is a mere mechanical compilation, unadorned with the inspired conception which constitutes the highest quality of art.

But if the ancient Romans are not entitled to the same praise as the artists, the painters and sculptors of modern Rome, whose pre-eminence far above those of any other nation is admitted, the Moses of Michael Angelo, for example, in its character, is one of the most perfect creations of the human mind from beneath the chisel; and it has been said

* St. Augustine, Vol. V. cap. xxxi. p.

spect it may be classed with the Minerva and the Jupiter of Phidias. It has indeed fixed, as it were, an unalterable standard, by which every subsequent attempt to embody the form of the Jewish Lawgiver will not only be estimated, but must also, in some degree, resemble in air, features, and expression. Michael Angelo, however, was not always uniformly successful. His statue of the Saviour, the companion of the Moses, is a complete failure. The benevolent character of Jesus was a subject not suited to his vehement genius; and the statue is scarcely one degree above a common academical figure—framed according to rule, and faultless without merit. In his sublime work on the Day of Judgment, the same inconsistency may be observed. The single figures are without any appropriate character, without any expression applicable to their tremendous situation; but the groups are composed with admirable skill. Still, however, even as single figures, they have great merit; and although they are but the ingenious adaptation of legs, arms, and heads, to the celebrated Torso, which bears his name, and which served as the model to most of his figures, they are nevertheless the productions of a masterly hand.

The first modern artist who understood the principle of giving to his figures the peculiar expression belonging to their situation and character, was Leonardo da Vinci, and he carried it to the highest point of excellence in his picture of the Last Supper. The appropriate character which he has given to the Apostles in that great composition, the significance of expression in their several faces, all show that the point of time before the artist is when our Saviour said, "There is one amongst you who shall betray me." But he failed in the head of the Saviour. He had exhausted his powers of characteristic discrimination in the heads of the apostles; and in his attempt to blend meekness and dignity in the figure of Christ, he produced only insipience. He had the prudence, however, to leave the face unfinished, that the imagination of the beholder might not be disappointed by an unworthy image, but form in his own mind one more accordant to his feelings and the subject. Pleasing as the works of Leonardo da Vinci are in general, had he not produced *The Last Supper*, and the cartoon of *The Combatants for the Standard*, he would scarcely have emerged above the level of mediocrity, for his pictures, generally speaking, are more remarkable for laborious finishing than for the impress of intellectual power.

When the works of Michael Angelo, Leonardo Bartholomeo de St Marco, were attracting the judges of refined art, Raphael, having attained his maturity, came to Florence. The sensibility of his mind, and the softness of his hand, which makes more visible the softened wax, which makes more visible the form of the engraving with which it is impressed, were, to the treasures and experience of all ages, and availing himself of the examples afforded by the Grecian relics, he combined, by the force of his genius, and a well practised hand, a power to execute the most difficult compositions. In the exercise of his power, he has attained to the highest excellence. But the peculiar merits and deficiencies of this extraordinary young man are of too various a kind to be discussed in the present paper, as they have appeared in different ages, constituting the glory of the human mind, and those who regard sculpture merely as contributing to the embellishment of the human mind, look only at the surface of the work, and are not obliged, however, to take care that we do not lose sight of the metaphysical suggestions of the intellect, and yield the metaphysical suggestions of the intellect and authority which history refuses to concede.

Amongst the ancients, and in the middle ages, the number of statues in bronze and marble erected in the cities of statuary art were innumerable; the cities of Greece and Rome were peopled by hundreds; Delphos,* Olympia, and Athens, almost peopled with statues.†

The conqueror of the Etolians, Marcus Fulvius, carried away with him 230 in marble erected by Ptolemaeus Evergetes, conqueror of the King of Egypt, carried away with him 2,500 statues. The theatre of Epheusus contained 3,000. According to Winkelmann, the Emperor Augustus recovered from the ruins of Adrian's Villa, at Tivoli, 1,000 statues, which enriched all the cabinets of Europe. The statues remain yet more, according to the same author, in the ruins of the city, covered by posterity. Dionysius of Halicarnassus

* Amongst others were statues in gold of the Republic of Phryne, and that of a female Lydian slave, the

† Demetrius of Phalerus, had erected in his honor 360. The Greeks were so prompt in rendering thanks to those who had done them a service, that instead of raising a statue to Demosthenes, to paying him one of his orations.

in his time, the statues in Rome were innumerable, and Sidonius Apollinaris, records that in certain cities, the vast number of statues which encumbered the public places, facilitated the means of concealment for malefactors. Rhodes contained, it is affirmed, 30,000. After various disasters endured by Rome, Cassiodorus wrote to Theodoric, that the number of statues which this city contained, almost equalled that of the inhabitants.

We know how great a profusion of sculpture was employed during the middle ages, to ornament both the exterior and interior of churches; those of Chartres and of Rheims prove this; the dome of Milan contained 3,500 statues, the tomb of St. Augustin at Pavia, of the XIVth century, had 480 figures, without reckoning those of animals.

Amongst the Indians and the Chinese there was a like profusion. Mendez Pinto, relates that in the single temple of Pocassar, dedicated to Taubinaret, in China, he counted 1,200 statues, besides 24 serpents in bronze, so enormous in size, that each bore a statue of a woman seated on its back, and under a canopy supported by a dozen pillars of Camphire wood, might be seen a bed on which reclined a large silver statue, named Abican Nilano, which signified health of kings, and surrounding this statue were 84 idols representing children of five and six years, ranged in two files kneeling in adoration.

There are few substances capable of being worked and of receiving a shape that the ancients have not used in the formation of statues. Clay and wood were at first employed. Varron records that the plastic was anciently much cultivated in Italy, particularly in Etruria: that Tarquin the Ancient, wishing to dedicate an image to Jupiter in the Capitol, came to terms with Turianus, and had it brought from Fregellae. This Jupiter was of earth; it was in consequence of this earthen material, that the custom of coloring them in vermilion was resorted to; this artist sculptured the Hercules that existed during the time of Pliny in the city of Rome, and which, because it was composed of earth, retained the name of *Hercules fictilis*. Such was the material in use for a long period to form the most exquisite statues to the gods: and Rome, according to Pliny, had no reason to blush for the memory of those who adored such gods, and who had not a sufficiency of gold or silver to form their divinities.

These ancient idols are to be seen in various places, dating

from the time of Pliny; the most highly ornamented were at Rome, and in the municipal towns; their chasing was admirable: the merit of their execution combined with their antiquity rendered them far more valuable than if executed in gold.*

The statue of the Olympian Jupiter, by Phidias, had a face of gold and ivory, but the body was plaster and terra cotta; the war between the Athenians and the Megarians, hindered its completion.

In the time of Pausanias, several of the divinities placed in the temples, were composed of clay. Statues of terra cotta have been discovered at Pompeii; they painted statues in red at this period, such as the Jupiter at Phigalia, and those of the god Pan.

Bas-reliefs in terra cotta, were employed in the friezes of the temples. Vitruvius and Pliny have informed us that Cæsar having dispatched a colony to Corinth, to restore this unfortunate city from its ruins, commanded them to dig amongst the rubbish of its crumbling edifices, and to extricate from the debris, the works in bronze as well as those in terra cotta. Vitruvius speaks of statues in pottery by which the pediments of the temples *Aræstyles* were surmounted. "They were," said he, "a fashion taken from the Tuscans." The temples of Ceres and of Hercules, at Pompeii, are decorated in this manner.†

Statues of terra cotta were also used in the middle ages, particularly in the Cathedral of Seville, where they have perfectly resisted all changes of atmosphere. Masks for the theatre, in use at Rome, were made of plaster or of clay. Some of those masks have been discovered at Herculaneum with the moulds in which they were cast. The *creta persona*, of which Lucretius speaks (lib. iv., v. 297) is nothing more than one of those plaster masks. During the time of Pausanias statues of wood might be also seen in the most renowned places in Greece; such, amongst others, were the figures found at

* Pliny, Natural History, Book xxxv.

† The most curious Etruscan monuments in preservation of this species are the bas-relief of Leucothoe holding the infant Bacchus on his knees, and that which represents soldiers going to sacrifice. They are both at Rome. The former, with his drapery tight, ranged in equal plaits and falling perpendicularly, is altogether in the egnetic style.

Megalopolis in Arcadia, of a Juno, an Apollo, and the Muses, a Venus and a Mercury from the chisel of Damophonius, one of the most antient artists. The statue of Apollo of Delphos, sent as a present by the Cretans, was of wood, and formed of a single trunk of a tree. At Argas, Pausanias saw in the temple of Castor and Pollux the statues of the two brothers, and of Hilaira and of Phœbe, their women and the horses of these demi-gods, the whole in ebony and ivory.

The philosopher Diagoras has been placed by Clement of Alexandria amongst the greatest and wisest philosophers of antiquity, because, being one day in want of wood, he kindled his kitchen fire with a statue of Hercules.

Herodotus tells of colossal statues in wood which existed in Egypt. Luxury, before disdaining the use of wood in sculpture, tried to adorn it by gilding, as we perceive by some of the Egyptian statues. Pausanias saw at Corinth two figures of Bacchus of gilt wood, with the exception of the faces, which were painted in red with minium; the statue of Pallas at Aricia was in wood and gilt.

Statues have been formed of box-wood,—of cedar; this served frequently to form a mould for statues in gold and ivory; of oak,—of cypress,—of ebony; the ancient Greek statues were made of this wood; of maple,—of the fig-tree,—of beech, of yew,—of cork; Antonio Filrete made a crucifix for the church Degli Ermini at Florence in this wood, which was borne in processions at the time of Vasari;—of lotus, of myrtle; the statue of Minerva Polias at Athens was formed of this wood; of the olive tree, of willow, and of osiers; we have mention of an Æsculapius of Sparta, and a Juno of Samos made of osier. It was with the branches of these two trees that they formed the colossal statues which they cast every year into the Tiber. The immense colossal figures in which the Germans burned their prisoners in honor of their god, Teutates, was also woven in osier; of palm, of the peach tree, of poplar, of pine, of the wild pear tree; the Juno of Mycenæ was composed of this, as was also that of Samos; of the fir-tree, of lime, of the vine, above all the wild vine, and that of Cyprus; according to some authors the Diana of Ephesus was of this wood; it has been also used for a Bacchus and a Priapus. Much later it was employed in making the gates of the baptistry at Ravenna.

They have preserved a crucifix at Ravenna of very ancient

wood, covered artistically with very fine linen to imitate the human skin.

At Saint Cernin in Toulouse there is a Christ than life, sculptured in the twelfth century ; of a plate of silver wrought from behind.

All known metals have been used for statues made their statues in gold and silver ; Pausanias specimens in one of the temples at Athens. of Pompey and of Lucullus, they bore gold and of Mithridates and of Pharnaces ; the former height, and the latter was surrounded with fifty silver cars.

Diodorus of Sicily wrote a description of after the death of Alexander, carried the remains from Babylon to Alexandria. "At each of which covered this car they had, wrote he, bearing a trophy ; at the opening of the roof golden lions who watched those who entered couple of columns was a golden acanthus which sibly even around the capitals. The extremities of this car were of gold, and represented the bearing between his teeth an iron lance."*

Statues entirely formed of gold and silver by victorious generals were very soon imitated mentioned by historians is the equestrian statue in the most elevated place in the Capitol beatifications, *To Cornelius Sylla the fortunate Emperor* silver statue was erected in honor of Augustus. Augustus caused all the statues that had been metal to be melted down and converted into money of which he devoted to the porticos of the Temple. The Emperor Claudius had a silver statue erected weighed a thousand livres ; it was placed on a tribune from which they harangued ; and one in height at the Capitol facing the Temple of Mars wished to have a silver statue of Britannicus in

* This car, the most magnificent of those which *Harmamaza*, was constructed by Hieronymus, by to Athenæus, he acquired a just celebrity. It has after the description of Diodorus, by J. Chretien royal of the construction of carriages in Bavaria. in his work *Sur les Chars et Chariots des Grecs* Munich, 1817.

senate voted a golden statue to Marcus Aurelius; Faustina, his wife, had a silver one erected to her in the Temple of Venus.

A golden statue was decreed to Aurelian after his death, and several silver ones. The statue in silver erected to Theodosius was placed on a column facing Saint Sophia.*

This species of luxury was imitated in the middle ages, but was used principally in representing sacred subjects, such as God, the Holy Virgin or the Saints. Aimoin, however, relates that Richard II. was desirous of bestowing his statue in silver to the monks of Saint Germain-des-Prés; they, however, refused it on the plea that it would savour of paganism.†

In the Church of Cluny may be seen the Blessed Virgin and the twelve apostles in silver, life size. An inventory of Clairvaux, of 1517, mentions two statues of Our Lady and Saint Bernard, silver gilt, enriched with precious stones, and four feet high.

It was a custom of the City of Paris to present rich gifts to the Kings of France at their coronation.

One of the most remarkable specimens of exquisite workmanship represented a triumphal car supported by four Dolphins, and drawn by lions, in which the municipal body of Paris did homage to Charles IX. on the day of his formal entry, in 1571; the principal group ornamented by devices and bas-reliefs, were surmounted by two columns bearing a statue of the King supported on a pedestal presenting representations of various battles; "the entire, according to the chroniclers of the time, was composed of the purest silver gilt, of standard gold, chased and engraved so perfectly, that the workmanship surpassed the material." The statue presented by the same city to Charles the Fifth is also worthy of notice. It was a massive silver Hercules covered with a lion's skin in gold, seven feet in height, and weighing 100 Marcs. These proportions, if accurately reported, infer an exquisite delicacy of execution. It required doubtless a very perfect knowledge of art to produce a figure seven feet high, of gold and silver, weighing only fifty livres.‡

The Cathedral at Milan possesses two statues of a life size in

* Very pure gold passed several times through the fire was called *obrizum*. The *electrum* was a natural or skilful mixture of a fifth of gold, with four fifths of silver.

† See Duchesne, t. II, p. 658.

‡ *Cérémonies du sacre*, by Leber.

silver, representing Saint Charles Borromeo, and St. Ambrose, dressed in their pontifical robes, and ornamented with precious stones. The border of the cope worn by Saint Ambrose is decorated by small detached oval compartments, in which are represented some interesting details of his life. At the top of his pastoral staff are six small niches containing each a figure executed by Charles Grossi, whilst the entire figure of the Saint is from the hammer of the artificer Policarpe Sparoletto; it is supposed to weigh 2,000 ounces; on the base may be read an inscription stating that the City of Milan presented this statue to the Cathedral in 1698. The statue of Charles of Borromeo is a gift from the artificers presented in 1610.

Before the house of Our Lady of Loretto might be seen two angels in silver presented by the Duke D'Epemon,—an infant in gold, representing the birth of Louis XIV., borne by a silver angel, which weighs 700 marcs, and the child 48. This was a gift from Anne of Austria. The statue in silver of the great Condé was given by himself. In the Jesuits' Church in Rome, under the grand Altar, is the tomb of Saint Ignatius, composed of bronze gilt. His statue is of massy silver, in part gilt, ornamented with precious stones, and reposing on a sheet equally adorned.

The most ancient statues in bronze may be seen at Samos; they comprise three figures each six cubits, kneeling, and supporting a large vase. Herodotus informs us that the Samiens devoted to the construction of this monument the tithe of the emoluments which they derived from their maritime commerce at Tartessus. It was after the death of Pisistratus that the Athenians placed in the Temple of Pallas the first pyramid in bronze, nevertheless Romulus caused his statue to be erected crowned by Victory in a car drawn by four horses, all in brass; the car and the horses were a prize taken from the City of Camerinum, as recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Pliny writes, in the thirty-fourth book of his *Natural History*—"Formerly bronze was made up of a mixture of copper and gold and some other precious material; the price of working it was variable."

The model of perfection in this species was doubtless the Corinthian bronze; this metal was of three kinds, namely, the white, which approached nearer to silver by its brightness, and in the mixture of which, silver predominated; the vermilion, in the blending of which gold was the prevailing mixture; and

a third, in which gold, silver, and copper were in equal proportions. There was also a fourth in which the relative portions could not be justly assigned. This fourth bronze was called *hepatizon* in place of its old name, Corinthian bronze; it was liver color, in fact it was being of this shade of color that rendered it at all valuable. It was, however, in much less favor than the Corinthian bronze; but in higher estimation than the *Ægean* bronze, or than the bronze of Delos, which for a long period was in great vogue.

After the bronze of Delos, the *Ægean* bronze was in most request. It was named thus from the Isle of *Aegae*, which did not produce a single atom of copper, but the art of combining this metal in the casting rendered it justly celebrated.

Myron always used the bronze of *Aegae*, and Polycletoos that of Delos. Coming forth from the same school, they were rivals in the same art; and even the material employed in this art excited their emulation.

The bronze of Cyprus has been also distinguished, that of Tartessus in Boætia, of Cordus or of Marius, of Salluste, which had been found in the Alps; of Livy, that was taken from the Gauls.

L'Aurichalcum was an alloy of copper and of gold esteemed for its brilliancy and hardness; it prevented bronze from changing and imparted to it a beautiful color; they rubbed it with the juice of the olive (*amurca*), or with bitumen.

Pewter or tin is cited by Homer amongst the metals used in the shield of Achilles.

The statue of Mamurrius at Rome was of lead.

The Sculptor Aristonidas, wishing to represent Athamas repentant and reclaimed from his frenzy after having precipitated his son Learchus, mixed copper with iron, in order to express by the ruddiness of the metal the shame and confusion of the person he meant to portray. This statue was in existence in the time of Pliny at Thebes. In the same city and at the same period might be seen the iron *Herculus* of the statuary Alconius; these materials were regarded as symbols of the constancy of heroes in surmounting difficulties; and at Rome, were two iron cups dedicated in the temple of Mars the avenger.*

They made also, it has been said, a magnet statue, exhibit-

* See Pliny's Natural History, book xxxiv.

ing doubtless the power of love even in iron. Venus who attracted an iron statue of Mars.*

The Greeks worked in ivory from the most remote period of antiquity; Homer speaks of hilts of sword and other ornaments formed in this material; the throne of the state chairs of the Roman Magistrates were made of ivory. In Greece more than a hundred statues of ivory have been seen, the greater number fabricated in the golden period of the arts, and the highest of nature. The statue of the Parthenon was thirty-eight feet in height. The head of this statue and the head of the Medusa were made of gold. The tunic was of gold.

A small town in Arcadia, possessed a statue of Minerva in ivory, and a temple built on the ruins of Achaia enclosed a Pallas in the same material.

At Cyzicus in the Propontis, there was a statue of Minerva of which were ornamented with mouldings of ivory. The interior of which was decorated by a Jupiter in ivory and by an Apollo in marble. There was also a Venus in a state of nudity, executed by Pygmalion of Cyprus. The statue of Minerva seen at Rome in the forum was made of ivory and that of Jupiter in the temple of Metastasis. The statue of Hercules may be seen at Tivoli, and several other ancient statues in the same material representing various deities. They may be seen in the island of Malta.†

They had at Cyzicus in Arcadia, a Cybele in ivory, which was made of the teeth of the hippopotamus.

Bones have been also used for this purpose. The bones of those of the camel. The palladium has been made to have been formed from the bones of Peloponnesus.

The Romans employed ivory for all manner of purposes in their monuments in this material, the greater number of which descended to our time, are the dyptiques.

* This recalls to mind the pretty story of Frederick the Great, which an image of Saint Ursula exercises over a lion, his neighbour, the same loving power which the statue of Venus exercised over that of Mars.

† To work in ivory, they softened it by the vinegar and water. According to Dioscorides it became pliable when it had been made to boil during six hours with the rind of a drake.

‡ One of the last specimens of *chryselephantina* is a statuette of Leda, executed by Pradier for the artist.

We must consider the monstrous emeralds so frequently spoken of in various histories, as works in glass. The emerald column in the temple of Hercules at Tyre is mentioned both by Herodotus and Pliny; the colossal statue of the god Serapis, nine cubits high, made of a single emerald, and which Appian affirms to have been in existence in his time in the labyrinth of Egypt; the statue composed of a single emerald four cubits in height, executed by Dipoenus and Scyllis, was said by Cedrenus to have been at Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius. Independent of this, he was reported to have been in possession of an antique bas-relief in glass, three feet long, representing a bull fight.

The ancients also made statues in amber, exceedingly small, but of great price; they were sometimes called electrum. Augustus had a statue dedicated to him in this material. There was a statue of Sylla composed of incense, aromatics, and gum, which was burned at his obsequies. Empedocles, a conqueror in the Olympic games, distributed amongst the people, an ox made of myrrh. There was a statue of Hercules, formed by Dedalus, made of pitch.

It is a matter of question amongst the ancient authors that large figures have been formed in dough, in hay, and in wool; they were used occasionally for a species of sorcery or legerdemain; those were named *Neuropastes* and *Oscilles*, and were moved by means of a cord or thread like our Marionnettes; they also put them in motion with quicksilver.*

Jacopo della Quercia, commissioned by the Siennois to erect an equestrian statue of Giovanni Ubaldini elevated on a wooden pyramid, to assist at the funeral solemnities with which they desired to honor him, conceived the idea of forming the skeleton of a horse and cavalier of bits of wood carefully joined and encircled with layers of hay and tow bound together with hempen bands, and covered by a cement composed of earth, size, dough, and of wadding, the entire covered by various coats of paint.

Beccafumi, on the first arrival of Charles the Fifth in Italy, prepared to honor his entrance into Sienna, an equestrian

* See the very curious *Histoire des Marionnettes*, by M. Ch. Magnin, and the article of M. Edouard Fournier on this book, in the *Illustration*, 26th June, 1852.

statue of the emperor in Cartoon, supported three conquered provinces extended under. This group was put in motion by the ass pushed by men concealed in the pedestal a cortege ; it was never used but on his return.

We must not omit to mention the lion on which Canova made when a child, to be served the Seigneur Falieri, the highest personage : native town of the great sculptor. A German written, without jesting, that this lion of Canova, is an incontestable proof of the softness for which the compositions of this eminent remarkable.

Of the statues in the immense hall at Genoa who had deserved well of the republic, the last senate, was to the Duke of Richelieu, and is Voltaire :

Je la verrai, cette statue
Que Gène élève justement
Au héros qui l'a défendue.

These patriotic statues were broken by the 1797 ; they were replaced by provisional statues and representing the sciences and the virtues of straw, covered with fine linen, improvised by the city to Napoleon during the gorgeous fêtes of the loss of Genoese liberty. It was a pity in circumstances the Italians did not preserve the of getting living persons to represent statues during the ceremonies of the coronation of a nymph might be seen delivering from her nuptial honor.*

Wax was one of the first materials employed by the ancients had the portraits of their ancestors in this material.

Under the reign of the Medicis at Florence making figures in wax become developed.†

* See Valery, *Voyage en Italie*, iii.

† Amongst the collection of objects of art presented by Widar to the city of Lisle, was discovered a bust of a woman, the beauty of its proportions caused some to attribute it to Raphael.

Guided by the painter Andrea Verocchio, Orsino introduced considerable improvements. When Lorenzo de Medicis had been wounded at Santa Maria de Fiore, his friends and relatives had his image erected in various places, to return thanks to God who had preserved him from the tragical end of his brother Julien. Orsini, under the direction of Andrea, made three figures in wax of a natural size; he formed the bodies of pieces of wood interlaced with split osiers, and covered over with draperies waxed and moulded with such art, that nothing could approach nearer to nature. The head, the hands, the feet, made of the thickest wax, were hollow and painted in oil; the hair, the eye-brows, the beard, were arranged in such a manner, that you imagined you beheld not figures in wax, but real living men; one of these figures dressed in the same habiliments as Lorenzo when wounded in the throat and shown to the people, was preserved in the church of the religious of Chiarito. Another was placed before the Madonna of Santa Maria degli Angeli, at Assisium.

In 1655, Madame de Thianges gave as a new year's gift to the Duke du Maine, a chamber gilt over, and as large as a moderate sized table; above the door was written in large letters, *chambre du sublime*; and inside the chamber was a bed, and a balluster, with a large arm chair in which was seated M. le Duc du Maine made of wax, and a striking likeness; near him, M. de Larocheaufauld, to whom he was giving some verses for examination; around the chair were M. de Marcillac and Bossuet; at the other end of the alcove Madame de Thianges and Madame de Lafayette reading poetry together. Beyond the balluster, Despréaux, armed with a pitchfork, preventing seven or eight bad poets from approaching. Racine was near Despréaux, and a little farther off Lafontaine, to whom he made signs to advance; all these figures were in wax, and perfect likenesses, as each had sat to the modeler.

Finally they made statues in snow. Pietro de Medicis employed Michael Angelo during a winter forming statues in snow.

A statue of this description was raised in a thoroughfare in Paris during a severe winter in the reign of Louis XIII. with this quatrain appended:—

Passants, qui par ici passez,
 Sonvenez-vous des trépassés
 Et priez Dieu qu'il gèle fort,
 Car s'il dégèle, je suis mort.

During the inclement winter of 1789, multiplied in Paris. A statue of a young girl in the midst of a revolution :

Fille à marier avant le dégoût

In the severe winter of 1784, Louis XVI. ordered the comptroller general to give the necessaries for assuaging the misery of the people, the Parliament gave him, as a christmas gift, a statue of snow, at the Rue du Coq. The pedestal bore amongst other things the following :

Louis, les indigents, que ta bonté
Ne peuvent t'élever qu'un monument
Mais il plait davantage à ton cœur
Que le marbre payé du pain du peuple

M. Collier, in his *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, mentions a number of bas-reliefs which he saw near Beyrouth, and which he took to be souvenirs of the conquest of these countries by the Persians. The inscriptions on them were in various forms and characters. These monuments are not mentioned by Herodotus a-propos of the conquest of Persia in Asia ; he tells of having himself seen images of the gods sculptured in the rock, in Phœnicia and elsewhere. The traveller Bonomi had positively recognised on the rocks the cartouche of the great Ramses. M. Raoul Rochette, however, as undeniable, that the bas-reliefs discovered by M. Collier and the others are those of Herodotus.*

M. Ch. Texier, found in Asia Minor near the bank of the Halys, a monument of the same kind.

"It ought," wrote he to M. Dureau de la Rivièrre, in the first rank of ancient monuments known to us. he, "an enclosure of natural rocks smoothed on the sides of which was sculptured a scene of the history in the history of those people. It comprised a scene of colossal dimensions. The scene represented the combat between two Kings who were reciprocally indebted to each other."

Colossal statues, which Pliny designates as *colossi*, were multiplied amongst the ancients. At first, however, this species were only dedicated to the gods and heroes, in the idea of marking their superior power, and

* *Séance publique de l'Institut, 2nd March 1828.*

Lucian makes a jest, saying that Jupiter could not assist at the council of the gods, because when seated he occupied so much space that he left room for no one else.

Among the immense works raised at Thebes by Memnon, the ancients cite with especial admiration the colossal statues of this prince, not less remarkable for their enormous proportions than for their great antiquity; but one of them presented a most strange and inexplicable phenomenon; at certain hours in the morning a loud sonorous noise proceeded from this statue, which did not fail to awaken much superstitious curiosity.

Some artists amused themselves in forming microscopic sculpture. Amongst the Greeks, Theodorus made the labyrinth of Lemnos, and introduced his own statue in copper, a work as remarkable for its great resemblance to the original as for the delicate beauty of its execution. In his right hand he held a file, and with the left guided with three fingers only a little car drawn by four horses; so delicate and exquisite was this workmanship, that a simple fly equally artificial covered the team with its wings.

Jerome Faba, a Calabrian priest, sculptured in wood, every piece requisite to represent the mysteries of the Passion, in so small a space as to be easily contained in a nut shell.

Holbein executed for Henry the VIII. a chaplet on which were represented all the mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ.

Gibbons, the English sculptor, who died in 1721, sculptured flowers in wood that vibrated when a carriage was passing; he also sculptured a pen, which could not possibly be distinguished from a natural pen.

Octavius Janelli carved four small pieces on boxwood, which represented very distinctly, with natural grace, and true perspective, a hunt in a forest; a lover carrying a large shell from the sea, and Juno descending from Heaven on a car drawn by peacocks; a Christ scourged and arraigned before Pilate: the dimensions of all those united subjects was less than might be contained in a nut shell. The latter subject was particularly fine, being equal in style to some of Raphael's arabesques. The artificer of these chefs-d'œuvre died at the age of twenty-five, in the year 1660.*

Vitruvius relates (in the preface to his second book) that

* See Valery, *Voyage en Italie*, vol 2. page 418.

Dinocrates, the Macedonian Architect, made in order to approach Alexander, and being immediately interrogated by the king as to his position, to which he replied: "I am Dinocrates, who brings to Alexander thoughts and designs of great greatness. I have made Mount Athos in the form of a man; he holds in his left hand a large city, and in his right hand a mountain; he receives the waters of all the streams that flow from the mountain down to the sea." Alexander did not doubt the virtues of one so capable of assisting him in his designs. Dinocrates was, at a later period, employed in the construction of Alexandria.

Julius the Second, conqueror of Bologna, ordered Angelo to erect a colossal statue of him in bronze, seated, of San-Petro; seated, this statue was about thirty feet high, standing nearly seventeen. The Pope, before the statue was finished, saw the model nearly completed, the right hand was turned forward, the second was not yet finished. The Pope proposed placing in his hand a book, Julius replied: "I have it a sword, I am not a man of letters." The Pope's right hand was raised boldly: "he asked if it was a benediction or maledictions." "Holy father," replied Angelo, "it menaces Bologna to be faithful to me." At a later period this statue of the warrior pontiff was carried off by his enemies, conquerors in their turn; the statue had been sold to the Duke Alphonso of Ferrara, and was a piece of artillery, which they called, The Juno.

Thirty years after the death of St. Charles, a statue was erected to him by Cerani, at the request of the people, of Milan, at his native place near Arona. The statue is of bronze sixty-six feet high, on a pedestal of granite, the total elevation was consequently one hundred and thirty feet. The head, the hands, and the feet were worked in the forge. Saint Charles is represented giving his benediction; the expression of the face is sweet and melancholy; the attitude simple, and the proportions so just, that the colossal size of the statue is not perceived when comparing it with other statues. The interior contains solid masonry which reaches to the summit, which supports the exterior casing, by means of iron braces of iron. To reach a species of platform at the summit, it was necessary to mount a stairs from the base.

the folds of the saint's dress, by which you were introduced into the interior of the statue, and enabled to ascend; with the assistance of the iron bars which supported it, you could reach the highest point. Arrived at the summit, it is lighted by a small window placed behind the head; the nose is sufficiently large to permit a comfortable seat.

Monuments, erected through national gratitude, were, for a long period, of very rare occurrence in France.

Millin describes a monument raised to Joan of Arc, on the bridge of Orleans, by Charles the Second in 1458.*

"It was placed on the old bridge beside the city, and was re-erected from the wood work in the year 1745, to prevent its falling to decay. The Protestants at the time of the second disturbances, in 1567, had the figures broken, with the exception of that of the king, though Du Hailain wrote that they were destroyed by a chance shot. They were re-constructed on the ninth of October, three years later, at the expense of the city, by one Hector Lescot, according to Jacquinet, and replaced on their bases the fifteenth of March, the following year, 1571.† All the members of these figures formed a separate jet, and it was thought to have been the second of the kind cast in France."

This monument, supported on a stone pedestal nine feet high, and of equal width, was composed of four figures in bronze, a little larger than life size, and a cross of the same metal. The Blessed Virgin is seated at the foot of the cross, on a Calvary made of lead, which re-unites all the figures; she supports, extended on her knees, the body of her Divine Son; beneath the head of the Saviour, at some distance, is a cushion on which rests the crown of thorns; to the right is the statue of Charles the Seventh, and at the left that of Joan of Arc; both are kneeling on cushions which were added to this new monument. These two figures, which have their hands united, are armed at all points, with the exception of helmets, which are placed before them, at their feet; that of

* See Millin's, *Antiquités Nationales*.

† La Fontaine, who saw the monument re-built, wrote of it thus in a letter to his wife, August the 30th 1660: "I saw La Pucelle; but ma foy it was without pleasure; I could perceive neither the air, nor the height, nor the countenance of an Amazon. The infant Gradafilé is worth ten like her; she is on her knees before a crucifix, and King Charles in the same position opposite to her. The entire thing is wretched and mean in appearance. It is a monument that betrays the poverty of the age."

the King is surmounted by a crown; the shield of France is on a rock between them without support, having no crown or any other ornament. The Pucelle is extended cross-wise on the marble. The celebrated maiden is dressed in male attire, distinguished only by the arrangement of her hair, which is attached by a piece of ribbon, and falls below her shoulders. Behind the cross is a pelican, which appears to be feeding with her blood; they are enclosed in a nest or ark, formerly as high as the cross, at the foot of which is added a serpent holding an apple.

The pedestal which forms the base is surmounted by two and marble tables.

The horse of bronze which bore the statue was cast by and which may be seen at the Place Royale, and was executed by Daniel de Volterre, in a single founding. It was intended for the statue of Henry II., but the artist had not completed this work.

The inscriptions on the statue raised to Louis XIV. by Lafenillade, on the Place des Victoires, gave the following satirical inscription, directed against the monarch:—

“Quand Louis, autrefois toujours victorieux,
Domptait ses ennemis, à toute heure, en
L'illustre D'Aubusson, pour le combler d'honneurs,
De ses faits à l'airan confia la mémoire;
Il mit la renommée au des de ce guerrier
Qui semble le vouloir couronner de laurier,
L'attitude ambiguë où l'ouvrier l'a mise,
Convient bien maintenant à la France son roi,
Car à voir le couronne, on ne peut deviner
Si la déesse l'ôte, on veut le lui donner.”

Nescis an

An equestrian statue of Louis XIV. having been erected in one of the provinces, the mayor harangued the people, whilst the aldermen held forth to the horse.

Anthony Coysevox, after having honorably distinguished himself as a physician for having cured him of a dangerous illness, said to him: “You have restored my life in your way of thinking; I will immortalize you in mine, by making your bust in marble. Your portrait was one of the finest he ever made: I will make your bust of friendship.”

The sculptor Valerio made for the Duke of Florence a marble statue of the dwarf Morgante, and those who examined it declared they had never seen any thing more like than the portrait of this little monster. He also executed one of the Barbino dwarfs.

There is at Naples a very burlesque statue by Canova, representing Ferdinand the First, as Minerva; nothing could be more grotesque than this figure of an old man, with his large Bourbon nose, dressed in the helmet and tunic of Pallas. A bas-relief of the seventeenth century, in lead, represented Louis de Marillac, marshal of France, in the costume of the same goddess.

We know the strange effect of Louis XIV. in a wig, with the Roman costume. We have heard of some good men who cried, on seeing this absurdity:—"It must have been intended to represent a very ancient period, for in those times no shoes were worn." The ladies of England having, by subscription, raised a statue to Wellington "as Achilles," so styled, that is to say altogether naked, for some time there was discovered every morning hanging near the statue a breeches with this invitation, "Put those on!"

Celebrated statues of animals have been made at various periods. Thus Moses caused the statue of the brazen serpent to be erected. At Corinth they had the statue of the mare Phidole. While in the race, having at the commencement thrown her rider, she continued her course, and arrived first at the winning point. The Ambracians had a statue erected to an ass, which, finding itself by chance in the midst of an ambush that the Molassians had raised for the purpose of entrapping them, began to bray after a she ass; this aroused the citizens, and thereby throwing their enemies into a fright, caused their defeat.

Pliny mentions also the famous bull of Perillus; no one spoke of Perillus with eulogy. More cruel than the tyrant Phelaris himself, he presented to him this brazen bull, which was constructed with such artifice as to enclose a man within it, and by enkindling a brazier underneath, the bull commenced to bellow. Phelaris, cruel at all times, was for once just in his cruelty, and made the first trial on Perillus himself. Thus was punished an artist who abused a noble art, and one consecrated to render just homage to gods and men.

Augustus going from his tent to visit the ships, the night

previous to the battle of Actium, met a peasant. Interrogating him, the peasant said his own name and that of his ass Victorinus. This, seeming a presage of victory, he caused statues in brass and of the ass driver to be erected at Nicopolis.

In modern times, the Florentines imitated the ancients; they placed at the bottom of the base formed the ground floor of the Pitti Palace a mule which, according to the distich that is on its base, served with as much courage as assistance in the construction of this palace, refusing no service when employed.

Various opinions have been, from time to time, violently urged within the last five years upon the propriety of color, or no color, of statues. Some have contended that color added to the beauty of the statue, while others have contended that it reduced the statue to the condition of a barber's block. What the ancients thought and what we shall now endeavour to shew:—Amongst the Greeks and the Romans they incrustated their statues with different matters, some of the eyes were of silver, some composed of fine precious stones to imitate the Iris, like that of the Pallas of Phidias, and that in the temple of Vulcan at Athens which had been made of the bronzes of Velitrae there is the head of Hercules with baster eyes, and a small Hercules with eyes of crystal.

The marble lion placed near the tomb of the Emperor in the isle of Cyprus had emerald eyes. The statue of Antoninus, near Frescati, exhibited a peculiar manner of eyes; the apple or eye-ball is made of Palombari marble under the edge of the eye-lids at the point where the eye might be seen the outline of a silver plate which to all appearance the eye-ball was entirely composed of. A plate of silver is cut all round from the eye to the iris of the iris. In the centre of this colored plate there is an orifice much deeper to mark the iris which indicates the eye-ball; those are made with different precious stones, in order to represent the different colors of eyes. A statue of the Muses, larger than life, at Rome, displays the same art.

At the museum of the Vatican like those at Florence, and *Degli Studi* at Naples, may be seen

antiquities, a great number of statues, and of busts more numerous still, where the eye-balls are figured. There are many others at Rome, such as the head of Minerva, and an admirable Bacchante, which has eyes imitating not only marble but enamel, like the stuffed animals. Let it be remembered that those who put eye-balls in their statues were the great sculptors Michael Angelo, Donatello, and other famous masters.

They gave to some statues hair and beards in gold. We know that a great sculptor had the beard of Esculapius taken away, saying that he could not consent to his wearing it, his father, Apollo, not having any.

There was found in the Capitol a bust of Lucilla, wife of the Emperor Lucius, of which the hair, in black marble, was adapted to the head in such a manner, as that it might be easily detached.

Caylus mentioned, amongst the statues of Pompeii, a Pallas and a Venus, each from seven to eight inches in height. The nails of the hands and feet, the buckles of the helmet, and the edge of the garment of Minerva, are inlaid with silver; the Venus has golden bracelets on her arms, and on her legs fillets of the same precious metal; also the statue of a priest; all these are engraved in his collection of antiquities.

Pausanias mentions a statue with nails of silver; Herodes Atticus had a triumphal car erected at Corinth borne by steeds richly gilt, and having shoes of ivory.

The cavities of the eyes of Antinous contained precious stones cased in wires of metal, by means of which might be perceived traces of the higher and lower eyelashes.

There has been discovered at Spon a monumental inscription to Rapilius Serapio, whose trade was the making of eyes for statues.

The bust of Nero, in the Louvre, exhibits square and oval cavities below the rays of the crown, which shew that precious stones were formerly inserted there.

Cicero spoke in his oration against Verres, *De Signis*, of a statue of Apollo which had engraven on its thigh the name of the sculptor Myron in small silver type.

The ancients clothed their gods in rich habiliments on festival days. At Rome, the statue of Hercules was attired as a Conqueror, during the triumphal ceremonies. Pausanias cites a Juno-Lucina as covered with a light veil, through which you perceived only her face, her hands, and her feet, which were of marble.

Dionysius of Syracuse stripped his rich mantle, estimated to be worth a hundred gold pieces, which Hieron had borne away from him, and in its place a mantle of wool, saying that it was not too warm for summer and too cold for winter, to the inconvenience of the god. The same was done in a like manner of her gold dress.

The custom of adorning the statues was derived from the habit of painting the gods.

A remarkable instance of this custom is a statue found in Herculaneum, which appeared to Winkelmann to date from the time of the great school of art, had light hair; the tunic was white, and at the bottom of which were two bands, the lower band was narrow, and the upper, a little larger, was purple, and ornamented with red flowers; the third lake. The statue was dedicated to Diana by the emperor Augustus. The hair of the Verus was also that of the head of an Apollo.

The beautiful marble Pallas of Herculaneum, was gilt, and that it was easy to remove it. The face of Jupiter was painted the face of Jupiter at the time of Pliny the censors were at this operation. The Ethiopians were painted black for the gods.*

Amongst the ancient Greek school of tradition; the great school of the famous marbles of the temple near the temple, a few feet in height, with a shield in one hand and a spear in the other, the goddess is covered with a helmet, the curls of which are arranged in straight folds, similar to the most ancient statues in the world, in an almond shape, but slightly elevated at the other statues in the same temple. The Chinese have borrowed from the Chinese.

On the lips, the segments of the face are equally elevated at the extremities.

* See Pliny's Natural

cast on the figures around ; finally, like the others, the chin is straight and pointed.

History, says Vitruvius,* furnished to the architect the greater portion of those ideas developed in the embellishment of architecture. For example, if, under the cornices, instead of columns they placed marble statues representing irreproachable vestals, which they denominated *cariatides*, it will be necessary to enlighten the ignorant as to the meaning of this usage. It originated thus :—The inhabitants of Caria, which is a city of the Peloponnesus, being formerly united with the Persians who made war against the other people of Greece, the Greeks, having by their glorious victories put an end to this war, declared against the Carians, that their city having been taken and destroyed, and all their men put to the sword, the women were led captives, and in order to treat them with more ignominy, they would not permit ladies of quality to discontinue their accustomed robes, nor any of their ornaments ; not only were they led thus once in triumph, but they had to undergo the humiliation also of appearing in the same state as they did on the day of victory, on all occasions of public ceremonial ; thus were they obliged to bear their portion of the penalty incurred by their fated city. The architects of that period also placed, instead of columns, this kind of statue to the public edifices, in order to leave lasting monuments of the duration of the punishment inflicted on the Carians, and to teach posterity how they had been chastised.

The Lacedæmonians acted in the same manner after the battle of Plataea ; they despoiled them of their plunder, and spoliated a gallery from their enemies which they called after the conquered, in which statues representing the Persian captives attired in their ordinary garments supported the roof ; finally they punished this nation by an opprobrium which their pride merited, and left to posterity a monument of the virtue and victories of the Lacedæmonians. Thus they rendered their valour formidable to their enemies, and excited the people in defence of their liberty by the example of their fellow citizens.

This idea of thus representing captives was cruelly imitated at the Bastille. They set up on the front of the building, which separated the Grand Court from the Court de Puits, a clock which has become celebrated. This clock had a beautiful dial that worked to perfection ; but how bizarre were the ornaments by which it was decorated !

Formed of iron exquisitely sculptured, it has figures chained by the neck, by the hands, by the centre of the body; the two extremities of a wreath after encircling the clock, met in the middle and fastened by an enormous knot, to show the equality of the two ages; the artist, guided either by the time, or it may be under especial order, modelled one man in the flower of his age, and the other in the decline of life, sinking under the weight of years.*

Andrea Brustolini, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, represented at Venice in the sculptural decorations which adjoin the church of Saints John and Paul, the Catholicism, placed to support the flying but of the Protestantism, they were colossal figures of twenty-four orders, the heresiarchs, completely sculptured in chess, the Protestants were Luther, Erasmus, Melancthon, Beza, Calvin, Ochin, Dubourg, and others of the same order, they were covered with tatters, loaded with chains, and in attitudes tenacious expressing remorse and despair.†

We must not omit to mention a colossal figure of Christopher, twenty-eight feet in height, which was in Notre Dame near the gate. It was erected in 1700, in fulfilment of a vow made by Antoine des Essarts in the year 1684, and was intact and perfect till 1784.

The *Jupiter Fluvius* which John of Bologna executed in 1570, for the villa Pratolino near Florence, and which may be seen, is one of the most remarkable colossal figures of modern art. A clump of rock placed at the base, and a semi-circular piece of water forms the base. The figure is leaning forward, and supported by one hand, while the other hand, a monster from which gushes all the pressure of the water. The other hand clings to the rock, and the sequence of this favourable arrangement is supported by buttresses. The calculated bulk of this colossal figure is about twenty-one metres. In the interior of the body and the head is a *belvedere* for which the tower is pierced with windows. The pupils of John of Bologna spent many years in sculpturing this colossus. When they came to the work they preserved for some time the habit of exaggeration, and the size of the muscles.

* The figures of the men to be placed were called

† See Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 50

Two statues were erected in Rome ; one to Pythagoras and another to Alcibiades, in obedience to an oracle of Apollo. He commanded the Romans who consulted him on the occasion of the war with the Samnites, to erect in a public place one statue to the bravest Greek and another to the wisest.*

The Greeks, and after their example the Romans, sometimes made the gates of their temples in bronze. The temple of Jupiter, and of Olympia furnish us with proofs of this fact.

These gates engraven or sculptured, represented, according to Pausanias, the hunt of the wild boar of Erymanthus, and the exploits of Hercules against Diomedes, King of Thrace, and against Geryon. Hercules is also represented assisting Atlas and cleansing the Augean stables. On the inside of the gates Hercules is represented performing his other well known labours.

Cicero speaks in his oration against Verres, *De Signis*, of gates of the temple of Pallas, at Syracuse, engraven in gold and in ivory which surpassed all the works of this kind known.

The most ancient gates of bronze at present in existence, are those of the Church of Atreni near Amalfi. They date from 1017.

Seronx d'Agincourt has left us a description of the gate of Saint Paul outside the walls, "it was constructed in wood," wrote he, "close beside the entrance hall, and was entirely covered with plates or leaves of bronze three feet in thickness, and encompassing it around; the entire of its surface is divided into six equal parts in width and nine in height; which forms fifty-four compartments or panels lightly indented and comprising subjects of figures and inscriptions." These figures are not in relief; they are merely sketches of the outline, and of the features engraven and moulded in the depth of the bronze, and completed with a setting of silver, which time and cupidity have in a great measure destroyed. The type of the legends, in the Greek language, inscribed on each panel to explain the subject, are executed in the same manner. This work is supposed to have been wrought at Constantinople about the eleventh century.

Twelve panels representing the history of the Blessed Virgin and of our Divine Saviour, from the Angelical Salutation to the Assumption and the descent of the Holy Ghost. Twenty-four panels representing the Apostles, and near each of them, his

* See Pliny's Natural History, book xxxiv.

mode of torture, and his death. Twelve panels of the prophets; there was else to be seen two crosses and two eagles.

The principal gate of the Church of Saint Aventine, at Rome, is a work of the thirteenth century. Its surface is divided into thirty-two panels, each containing a bas-relief, sculptured in wood, and representing scenes from the Old and New Testament.

Anastatus, in the Life of Pope Honorius III., relates that this pontiff had the principal gate of the Church of Saint Peter cased in silver. The Saracens, in one of their expeditions in 846, having ruined and despoiled these gates, they were repaired and covered anew with plates of silver, sculptured in relief. Finally, long after, these gates were almost destroyed by the rapacity of the time. In 1445, substituted for them the bronze gates which we see at the present day; the bas-reliefs represent scenes from the Greek and Roman Churches, which have been executed by Antonius Filaretus, and Simon, brother of the famous Florentine sculptor.

Andrea worked twenty-two years on the principal gate of the Baptistry of Saint John the Baptist at Florence. Ghiberti took forty years to execute those which are now seen. Angelo declared worthy to be the gates of Paradise.

At Castello Nuovo, at Naples, may be seen the principal gate fixed in the bronze gates of the Arch of Triumph of Alphonso I.

Time has now happily preserved a sufficient number of gates in bronze, of the middle ages. It would be difficult to find a hundred in the different countries of Europe. They are to be seen in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, in Russia. The East possesses no monument of this species worthy to be compared with these.

What are most rarely to be met with are gates ornamented with rich sculptures. One of the most beautiful of this kind is that which is to be seen at the principal gate of Santa Maria, of the Capitol at Cologne. In the circular extremity of the southern transept of the church. Each entire panel or fold of the gate contains a bas-relief representing subjects, sculptured in relief, and representing scenes from the Old and New Testament.

The reader will have perceived that we have not yet come to last, in this paper, written, or attempted to write.

upon sculpture ; the title of our paper, " About Sculpture," explains just the kind of matter we intended to place before him.

In a future number of this Review we shall venture upon a paper of the like class, devoted to painting and mosaics ; and although that paper and this paper will not make a reader a Vasari, yet they may set a reader, with the means and the time, to the study of books which will enable him to judge truly of art, in its varied phases ; or they will enable the uninformed man to look upon pictures and statues with eyes very different from those belonging to him, who, seeing nothing but a slice of lamb, in Murillo's " St. John and the Lamb," suggested this paper.

ART. III.—BEGIN AT THE BEGINNING

1. *Workhouses and Woman's Work*, reprinted of *England Monthly Review*. Also a *Pamphlet* of *Workhouses*, read in the *Social Science* of the *National Association for the Advancement of Social Science*, at Birmingham, October, 1857. Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Co.
2. *The Englishwoman's Journal*, Vol. I., August 1857. Piper, Stephenson, and Spence, Paternoster Row.
3. *St. Joseph's Industrial Institute: with Statistics of its Intern Class of Workhouse Orphans*.

In the middle of our belauded nineteenth century, that has been done by legislative enactments, regulations, and extraordinary individual exertions for the reformation of offenders, juvenile and adult, it is remarkable to find that crime is increasing in England, notwithstanding the increase of population, but far in excess of the increase of population. The Criminal Returns for 1857 show this, sufficiently the significant and most painful fact that the number of committals and re-committals of women become more numerous.

Where, we naturally ask, do the criminals come from? Are they manufactured periodically, assorted and forwarded to order? Or, is there some huge source where the vicious growth is nourished, and forced to maturity? Where do they come from indeed?

From the gross, ignorant, half-heathen and degraded portion of the population:—from the class of thousands who in “merrie England” are left at large to the rule of evil, without humane care, or religious teaching:—from the thousands who in “merrie England” have their self respect destroyed, and whose untutored minds, in the deadly maturity of vice, in the dismal, hopeless Union Workhouse! Six hundred thousand women and children, are, in those monstrous institutions, constantly undergoing a regular, systematic course of degradation. The secrets of vice are laid open to the teaching of corrupting association: idleness is

marrow of their bones by a system which ignores industrial training, and forbids remunerative or encouraging employment : wrathful discontent is engendered in their hearts through the odious display of injustice, by which the aged and decrepid, the unemployed artizan, the stricken widow, and the homeless girl are starved, degraded, and used like dogs, as if to be poor were the one damnable crime in England.

From this source, this "focus of corruption," comes ever fresh, ever formidable, the intolerable curse of the criminal population.

"The work-house is a *depot* of every kind of human misfortune. We must try and reduce its miseries to some sort of classification, and to remedy them piece-meal, by methods suitable to each separate class. It is horrible to huddle them all together into one hopeless conglomeration, where, in walking down the long wards, we see the beds of the domestic servant, the former prostitute, the peasant's wife, the invalid governess, and a dozen other victims of different distress, ranged sadly side by side, while able-bodied men and women exemplify that '*Satan find some mischief still for idle hands to do ;*' and we are told that '*it is a fearful and significant fact, that many of the most hopeless and hardened inmates of work-houses are girls, who have been brought up in the pauper schools.*'"

"Turn to the police reports in our newspapers, or only watch for yourselves the boys and girls who join in the disorders of this metropolis, and fill our prisons—no longer prisons to them—and you will see how imperative it is that something should be done to rescue them. They are mainly the produce of the work-house and the work-house schools. Over them society has no hold, because society has cast them out from all that is humane. They have been taught to feel that they have nothing in common with their fellow-men. Their experience is not of a home, or of parents, but of a work-house and a governor—of a prison, and a gaoler, as hard and as rigid as either."

Now at last we have come to the source of the whole mischief. We take no heed of the "perishing" and "dangerous" classes, until, through cruel neglect, they become vengeful and ferocious—they turn and rend us. The cause of the Convict has been fought out ; justice and humanity have conquered there. The offender, after his course of penal servitude, shall not be returned to society weakened in body, and confirmed in evil practices ; he shall go forth with power in his hand, and knowledge in his head, to enable him henceforth to earn and to eat honest bread. The poor child in years, whom cruel circumstances and fatal ignorance seduced into a first fault, is not for that shut out of the pale of salvation ; he shall be taught

* *Englishwoman's Journal*, p. 386.

† *Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects*, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer, p. 271.

better things. Good men hope and work for of reform. But, into the profound abyss of abomination no helpful hand has yet been stretched. Some pitying eye has opened in wonder at the things there revealed, and fast closed again in horror.

There is hope, however. Enquiry is awake. Still remain, at least it shall no longer be ignorant. Those who do no work by halves are now on the track. All honor to her! Struck a chord, the vibration long be felt. That chapter on workhouses in the new book, "The Communion of Labour," was the first note of alarm—it may be of deliverance also. Those powerful, tender words struck to the quick, and the thought takes life in action:—

“The thunder deed following the lightning.”

At the first meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in Birmingham, 1857, the condition of workhouses was brought under the notice of the department of Social Economy. A committee was appointed to investigate the subject, and at various meetings was the formation of a Workhouse Visiting Society,* which “would lead the minds of valiant men to the subject, whilst it would form a centre of action for all those who are at present working singly and without discouragements.” Among the committee were

* At a Meeting of the Committee of the Social Science Department of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, held at the Office of the Association, Pall Mall, on Monday, June 7th, 1858, the following Resolutions of the Sub-Committee on Work-houses having been received:

1. Resolved, that the Report be received
2. That it is desirable to obtain a more efficient system of management over the internal management of work-houses than the present, a great majority of these establishments.
3. That the inmates of work-houses ought to be more fully classified than at present, as to sex, age, and condition, so that children especially, should always be entirely separated from adult paupers.
4. That industrial training and occupation should be more extensively introduced.
5. That a system of inspection by unpaid, and unconnected visitors, sanctioned by the Guardians, would be calculated to improve the internal condition of work-houses.
6. That for the furtherance of the views expressed in the Report, the Committee of this department will sanction the establishment of a HOUSE VISITING SOCIETY.

of some well known men, and some distinguished women. The work is now fairly begun. We may look for more startling, hideous revelations—some remedy speedily applied. Public opinion must sooner or later be impressed by such a method. Make known the evil first—and then the remedy.

The Church of England Review, and the Englishwoman's Journal are strong allies, and bring powerful help to the association. With how just a satire a clever writer in the last named valuable publication handles the subject we are dwelling on :—

"It has occurred to us that stereoscopic slides of work-house interiors might be now distributed with greater efficiency than tracts at a penny, or pamphlets at a shilling; and the same wonderful art which is employed to trace and identify the criminal in the eye of the law, might be used to bring Lazarus under the notice of forgetful Dives—the miserable sufferer upon a work-house bed, under the sympathy of the lady, who, in the very next street, lies hour by hour upon her luxurious couch. p. 381.

"The one hope, we were told, for St. Martin's Work-house lay in the National Gallery! public philanthropy and private rate-payers will not give it a new and well-arranged building; but it was hoped that the ground on which it stands would be wanted for the enlarged gallery which was in contemplation—when the better housing of our Raphaels and Turners would contribute indirectly to the better housing of our poor." p. 384.

Workhouses and Women's Work is as wise a pamphlet as we have seen for many a day. It is clear and methodic, with a certain suppressed fire, very admirable when the question is of abuses and injustice to make one's hair stand on end. Such a tone gives confidence at once in the writer's power and sincerity. Without giving an outline of the whole, we shall just extract, almost at random, a few paragraphs. Here is the secret of the pauper's preference for the prison :—

"In the first place, whatever the management of Workhouses may be, it is stated to be a fact, that they are less comfortable than prisons, and that the latter are preferred as places of abode by the lower classes. Magistrates and chaplains and visitors to prisons acknowledge this to be the case. The preference is openly avowed by men and women, especially the latter. What does it matter to them if the degradation of the prison is greater than the Workhouse, if indeed there be much difference between the two in this respect?"

* "In fact, the difference is rather the other way. Persons going to prison and confessing that it was for the sake of obtaining relief, have

The prison offers a clean and comfortable lodging superior, to the usual fare of the criminal, and to that of the non-criminal poor. Such treatment as is received even from the porter at the workhouse is not suffered in prison establishments, which by a bench of magistrates, gentlemen by character who regularly visit and inspect the buildings, rests the appointment of a governor, a gentleman of intelligence, who has the supreme command over the and, generally speaking, this important office is filled with ability and zeal. The chaplain's is an important and conspicuous office. Lady visitors have long since been permitted to visit the inmates.

The *Report of the Visiting Justices of the Westminster Prison* shows that the number of commitments from that prison in the year 1856 was 273, and to the City of London Prison 221. With regard especially to the boys and girls committed, the magistrates speak as follows ;—' Your commission but believe, if more attention were paid in Workhouse education and other improvements of a reformatory character, there would be much less necessity for sending so many of the inmates to prison, and the visiting justices are strengthened in this belief by the very great difference in the numbers that are sent to the workhouses in comparison with others.' They further suggest, 'an increase in the criminal population must arise from so many destitute persons with the interior of the prison further suggest, 'that offences against workhouse rules be punished by other means than imprisonment in a criminal prison, that greater facilities should be offered to the poor as well as to discharged prisoners, to prevent their committing offences in order to obtain an asylum.' Surely if these arguments in favour of an amended administration of our prisons this alone would be sufficient. Either our prisons for criminals be made less comfortable and attractive, or our workhouses for non-criminal poor, more so." p. p. 7. 8.

Very true, say we. And we add, that it were better that reform in this case should for once begin at the end, and that instead of seeking to pull down what

has been asked why they did not apply for it at the Workhouse have actually replied—' They did not like the disgrace of going to prison. Yet they would commit an offence against the laws, yet without feeling that they had contracted any obligation. We are strongly inclined to believe that it is the general opinion of prisons being felt superior to that of Workhouses, that in the estimation of the lower classes, who, even the most refractory female prisoners in a large prison told the ' She knew she would receive justice from them.' "

effort should be made to raise up to the just standard, what is now defective and bad. All that we have being doing of late only results in this, that the current of evil is stopped occasionally; the course changed here and there, with infinite labour, and at ruinous expense. But the great body of the stream flows on as of old—turbulent, destructive, ever increasing. We *must* begin at the beginning. And, adopting the sentiment as our own, with the gifted writer of the pamphlet just quoted, “we trust that a better day has begun to dawn upon the dreary night of workhouse management, and that our non-criminal poor may ere long receive a share of that benevolent zeal and interest which is now so largely bestowed upon the criminal portion of our population.”

Sometimes when we are given to “romancing,” as our old nurse would say, we begin to hope that the Workhouse Visiting Society may come to spend the summer vacation in Ireland. If the society should not have much light thrown on their labours, by investigations at this side of the channel, perhaps at least they might succeed in showing up to some purpose our own national apathy on the subject. At any rate it would be no discouragement to them to find, that while pursuing their own noble path at home, they may do us good service also—saving at once two kingdoms from destruction and disgrace. We hope they may come. To get a glimpse of our “interiors” would not oblige a member to half an hour’s digression from any pleasure route in the kingdom.

On all the high roads of Ireland, whether we steam or ride, the first intimation of approach to any town or district of consideration, is the appearance on a rising ground of the Tudor gables and lattice windows of the Union Workhouse—or Poor-house, as we shall call the edifice in Ireland. To unaccustomed eyes the building presents the bearing of a respectable national institution not ashamed to hold up its head. But, as Mrs. Jameson says, it is “an institution peculiar to ourselves,” which cannot be spoken of “without a mingled feeling of shame and fear”—an institution, let us add, a parallel with which cannot be found in “despotic” Austria, or “ill-governed” Spain. To experienced eyes, therefore, the tawny edifice, for all its style and neatness, is nothing but a whitened sepulchre. What we know to have occurred within those walls, it would not answer to refer to here. History when calm shall by and by write the narrative; and writers of

fiction, when they want to arouse and shock, will choose such a subject, and will find the credit-worthy they must pare down the truth, probable by making it less true. We want the power of art too much to make it the most frightening and sickening impressions. The method might we think be adapted to illustrations, constantly occurring to vary the monotony of life—normal conditions, which, wisely considered, moral very sharply. For example :—

Groups of poor-house-reared girls, surly, no work to do, no wish for any ; lounging through the like wards with the shadow of the place upon their faces for mischief clearly developed in their faces too evidently, the only rule of conduct to the whole, in comparison with which a hermit suggests more cheerful reflection.—

Play ground of poorhouse children, whom and whom "justice" and "charity" have tampered with, stunted little creatures neither child-like, nor man-like, are at *play*, sitting close packed against the wall into knots, dull and stupified on *their* nurse's nature; pauper boys must be taught to do without a ball, or hoop, or pegging-top to mind.

Behind the scenes : precocious youths apply opium substances to their eyes to simulate ophthalmia, succeeding, though with infinite pain, they may be seen where no lessons are said, and where young paupers get good bread to eat.—

Conspiracy brewing among adult paupers, brick work and "*murder* the master"; not under pretext of inflicting injury on the said officer, understood, avowed intention of being sent to the gallows.

Boys in the act of setting fire to their hope of burning down the whole establishment, an end to it all.—

Paupers attending divine service on Sunday parties in full operation in convenient corners devoted to public worship.—

But enough. People know little about the care little, just because they know little. They utter a cry strong enough to be heard from

island to the other ; but the press sometimes forgets its high vocation, and instead of leading and commanding opinion, is content passively to reflect the temper of the times. The press in Ireland, with a few honorable exceptions, reflects in this case very accurately—the apathy of opinion. People when forced by accident to give the matter a thought, have a vague notion that the poor laws are the destruction of the country, and content themselves with cursing the poor laws. Cursing the poor laws! as if that legislative measure were not meant for good ; were not capable of good ; a recognition indeed of a vital first principle, that the rich should be taxed for the support of the destitute, and that beggars should no longer be quartered on paupers. If cursing were an accredited remedy, one might suggest the propriety of letting malediction fall in the proper quarter ; on the heads, namely, of the negligent, ignorant, factious administrators of the law. It does certainly strike one forcibly, that if a body of legislators sat down with cool heads to devise a method by which a whole race might be demoralized and physically debased, they could not hit upon a better plan than to enact a just law, and abandon the administration of it, according to the approved representative system, to a class of men not competent for the trust ; a class of middlemen who grind the faces of the poor, and to whom “ keep down the rates ! ” is the first and last commandment.

We should like, of all things to hear of the appointment of a parliamentary commission to enquire into the common-sense qualifications, and educational status of our “ guardians of the poor.” An instructive, perhaps amusing, blue book might be compiled, furnishing such tables as the following :—

A return of the number of Guardians who are familiar with the interior of the Houses they make rules for on Board days.

A return of those who only attend when a job is to be carried, a priest snubbed, or a parson put down.

A return of the Boards which do not appear to rejoice in the possession of one supreme bully, who, when a true gentleman and honest christian comes in to remonstrate, and say a word for the dumb suffering poor, hounds on his brood of brawlers, and silences the voice of humanity, and affrights its advocate by the apparition of this dragon at the door.

A return of the number of Guardians, who, on strict examination, appear to have ever once reflected that every penny they “ save the country ” by refusing to classify, industriously train,

and properly feed mere paupers, is carried over at once to the prison account, and levied with ruinous interest for the maintenance of branded convicts. Lastly, and though we might have a column or too, it would not much increase the printer's bill—

A return of Guardians who do act according to right principles, and stand by their post; and though defeated, and left in scandalous minority, still protest, and raise a voice for humanity and justice.

A chapter on blue-book literature would not be the worst subject for a clever essayist. We have tragedy, comedy, farce, non-descript interludes, and finales of fire and brimstone in the Reports of many Royal Commissioners. The Reports of the Poor-law Commissioners have a style of their own, and a very remarkable one too. Official dignity is admirably preserved, and it is really a study to observe with what imperturbable calmness the guardians are recommended to adopt alleviative measures when disease appears; to attend unfailingly to the physician's opinion; to provide vegetables, and vary the diet of the paupers. With grave earnestness, advice is given to educate children, so that they may be enabled to leave the union, and obtain employment—for the carrying out of which object it is intimated, that it is necessary to employ persons fully competent to instruct in the schools, and also expedient to pay them sufficiently. Patiently and perseveringly the guardians are reminded, that the care of orphans is an onerous charge, involving moral obligations not a few—that the workhouse is a sorry substitute for a home to these deserted children—that still it is above all things important to keep them in health, care them, and train them industriously. The commonest truisms are detailed in a way to make them level with the comprehension of the most thick-headed guardian; and we can fancy how much art was called into exercise to preserve this tone, and how often the Commissioners, instead of recommending, advising, representing, and suggesting, must have longed for powers to command, compel, threaten, and denounce. The crowning point of all is the recorded fact, that in one year, *thirty-two* Boards of Guardians were dissolved, and paid officers appointed to do their duty. This, at all events, is significant. When "troubles times" arrived, the "system of self-government," and "the great principle of popular representation," as developed in the constitution of Boards of Guardians, failed

to work except in the dead-letter way, and two or three paid officers were found an efficient and satisfactory substitute for a score of duly elected guardians.

It is exceedingly strange how often men, even of average worth and talent, are spoiled, or rendered useless, when they come in contact with the working of this Poorhouse system. Many a man, who in his drawing room, is a frank, kindly gentleman—in his household, a good master—and in business or professional relations, “an honourable man,” fails in sense, and courage, and charity, when he takes his place at a Board of Guardians. His very goodness, if we may say so, is a stumbling block; he seeks conciliation; adopts soothing methods; accepts instalments of good as he thinks; gathers up shreds and patches of orders and resolutions to comfort himself withal—and succeeds, after all his trouble, just in plastering up abuses, and temporarily concealing offensive sores. But the direct road to reform in this particular case would be a sadly long way. It will take another age, and the operation of a yet undeveloped system of middle class education to produce a generation of true “guardians of the poor.” The appeal for the present lies elsewhere.

The subject of poor-house mismanagement is so vast, that we dare not even glance at its extent and ramifications in so cursory a way. Leaving everything else aside for the present, we shall give our parting word for the children who are brought up in the poorhouse. We say it boldly—the greatest evil lies here. Thousands of orphans and deserted children are crammed into the poorhouse; the neglect they endure is fatal; the very care, in some instances, bestowed on them, is vain or injudicious. What we are about to say now, regards the female children more particularly. The boys suffer in their measure; but there are here and there outlets of escape for them; sometimes they are trained usefully; and at any rate the injury done to them and to society by poorhouse rearing is not so terrible, and so quickly avenged, as in the case of the girls.

In some Unions it would appear that the children are well taken care of. They are kept apart from the adults; are well grounded in religious doctrine by the chaplains; have masters and mistresses trained by the Board of Education; and get in fact whatever a mechanical national school education can give them—but no more. They are taught no work by which they could earn their bread in the world. It is sometimes asserted

that they are made to do the work of the house; that they wash clothes, clean out wards, and so on. Let no one be imposed on by that. The washing of the pauper uniform does not go far towards initiating them into the mysteries of "making up linen;" and the sweeping out of dreary monotonous wards does not exactly qualify for housemaid's duty. To speak plain truth, after undergoing poorhouse training from infancy or childhood, they are found at fifteen or sixteen years of age perfectly useless for all practical purposes.*

Moreover there is no way of disposing of them even if they were able to earn their bread. Here again one is sometimes put down by the assurance, that numbers of people come to the Union looking for servants, and that a great many girls are taken out in that way. Shall we tell what this means? We can speak with authority, though we are no guardian—thank Heaven! and for all our bitter speaking have never eaten the bread of affliction within the walls of the Union. But we shall tell how it is. The people who come to take out poorhouse children, are low struggling roomkeepers who cannot pay servant's wages, and want a little drudge, who for "her bit," no better generally than pauper's fare, is expected to slave, and trudge, and scrub with the power and energy of full-grown, skilled labour; or they are tradespeople who offering to teach the children their business, get them bound to them, and then use them for common messengers and runners. The treatment the unfortunate children meet with, is the kind

* "I was in a very large parish union, where there were about four hundred children, nearly an equal number of boys and girls; and schools for both. The boys had an excellent master for reading and writing, and had masters, besides, to teach them various trades. There was a tailor, a carpenter, a shoemaker, a hairdresser, a plumber, who at wages from 25s. to 35s. a week, were employed to instruct the boys in their respective trades. The girls were taught reading, writing, and sewing; some of them under the pauper menials, helped to scour and scrub. The over-tasked, anxious mistress seemed to do her best; but there was not sufficient assistance. The whole system was defective and depressing, and could not by any possibility turn out efficient domestic servants, or well-disciplined, religious-minded, cheerful-tempered girls. I was informed that, of the boys sent out of this house, about 2 per cent. returned to the parish in want or unserviceable; while of the girls they reckoned that about 50 per cent. were returned to them ruined and depraved."

one would expect to be given by people who think nothing too bad for a child who is "only a pauper, whom nobody owns." The bad example witnessed in these "homes," the spectacle of vice never dreamt of in the children's ward, is often so shocking that the young servant or apprentice runs back frightened, begging with tears to be taken into the Union again. Even in rare instances where fair play and indulgence might be given, obstacles of the most provoking kind, arise from the unbearable ignorance of the children themselves.* The very timidity of creatures so long housed up from intercourse with the world, to whom a run down the street is an adventure, and carrying a message, a service of difficulty and danger, causes them to commit awkwardnesses to no end.

The general result is that the children are turned off, or run-away; stray about the streets or roads for a while; meet bad company; and are next heard of in gaol;† or seeking refuge again in the Union, are admitted—but not this time among the children. A woman's suit is put on them—they are sent to the woman's ward—and hope is done with them. Their childhood was safe with children; they had one glimpse of the great world, which did not use them well; now they shall have full knowledge of what is meant by a hell upon earth. Suffice it to say, that the very worst characters resort to the poor house, just for the purpose of tempting out such ready-reared victims; and as there is no separation of character

* See our "Record" of the current number for "St. Joseph's Industrial School, with special reference to its intern class of Work-house Orphans."

† This important official statement (Report of Poor Law Commissioners) reveals the melancholy admission that 35 per 1000 of these young persons are either so depraved, or the discipline of the workhouses is so conducted, that of the entire number put in prison, from 9 to 15 years of age, 64 per cent., and of those from 15 to 21 years of age, 61 per cent., were *for offences committed in the work-houses*, so that their antecedent criminality, even including under this head the larger fraction of vagrancy, has been only about half as active in familiarising them with the debasement of a prison as the very workhouses to which they resorted as an asylum. The outbreaks in Cork and Waterford Unions, by which the windows were broken, the workhouses wrecked, the officers injured, and police and military interference required, were not only witnessed, but were shared in by the school children, and by many who had been reared in those institutions.—See *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No. 15, September, 1854.

or class, no protection for the innocent, none in all the desolate, dreary wards, in which they are out of ear-shot of the blasphemous talk of the degraded and shameless herd, evil Children born and bred in the vilest lane and surrounded by idle, vicious neighbours, no chance of escape, better opportunity of doing wrong, greater power of choosing and being poor orphans.

If by rare chance, some few of those who escape the poorhouse, escape the last degradation alluded to, they are sure to fall into another place of the place soon tells upon them—lessening, finally destroys all energy of body and mind, or the forced work without profit, or the stimulant, has the inevitable result. After two to get and keep a situation, they finally free will to the Union, to lead a life, we call enjoyment, but of brutish inaction. They on their coarse garments a badge of degradation, house stamp is on their whole moral being, none need hope much good from them.

The worst cases in a convict prison are the most vulnerable subjects from the poorhouse. Their audacity, and unconquerable obstinacy the contrast with the poor girls who are sent up from Ireland under sentence of penal servitude, generally speaking, after holding out for a while, into the routine of discipline, become generally instruction gratefully, and are almost sure to be better girls than they entered, not unfrequently that they were brought there. But the too often, of their own accord, and not for improvement, are capable of any enormity of matrons and officers.

Amongst the unfortunate inmates of the

* In a paper read at the Social Science meeting, 1857, Mrs. De Morgan suggests the practicability of generative employment, and especially urges industry on the young, so that "workhouses, from being the downward ladder, might form the first of an upward ladder, and arrest the idle and vicious in their certain course."

the most thoroughly depraved are of the same class. They have to be watched with most vigilant care, lest the spirit of evil and insubordination so strong within them, should break out anew, and contaminate those, who, in comparison with them, are *innocent*. The source of all their wickedness and misery they trace to the evil influence of unrestricted intercourse with the worst classes in the poorhouse; and when it is sometimes thoughtlessly suggested to them, that on leaving the asylum, if all fail, they can go to the Union, the answer is quick and to the point—"it were better to go back to the old trade than do that!"

Our lunatic asylums are not without their poorhouse cases, of a kind to baffle the ingenuity of experienced physicians, who find it frequently impossible to decide whether the patients from the poorhouse are really lunatics, or only make-believe mad. As for hospital experience—we leave that to be inferred.

Turn where we may, in every asylum and refuge for the unfortunate; in every place of detention and punishment for the criminal; wherever vice, and misery, and cruel suffering have their abode, the poorhouse and its iniquitous system rise up before the mind. Poorhouse-reared girls throng the streets, or spend their lives on the tramp from one "institution" to another, trying which is the most comfortable, or which answers best the need or the whim of the moment. Truly, our system of dealing with the poor, in spite of all its niggard parsimony, is not an economic one.

Want of classification, and want of industrial training, are not the only evils. There remains another grievous wrong. The children in the poorhouse are not properly fed. It is of no use to say that they would have no better food at home if they had a home. They would have better than that; they would have full liberty of spirit and limb, and fresh air in copious draughts. Irish children, when at large, are known to be hardy, healthy, straight-limbed and well grown. In the Union they are stunted, and deformed, have weak eyes, swollen jaws, and are subject to diseases which permanently vitiate the blood. So that at a time when emigration is carrying off our labouring population, and we begin to fear that we may soon be in want of hewers of wood and drawers of water, we are actually rearing from 15,000, to 20,000 boys and girls in such a way, that if they survive childhood, they can only propagate disease and perpetuate deformity. A congress of slave-drivers

would be too wise for this; they would see the absurdity of destroying the breed of the human cattle which is to do the rough work of life for themselves and their children.*

There must be an end put to this stronghold of perdition, no matter what it cost. We state the plain fact, and show how things are. Let political economists, and christian philanthropists, and good men and women who take common sense views of things look to it. We know that some have already set their thoughts in this direction, and are groping for a remedy. To these we say:—Take heart; be not discouraged; if you can do no more, stand even like watchmen on the tower and give notice of the danger; you shall not always be alone! A few earnest men can utter words more full of power than the roar of multitudes. All good work, in our time, is done in this way:—a few true hearts think out honestly their thought; they gain disciples; opinion grows; and soon, suddenly as it seems, a voice is heard which dare not be gainsayed.

Why not turn the children's classes into regular industrial schools? It would cost too much to get masters and mistresses, and working tools—and the guardians would never consent! But, we persist, after a few years' training, they would be fit to leave the Union, and could earn their bread ever after. Is it a wonderful saving to keep them all their lives, and instead of training them for the world, only rear them for the gaol?

* "With respect to some workhouses in Ireland, it has been alleged that the diet for the children is sufficient. In others, as in the North Dublin Union, the mortality of infant children is excessive. Some ten years ago, the mortality there rose to such a height that it became matter of public investigation. What it is at present I do not know, but a remark of a guardian at a recent meeting was significant of his opinion on this point. When a question arose as to the religion in which two deserted children should be brought up, Mr. Roper said, 'I think it a thousand pities to lose so much time about a matter of no consequence, because every man knows that from the system of the house, not one of these children will be alive this day twelve months.' How guardians, with such convictions on their minds, can be found to be the instruments for enforcing the rule, that no child shall receive relief except in the workhouse, it is not easy to understand."—*The Workhouse as a mode of Relief for Widows and Orphans*. By W. Neilson Hancock, LL.D. Read at the Meeting of the Dublin Statistical Society, 29th January, 1855.

Why not, as Dr. Hancock suggested three years ago,* give out-door relief to widows in such a way, that their destitution need not compel them to enter the poorhouse with their children, and condemn the orphans, as a first step towards their education, to a severance from all ties of home and kindred? Why not, as that clear-headed man recommends, make the allowance contingent on the children's attendance at some school in the neighbourhood, and so arrange matters that "the calamity of the father's early death need not have produced the further calamity of breaking-up a human family?"

Or, better still, instead of crushing them into poorhouses, why not charge the rates with their support in extern industrial schools—such as the Aberdeen Feeding Schools for example? What has been effected in that town and in Glasgow by the operation of these schools, furnishes an example which Ireland might very well follow. Sheriff Watson, tired of committing vagrant children to prison for petty offences, thought of a remedy; and having enlisted the sympathy of a few zealous friends, a school was opened in Aberdeen, in 1841. It was notified that children of the lowest description would be received, and in addition to the ordinary school training, would be given work and food; would be kept all day, and would be sent home at night, that family ties might not be interfered with. Children flocked to without further persuasion; their appearance changed rapidly; and the police soon reported a perceptible diminution in the number of juvenile offenders. Here is a telling fact:—The number of boys committed to prison in Aberdeen in the year 1851 had suddenly increased to four times the number of the previous year, and in 1854 quadrupled again; while during the same period the committals of girls never exceeded *two* in the year. This discrepancy was not to be accounted for until it became known, that owing to a temporary depression of trade, the subscriptions to the schools fell off; the gentlemen who managed the boys' schools were obliged to restrict the admissions, while the committee of ladies who managed the girl's schools, being more fruitful in resources, contrived to keep going as usual.

* We refer to the paper quoted in the note above. There could not be a better proof given of the want of interest among the public in this vitally important subject, than the fact of the little notice this most able paper attracted. It gives the essence of whole chapters in a few short paragraphs, and ought to have been a text-book for the "leaders" of our daily press.

Subsequently an Act of Parliament was passed, Dunlop's Act, by which Sheriffs and Magistrates are empowered to send children found begging, or wandering without proper guardianship, to these schools, when directed by the Secretary of State, to be kept there as long as may be necessary for their training. The parish may be rated for the cost.

The effect of the operation of these schools in towns in which they are established are the removal of juvenile criminals; the demand of employers exceeds the supply; and in the schools the number of children has lessened owing to the exhaustion of the class. The cost, including rent, salaries, and other expenses, averages from £7 to £11 per head per annum.

The only sign of life which Ireland has seen in the establishment of the Cork Benevolent Apprenticeship in the existence of St. Joseph's Industrial School in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Both works are the result of the efforts of a number of gentlemen lately formed into a Society for the purpose of taking boys from the streets, at the moment when they should be sent to the Union, among the unclassed adults. They prentice them to trades-people in the city, and watch over their conduct with great vigilance, acting as an organised patronage society. They have already taken twenty-one boys, whose conduct since they have been out has been unexceptionable. These boys are scarcely an exception are guardians, who find it difficult to carry reform into the system of poorhouse management. They are not content with remonstrating at the Board of Guardians, they were not only poor-law guardians, but they are gentlemen who could not let evil pass without remedying it, began to work in their private capacity, and have been of ample worth following. They have since appointed a committee of Cork to go and do likewise, and help the cause, and we believe not without effect. The managers of the Industrial Institute, have taken out of one of the seven orphan girls, "a sort of first instalment" of a small beginning, but involves the assertion of

* *'Train up a child in the way he should go.'* Industrial schools of Scotland, and Dunlop's Act, the British meeting of the National Reformatory Association. By Alfred Hill, Barrister-at-Law.

No time is to be lost. Reason suggests, prudence dictates, expediency demands that the present state of things should be put an end to. A child in a Reformatory costs £20 a year at the lowest estimation : a grown offender in a common gaol more than £23 : and a convict prisoner above £33. A word to the wise is sufficient. Such facts and figures strike in the wedge very bravely. We keep *fifteen or twenty thousand* children in our Irish Poor-houses, and we think we are excellent managers and do our duty by society and the orphans. Heaven help us !

There is a very precious benediction bestowed on those who "lead others unto justice," and doing the Saviour's work, "bring back strayed sheep to the fold." Let those who give their hearts to the Reformatory cause be comforted with that. There is a grievous malediction pronounced by the same Lord and Master himself, against those who "scandalise those little ones." Let our guardians, and our rate-payers, and our inert public look to it.

ART. IV.—A CORSAIR EXPRESSION.

La Pignonotomie, ou L'art D'apprendre a se Raser Soi-Meme, avec la maniere de connoître toutes sortes de Pierres propres à affiler tous les outils ou instruments; et les moyens de preparer les cuirs pour repasser les Resoirs, la maniere d'enfaire de très-bons; suivi d'une Observation importante sur la Saignée. Par J. J. Perret, Maître et Marchand Coutilier, Ancien Jerni-Garde. A Paris, Chez Dufour, Libraire, Rue de la Vieille-Draperie, vis-a-vis L'Eglise Sainte Croix, au Bon Pasteur : MDCCLXIX.

At the conclusion of our paper entitled *The Hair*, and printed in the twenty-seventh number of this REVIEW, we promised to return to the subject then opened, and to write of Beards and Wigs. In our present paper we shall consider the subject, BEARDS AND WHISKERS.

It may be safely argued, as a general physiological principle, that whatever evinces a free and natural development of any part of the body is by necessity beautiful. Deprive the lion of his mane, the cock of its comb, the peacock of the emerald plumage of its tail, the ram and deer of their horns, and they not only become displeasing to the eye, but lose much of their power and vigor. And it is easy to apply this reasoning to the hairy ornaments of a man's face. The caprice of fashion alone forces the Englishman to shave off those appendages which give to the male countenance that true masculine character indicative of energy, bold daring, and decision.

The presence or absence of the beard as an addition to the face, is the most marked and distinctive peculiarity between the countenance of the two sexes. Who can hesitate to admire the noble countenance of the Osmanli Turk of Constantinople, with his un-Mongolian length of beard? Ask any of the fair sex whether they will not approve and admire the noble countenance of Mehemet Ali, Major Herbert Edwards, the hero of the Punjab, Sir Charles Napier, and others, as set off by the beard?—We may ask with Beatrice—

“What manner of man is he?

Is his head worth a hat, or his chin worth a beard?”

We have noticed the whiskers and beards of many of our most eminent physicians and merchants encroaching upon their former narrow boundaries, while it is well known that not a few of our divines have been long convinced of the folly of disobeying one of nature's fixed laws ; but hitherto, their unwillingness to shock the prejudice of their congregations, have prevented them from giving effect to their convictions. The *London Methodist Quarterly Review* recently took up the subject, and the following is an extract from it :—

"It may surprise not a few when we say that the bronchitic affections under which ministers of the gospel so frequently labour, are often due to the violation of a hygienic law. The fact that the Creator planted a beard upon the face of the human male, thus making it a law of his physical being, indicates, in a mode not to be misunderstood, that the distinctive appendage was bestowed for the purpose of being worn. Moreover, physiologically considered, those views are corroborated by experience; for diseases of the throat have, in many instances, been traced directly to the shaving of the beard, the liability disappearing with its growth, and *vice versa*. Let, then, all our ministers of religion wear beards, for the Bible and nature are in favour of it; nor is the great head of the Church, Christ himself, ever seen in a painting without a beard; and it was said by the early Christian father, Tertullian, that to shave the beard, is 'blasphemy against the face.'"

Dr. Dixon, a leading physician of New York, in his influential publication, *The Scalpel*, strongly advocates the wearing of the beard, and some able letters have recently appeared on the subject in the *Montreal Herald*, a commercial daily journal of Canada.

A recent decree of the Emperor of Austria forbids his civil functionaries, of whatever grade, to wear beards. "Genteel" whiskers and properly trimmed moustaches may still be worn. The new regulation is any thing but popular with those whose chins have not been familiar with cold steel since the year of grace 1811.

The mode in which young men wear their beards is the one solemn question of the Neapolitan government at the present time (April, 1853). A little more or less hair on the chin of a pale dandy, makes the State tremble. However absurd this may appear to Englishmen, it is no joke for the Neapolitans, who are dragged daily into the barbers' shops by the police, and their beards trimmed according to the political creed of the authorities, who just now believe,

that nature grows rebellious on the lip. The police wanted a decree to appear, prohibiting men from wearing hair on their chins, but His Majesty is said to have declined his signature to the document, so that the inspectors are obliged to act without official authority.

Lorenzo Benoni gives some passages in the life of an Italian, which portray this system of merciless persecution.

"I am now twenty-one, and a thick circlet of hairs has grown under my chin. I should also have a pair of beautiful moustaches—the object of my ambition as a child—if moustaches were not unmercifully proscribed. I have made several attempts towards wearing them, but they were all frustrated. One day, a long, long time ago, M. Merlini, meeting me in the peristyle of the University, with a show of down upon my lip, protested, with sundry indescribable nods, jerks, and grimaces, that he had taken me for a pioneer. I understood the hint, and my budding moustaches fell under the razor. Twelve months later, the moustaches having reappeared thicker than ever, the Director of Police had the kindness to send me word through my father, that if I did not shave them off of my own accord, he would have them cut off for me; a very simple ceremony, not at all unprecedented. Two Carabineers would take you by each arm, force you into a barber's shop, and stand present during the operation."

In a general order issued from the Adjutant General's office, at Washington, to the American army, it is laid down that the beard is to be worn at the pleasure of the individual, provided it be kept short, and neatly trimmed. The reason given for the permission being that "the human beard is equally valuable as a protection against the cold blast of the north, and the scorching suns of the south." In our navy, on the contrary, the Admiralty has made it incumbent on all commanders of stations, to issue orders that no officer or man is to be allowed to wear "unseemly tufts of hair under the chin;" and the moustache is, in like manner, strictly prohibited.

M. Jourdan states, that when the long hair worn by the soldiers in the revolutionary war was cut off in all the regiments, many complained of headaches of several weeks' continuance. Persons in the habits of wearing long beards, have often been afflicted with rheumatic pains in the face, or with sore throat, upon shaving them off. In several cases of frequently recurring, or of chronic, sore throat, Dr. Copland (*Dict. of Pract. Medicine*), tells us wearing the beard under the chin and upon the throat, has prevented a return of this complaint.

The annals of the beard are rather interesting. Within the range of modern history, it has gone out and come into fashion about a dozen times. At the present moment, it is gradually creeping into favor, and in the course of a few years it may, probably, approach the zenith of its glory, again to be cried down as "vulgar," and shorn of all its pristine charms.

Many of our readers have no doubt seen the portraits of such men as Drake, Raleigh, Francis Bacon, Vandyke, and all the remarkable men of the times of Elizabeth and the two Charles's. Compare those faces, set off by magnificent beards, with the portraits of our closely shaved moderns, in their high, stiff-starched shirt collars; the eye at once acknowledges the superiority of the former in the picture; why does it not extend its judgment to the living pictures?—The reason is—Fashion deters.

—————"By Jupiter,
Were I the wearer of Antonius' beard,
I would not shave to-day."

Beards never flourished in England so universally as previous to the Norman conquest, and as the Normans only wore whiskers, they were thought by the English spies to be an army of priests.

Beards were worn in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., but not generally.

A correspondent in the late Douglas Jerrold's *Weekly News*, some six years since, urged the subject with much force and justice :

"Why," said he, "should men cut off what nature has given them for use, comfort, and ornament, and as a distinguishing characteristic of their sex! Is shaving a pleasing operation? If the choice lay between two evils, something might be urged in favour of the custom of shaving; but I do most strenuously contend that the beard is a positive good. It is useful, for it affords naturally what we are forced to supply artificially—warmth and protection to the throat. If the fashion of wearing beards was to come in, we should have no more sore throats. It is ornamental—if you doubt it, look at Cardinal Benbo's picture—at the portraits of Titian, Shakspeare, Fletcher, Spencer, Chaucer, Alfred, Plato,—I could name a great man who wore a beard, for every hair which I painfully shaved off this morning. It sets off the face as in a frame; it gives dignity, and conveys the idea of strength, decision, manliness, depth of intellect, solidity,—in short, everything may be said in its favour—nothing against it. 'What!' I hear a fair friend exclaim, 'would the wretch have our husbands, our brothers, our sons and our nephews, wear nasty beard's

and look like Frenchmen?" Certi why we should *not* look like Frenc be nasty. If we ceased to shave, water, and I will venture to say be the cleanest, glossiest, handsom the beard which I advocate, is th form in which she caused it to gro by the razor; let the scissors curi ant; but my cry is '*a bas* the razor with the beard, the whole beard shaves off his whiskers or mousta ages to disfigure himself. Now v Once admit that the use of the r extent, and I am as far off my end not the pains of shaving, and the b

The poet Campbell is said t who shaves himself every day score and ten, expends during act of shaving as would have s guages. Southey in his "*Th* he tested this assertion by timi he occupied ordinarily nine m his razor, another minute or t

"Now (he goes on to state) as t as that of Domenico d'Ancona, wh is to say the crown of beards, or t

"Una barba la più singu
Che mai fosse discritta

A beard the most unpa
That ever was yet desc

And of which Berni says, that t reluctance in cutting the said Dor so incomparable a beard. Neithe possibility, could vie with that of at this day; nay, I doubt whether phant's marrow, or the approved r Persians cultivate their beards, co ferior growth of his son's, Prince . man would ever look upon it, as th envious eyes, and think that it wa But for a Christian, and moreove beard; and for the individual a de *barba*; desirable I say, inasmuch growth rather below the average t therefore will be about the average Zebedeean—one who shaves himse quicker work; but he cannot be t the year's end, as much may have t as is gained by his celerity of hand.

Assuming then the moderate average of nine minutes, nine minutes per day amount to an hour and three minutes per week; an hour and three minutes per week are fifty-four hours thirty-six minutes per year. We will suppose that our shaver begins to operate every day when he has completed his twentieth year; many, if not most men, begin earlier; they will do so if they are ambitious of obtaining whiskers; they must do so if their beards are black, or carrotty, or of strong growth. There are then fifty years of daily shaving to be completed, and in that time he will have completed two thousand seven hundred and thirty hours in the act of shaving himself. Dividing this number by seven, we have three hundred and ninety hours for learning each language; three hundred and ninety lessons of an hour long,—wherein it is evident that any person of common capacity might with common diligence learn to read, speak and write, sufficiently well for all ordinary purposes any European language."

On the other side it is urged, if beards are to be worn, some care and, consequently, some time must be bestowed upon them. The beard must be trimmed occasionally if you would have it as ragged as an old Jew clothes-man's: it must also be kept clean, if you would not have it inhabited like the emperor Julian's; and if you desire to have it like Arron's, you would oil it. Therefore it is probable that a Zebedeean who is cleanly in his habits, would not save any time by letting his beard grow.

"I myself (observes Southey), if I wore a beard, should cherish it, as the Cid Campeador did, for my pleasure. I should regale it on a summer's day with rose water; and without making it an idol, I should sometimes offer incense to it, with a pastille, or with lavender and sugar. My children, when they were young enough for such blandishments, would have delighted to stroke and comb and curl it, and my grandchildren in their turn would have succeeded to the same course of mutual endearment."

The following physical argument is gravely advanced in Rees' Cyclopædia:—

"The practice of cutting the hair of the head and the beard is attended with a prodigious increase of the secretion of the matter of the hair. It is ascertained that a man of fifty years of age will have cut from his head above thirteen feet, or twice his own length of hairs; and of his beard, in the last twenty-five years of the same period—above eight feet. The hair likewise, besides this enormous length, will be thicker than if it had been left uncut, and must lose most of its juices by evaporation, from having its tube and the ends of its fibres always exposed.

The custom of shaving the beard and cutting the hair of the head has, we believe, been justly deprecated by some physiologists. The latter has been supposed, and with much apparent reason, to weaken

the understanding, by diverting the blood from the brain to the surface of the head. The connection which exists between the beard and the muscular strength of the individual, would seem to render it improper to interfere with its natural mode of growth. Bichat attributes the superior strength of the ancients to the custom of wearing their beards; and those men who do not shave at present are distinguished for vigor and hardihood."

We cannot agree with all these assertions and speculations, especially the assumption that clipping the hair is calculated to weaken the understanding.

When the Russian soldiers were first compelled to part with their beards, that they might look like other European troops, they complained that the cold struck into their jaws and gave them the tooth-ache. The sudden deprivation of a warm covering might have occasioned this and other local affections. But they are not said to have complained that they had lost their wits. On the contrary, in the days of Peter the Great they are reported to have made a ready use of them in relation to this very subject. Other arguments had been used in vain for persuading them to part with that comfortable covering which nature had provided for their cheeks and chins, when one of their priests represented to them that their good Czar had given orders for them to be shaved only from the most religious motives, and a special consideration of what concerned them most nearly. They were about to march against the Turks. The Turks, as they well know, wore beards, and it was of the utmost importance that they should distinguish themselves from the misbelievers by this visible mark, for otherwise their protector, St. Nicholas, in whom they trusted, would not know his own people. This was so cogent a reason that the whole army assented to it, and a general shaving took place. But when the campaign against the Turks was over, and the same troops were ordered to march against the Swedes, the soldiers called for the priest, and told him they must now let their beards grow again—for the Swedes shaved, and they must take care St. Nicholas might know his friends from his foes.

Beatrice (in "Much Ado about Nothing") says—"I could not endure a husband with a beard on his face;" and yet she subsequently admits that "he that hath no beard is less than a man."

A correspondent in the *Globe*, (Aug. 28, 1852) states that

he spent nine years of his life in Russia, where the frost was so excessive, that the thermometer fell sometimes (by our scale) to 35 degs. below zero, and yet he never saw a common Russian, with any covering round his neck except that provided by nature, which effectually protects his chin and the glands of his throat. They travel in their sledges at almost railroad speed, and are therefore exposed to the utmost severity of the frost, from which, thus protected, they never suffer any inconvenience.

Sir Francis Head, in his recent work, *A Faggot of French Sticks*, after speaking of a French railway guard with an unusually long and thick black beard, says—"It occurred to me at the moment that our railway directors in England might for the same service recommend the adoption of this fashion. In regions of intense cold it is invariably found necessary to cover a shaved chin, and there is no cheaper or warmer protection than that which nature has granted to the lower half of a man's face; it would be especially economical and convenient to railway guards, who, when travelling at thirty or forty miles an hour, through cold air, itself flying in an opposite direction, say from forty to sixty miles an hour, are exposed—to say nothing of rain, sleet, snow, hail and sunshine—to very trying vicissitudes of temperature and climate."

In an article in the *Edinburgh News*, the masons in that city were recommended, on the score of health, to wear the moustache and beard as a preventative to breathing the fine dust which so much injures the working mason, and shortens his life. The recommendation was given by a grave professor at Edinburgh—Dr. Alison, who would be the last, it is said, to countenance anything like puppyism—or continentalism shall we call it—on the part of our operatives. The consequence is, that nearly all the masons in Scotland, in the north of England, and even, we understand, in certain districts of Ireland, have begun to cultivate moustaches! Other trades, such as millers, cabinet makers, steel grinders, and the like, are rapidly following this example. The practice of wearing the moustache, and even the imperial, is an old British one, as every one knows; but it is really from knowing its beneficial influence in lengthening the lives and protecting the health of German, French, and other continental stone cutters and masons, that its

revival in this country is advised ; and the recommendation is now being carried out by the Glasgow masons.

It is a notorious fact that cavalry regiments suffer less than regiments of the line from consumption. Their beards and moustaches act like a respirator ; and the same line of reasoning applies with greater force to stone-masons and other trades where impalpable fine dust is breathed into the lungs. In the south of Germany—in Bavaria and Wurtemberg, for example—where freestone is extensively worked, and where the masons are fine-looking, muscular fellows with large beards, such a disease as phthisis is never heard of.

Tait's Magazine for November, 1852, had a pleasant article under the heading of "A few words upon Beards," from which I shall take an extract or two.

"Have not men, aye, whole nations, been named from the color and fashion of their maxillary hair? Was not the fate of Rome decided by an insult offered to the venerable appendage? Have not laws been framed for the regulation of beards, and for keeping their proportions curtailed within conscientious limits?

"We declare ourselves at once as champions of the long beard ; we regard it with profound respect, and deeply lament that so comely an ornament should be banished. We cannot forget the picturesque effect which the shape of the beard had in the reigns of the Tudors, and we mourn that so refined an adornment should have gone out of fashion. But then, as now, France exercised taste for all Europe—Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. both ascended the throne in their minority, and in a spirit of fulsome flattery it was proposed among the courtiers, and carried by acclamation, that to present a loyal compliment to their bald-chinned sovereign, they should surrender their cherished beard and moustaches, and exhibit their features feminine and free."

Hence the fashion spread, until in later times, no one dared, Esau-like, to gratify nature at the expense of art.

Hudibras's beard must have been perilously attractive, for

"The upper part thereof was whey,
The nether orange, mixed with grey."

Bottom, the weaver, had a very accommodating taste in reference to his beard ; for in allusion to the part of *Pyramus*, which he was to play, he says—"I will discharge it in either your straw-colored beard, your orange-tawny beard, your purple-in-grain beard, or your French crown-colored beards—your perfect yellow." No less cheering is it to notice the refined cultivation which was given to beards in days still nearer to our own. The peaked beards

in Vandyke's portraits we regard as being very comely ; and they almost make us think that a more handsome fashion of wearing the beard could not be devised. Sir Thomas More's attention to this classical ornament claims our highest admiration. When kneeling before the block, with the axe already suspended over his neck, he bade the executioner wait till he had put aside his beard, for that had committed no treason.

We have a few words more to say, and those are words of hope—we are enabled to prophecy that beards are coming back again. Civilized chins shall again repose in the shadow of perennial pilosity ; and the barber, no longer condemned to reap the barren crop of a stubble field, shall be restored to his pristine dignity as the artistic cultivator of man's distinguishing appendage. Already the martial moustache, the haughty imperial, and the daily expanding whiskers, like accredited heralds, proclaim the approaching advent of the monarch, Beard ; the centuries of his banishment are drawing to their destined close, and the hour and the man are at hand to re-establish his ancient reign.

"Be not so mad (says Quarles) as to alter that countenance which thy Creator made thee ; remember it was the work of his hands ; if it be bad, how darest thou mend it ? If it be good, why dost thou mar it ? Art thou ashamed of his work and proud of thy own ? He made thy face to be known by, why desirest thou to be known by another ? It is a shame to adulterate modesty, but more to adulterate nature. Blush not to appear what he blushes not to make thee. It is better to be his picture than thy own."

The *Naval and Military Gazette* of the 12th March, 1853, in a leading article advocating the wearing of the moustache generally by the military, says—"If the cavalry—and the first to wear the moustache were the hussars and the household troops—did not wear this military mark, we then might have believed there was an impression that 'the moustache was not British,' and that we were better looking fellows without it. However, the moustache is now called for on better grounds than merely the wish of the service and its military propriety. It is now called for on medical grounds. If the appearance of the soldiers alone were in question, we could have much to say in favor of the moustache.

"Why are the cavalry only to be allowed to wear this

distinctive military mark? Why wear it? He is not a cavalry officer; army on half-pay wear the moust becoming and soldier-like and he man face. Civilians too largely English on that account? It i better protects from both the su and moustache. Ask those who and Canada, the Cape colony ar

A correspondent of the same the advantages he derived from face. "On my regiment landi at Algoa Bay, South Africa, in to join Colonel Somerset's divis lumna river, about fifteen days' officers and men suffered much fi heat of the sun and dry wind. I re particular was a pitiable object, l almost than any others. I was of us escaped), and therefore can that as soon as our 'Chief' gave tache to grow, those who were fo a beard never suffered afterward

In a number of the *United Ser* takes up the subject, about six :

"A feeling appears to prevail that right to wear hair upon his upper lip and that if the hirsute adornment equally appropriate to the infantry. a common-sense spirit. Nature say the upper lip; and it is the opinion of nature's laws should be obeyed. Ci hold together if this doctrine were are the apologies of the savage. Therefore, for the sake of order and from the same low state as the beast introduced, which place nature's law not this restraint upon nature be cari length; may not the advocates of the which have not the commonest justifi the moustache popular in modern E. popular elsewhere, and John Bull ha body but John Bull. The excellen stands much upon his reputation. T high a character for honesty and bra

of by their appearance, he does not fancy that any one who wears a moustache can be taken for an Englishman. John has a notion that in proportion as the inner man is deficient in sterling qualities, he is assiduous to decorate his personal. If a man with an adorned upper lip goes into his counting-house, John takes it for granted he is either a 'distinguished foreigner,' or a member of the swell mob, or of some other class of society equally to be doubted; and he buttons his pockets with a mixture of alarm and resolution instantaneously. Nothing, therefore, but the suggestion of personal vanity stronger than the love of reputation, a 'most false imposition' (as *Iago* says) induces an Englishman to challenge the antipathy and distrust of his sober fellow-citizens. You will not often hear men admit that they wear moustaches because they look all the better for them. No; any excuse serves them but the true one. This man is subject to the toothache; that one is always travelling, and must 'at Rome do as Rome does.' Sometimes the practice of ours is the justification, or the pain of the razor, and not unfrequently the fear of inhaling malaria, which otherwise settles on the moustache and is wiped away. Why cannot men be honest at once, and say that it is because Anna Maria or Sarah Jane love those dear moustaches that they allow the hair to grow. Or more likely still, that because after an extensive study of the mirror it is obvious that they are handsomer with than without the hair? But all this has nothing to do with the military part of the business. 'To be, or not to be,' on the infantry soldier, 'that is the question?' Well, then, we say, let the soldier have the moustache, and let razors, shaving-pots and brushes no longer remain in his knapsack, to add to the weight so badly adjusted on his unhappy back. Shaving takes up time, is often a torture, and costs money. Let whiskers and moustaches have fair play, and that they may not become as dirty as those of Napoleon's grognards, let the drummer's scissors once a week be employed in a wholesale trimming. The soldier will look all the more manly for his hairy appendages, but not the more fierce. That is a fallacy. If men look the more ferocious for a few hairs more or less, women wouldn't like moustaches as they unquestionably do. It is the contrast—not the ferocity—that carries the day. 'Affection mateth not with its like, but its opposite.'

Colonel E. Napier, in the *United Service Magazine*, for Sept. and Oct., 1851 (in "The Soldier as he Is and as he Ought to be," an article of extreme interest), advocates the adoption of the beard, having observed and experienced the extraordinary luxury of it during his campaigning at the Cape; and it is to be hoped such an authority may have its due weight in deciding so important a matter; conducing, as it would do, to simplification of the toilet, picturesqueness and propriety; to say nothing of the deliverance from that sum of suffering from daily shaving, which Byron declared quite made up for what the other sex endured in parturition.

The *Agra Messenger*, an in satirical but truthful article a fi inquiry into the difference bet soldier and the native Sepoy, h marks—

“ The British soldier is undoubt what particular cause is the superi

After mature reflection and car military usage, we flatter ourselve tion at last. It is a very simple c Samson preserved his strength; or matic transgression has produce obedience ensured in his, and *vice* 1 superiority lies in a nut-shell, or, m the difference between the things c Homeric phrase, ‘epi-xyru acme’ of the difficulty is to be found on below the surface will bring up the itself. In the cropped head and sh we must look for the source of thos him so far above his hirsute and military view. By the cut of hi man’s capacity for warlike achieve natural growth predicate physical inferior order. A single touch of but it takes many a touch of art—t sable soldiers. The external differ how wide is the difference of intri less will betoken in the realms of M shaving enforced in the British art was a downright impostor, unwor Horatian apotheosis; while the ‘lo inferior breeding by taking ten yes self must have kept a barber, or the lied his natural inaptitude for achie

This is the only rational way accounting for the jealous negliges onal appearance has been kept dis For while the latter is obliged to c tern of regulated ugliness, and che cheeks by frequent use of lather, th growing his hair to a reasonable let size sufficient to make the fortune of is reason alleged for the indulgence for national prejudices forbids in th cleanliness demands in the other. F fessedly spares the whisker which fe have clean effaced, root and branch. quate to express the full purport of a c

ed at no little abatement of the comfort and personal comeliness of our gallant countrymen. We cannot accept them as aught but groundless pretences for maintaining a distinction in which the secret of our military progress is so emphatically asserted. For has not the wondrous virtue of deficient hair been yet more emphatically asserted in a recent order issued by Sir W. Gomm, widening the old license enjoyed by the native army of wearing unlimited hair, into a direct commandment for every Briton connected with the native army, to encourage the unlimited growth of hair on one portion at least of the human countenance? Does not the new commandment clearly develop the principle concealed in the previous concession? Is not the moustache now set in evident antagonism to the razor? For cleanliness being assumed as the sole end and aim of close shaving in the British army, why is the British officer serving in the native army henceforth compelled to wear the outlandish symbol of a cause with which he and cleanliness have apparently nought in common? The commandment to desist from shaving the upper lip cannot imply the extension to British officers of the principle on which the investiture of the upper lip was outwardly conceded to the prejudices of the native army. What other solution remains then but the one already proposed? Can this mode of assimilating the officers with their men in respect of facial equipment, mean aught but the wish to carry out the ancient principle of preventing all possible assimilation between the British and native soldiery in respect of military efficiency?

Pleasantry apart, we are fain to say what end of public utility has been or is to be gained, of sufficient urgency to justify the contempt for private tastes and prejudices evinced in measures regulating the precise amount of hair to be worn or shorn by the members of public society? If the soldier's deficiency depends in no intelligible way upon the smoothness of his cheek or the trim of his moustache, why in the name of common sense and humanity is he forced to shave or not to shave in keeping with some trivial and childish scheme of an uniformity which practically does not exist at all? Are cleanliness and martial appearance compatible only with a shaven face? Or does the soldier who wears moustaches of necessity fight or look worse than the soldier who is forbidden to wear them? Are the habits of the European cleaner than the habits of the Sepoy? Is the excrescence which nature has planted on faces of every color less unsightly on a black than a white ground? Why is the principle of uniformity between officers and men, carried to an outrageous excess in the matter of a whisker, and entirely set aside in the more prominent items of belts and white taping? If we really encourage cleanliness by shaving clean and cropping the upper hair in true convict fashion, would not the end be yet more simply attained by sticking at nothing short of total baldness? The assimilation of lips and cheeks should clearly be extended to an assimilation of mouths and noses. The officer in a British regiment is allowed the option of a partial whisker. Why split the difference of a hair and refuse him the option of a whisker in perfect bloom, or the additional comfort of a moderate moustache? We blush for the credit of a *régiment* which requires at this time of day to press the justice and propriety of leaving its subjects to wear what nature gave them in any fashion they pleased, consistent with general usage and due regard for personal decencies."

Many of your "smooth-faced" men say, wearing the beard looks unbusiness-like, and forfeits confidence. Others assert that it is a piece of egregious vanity to wear the beard; in fact, they seem to consider that they have a perfect right to say everything that is disagreeable respecting beards.

In standing up in defence of beards, we must say that this assertion about vanity is *utterly* illogical. A beard grows naturally on a man's face; undoubtedly, if we did but know it, for some good and wise purpose. Hair grows on the head and eyebrows, as well as on the cheeks and chin. Now if a man were to shave the hair off his head and brows, as smoothly as he does from his chin, the chances are that he would be thoroughly laughed at, and yet one proceeding would not be a whit more senseless than the other.

There is one certain fact we would mention with regard to beards. It is this. As a general rule, every man with a beard is a man of strongly-marked individuality—frequently genius—has formed his own opinions—is straightforward—to a certain degree, frequently reckless—but will not fawn or cringe to any man. The very fact of his wearing a beard, in the face, as it were, of society is a proof that his heart and conscience is above the paltry aid of a daily penny shave.

If men would not shave from boyhood up, they would find their beards would be flowing, their moustaches light and airy, both adding a dignity to manhood and a venerableness to age, to which shorn humanity must be strangers.

But the beard is not merely for ornament, it is for use. Nature never does anything in vain, she is economical and wastes nothing. She would never erect a bulwark were her domain unworthy of protection, or were there no enemy to invade it. We shall proceed to show that the beard is intended as a bulwark, and designed for the protection of the health. The beard has a tendency to prevent diseases of the lungs by guarding their portals. The moustache particularly, as we have already seen, prevents the admission of particles of dust into the lungs, which are the fruitful cause of disease. It also forms a respirator more efficient than the cunning band of man can fabricate. Man fashions his respirator of wire curiously wrought; nature makes her's of hair placed where it belongs, and not requiring to be put on like a muzzie. Diseases of the head and throat are also prevented by wearing the beard.

If any inconvenience is felt from the beard in summer, we think it will be found to be chargeable to the manner of dressing the neck. Lay aside flashy cravats and stiff collars, leaving the neck free and open, and the beard will never be felt to be a burden. Hear what a well known physiological writer says on this point: "The Byronic fashion of dressing the neck is preferable to all others. The true plan ought to be to allow the beard to grow, and thus protect the neck and chest. This appendage was not created for nought, and cannot be cut off with impunity."—Weakness and disease in the eyes may be obviated in a great measure by wearing the beard. There is an intimate connection between the upper lip and the eye. Every one must have noticed, when he has had a small pimple upon his lip and has squeezed it, how the tears will start involuntarily to his eyes. Shaving the upper lip with a dull razor which pulls the hair, will produce the same effect. Many can speak to the beneficial effects of wearing the beard upon weak eyes. The toothache, too, has been prevented by the wearing of the beard.

Frequently cutting and shaving the hair has a tendency to make it thicker, hence the beard of man becomes the thickest of all human hair. The marrow-like substance of the hair and its two outer coatings are well seen in a section of hair from a well shaved chin. The razor cuts it across; it cannot grow longer, so it grows thicker and stronger; and each slice taken away by the shave, looks under the microscope, like the section of a bone, just as a bone is cut across when a ham is cut up in slices for broiling, whilst the *stump* remaining on the chin has just the same look as the bone on the section of the grilled ham ready for the breakfast table. The primly shaved mouth is thickly dotted round by myriads of hideous hair stumps, with inner layer and marrow all exposed. Fashion, ever since the days of Louis Quatorze, has demanded the sacrifice, and men continue to pay it. Happily they do not see the stumps of their beards through a microscope, or razor makers would starve. M. Withof, a curious investigator quoted by the celebrated Haller, has calculated that the hair of the beard grows at the rate of one line and a half in the week; this will give a length of six inches and a half in the course of a year, and for a man of eighty years of age, thirty feet will have fallen before the edge of the razor.

It is occasionally urged that beard such as dust gatherers. So far from of filth, the beard, on the contrary, is against it. It gathers dust and dirt being inhaled into the lungs, or soiled the skin. This important office it performs in the same way that the eye-lashes and the nostrils protect the organs about them. And it would be quite as sensible as to clip his eye-lashes every morning, or trim his moustache. The dirt which is more easily removed than if, by the beard, it were allowed to lodge itself in the pores. In consequence of this, dirty, people are apt to conclude that the beard causes that appearance, while it is the beard that does so; as soon as it has attained its full growth, it looks dirty.

There are many who in their own minds are the folly of flying in the face of nature, but who lack the moral courage to do so. The beard, indeed, is a tender point which they aim its shafts at. Every man who has seen a youthful whistler knows what stereotyped, but youthful whiskers have had to endure. Every man who might have faced the cannon's mouth knows that the terror of fools too much for him. This ridicule is to learn to despise, and to turn aside by every laugh he will.

Many persons are now becoming sensible of their antiquated prejudices against the beard, a useful ornament to the human face. Numerous medical authorities to whom the growth of hair on the upper lip, as well as their professional avocations, are subject to the ever-varying changes of season, from chilling damps, freezing cold, vapors, and anon to hot parching rays of a powerful vertical sun. If we are satisfied with the *prima facie* evidence of the beard, an all-wise Creator, for some useful

has ordained that the masculine face shall be protected and adorned by the growth of hair. Irrespective, therefore, of considerations of health and comfort, we fly in the face of God's providence, when we inconsiderately divest our features of every particle of their natural protection. Who so forward as an Englishman to ridicule and condemn the eccentricities of other nations. The contracted feet of Chinese women, the long tails, the shaven heads, the scalp locks of Oriental races, excite our contempt at their senseless folly: while follies on our part, equally as senseless, escape animadversion, and are complacently attributed to the rational dictates, or to the natural consequences, of a higher civilization. It was not the progress of civilization, it was a servile imitation of the first George that introduced among Englishmen the ridiculous practice of divesting their faces of every particle of hair. Prior to the reign of George I. such a practice was unknown, and would have been scoffed at as preposterous. Feelings of rancorous hatred and enmity towards a neighbouring nation, with whom we have perpetually come into collision, and over whom we have frequently triumphed, have tended to foster the practice into a prejudice, and to perpetuate it as a national peculiarity, distinguishing us in features, as widely as we were severed in feelings, from our miscalled natural enemies. Intellectual progress and general enlightenment are fast dispelling such absurd prejudices, and overcoming such ungenerous feelings. Few care to acknowledge that they entertain and cherish the bigoted opinions of bygone days. It is encouraging to know that those who share in these antiquated sentiments are fast disappearing from the arena of public life. Common sense has triumphed over bob wigs, pigtails, grease and hair powder, and will yet extend more generally that protection to the features which a luxuriant growth of hair affords, and men will sedulously cultivate beard, whiskers and moustache.

To apply Douglas's defiant speech in a perverted sense :—

"No man so potent breathes upon the ground

But I would beard him."

With regard to the growing fashion of again wearing the hair profusely on the face, much more might be advanced. The prevalence of the moustache among Englishmen may be attributed, like many other of our social customs, to the

favor with which it is now viewed among our continental neighbours. Indeed, such is the rage in France for long beards and outrageous whiskers, that where nature has denied that ornament, the Parisian dandies, like the Chinese, have recourse to art to supply the deficiency; and false beards among certain classes there, are no more uncommon than wigs amongst us. In the event, too, of the color of the beard being red or very light, it is quite usual to dye it, as we do the "white stockings" of the horses in our cavalry regiments.

A chronological history of beards (observes a recent periodical writer), would be a history of the world, and we should have to trace it from Adam downwards; for it is almost certain that the hair's decoration came into fashion with the first man himself; though it is a deputed point, whether coming into the world a full grown biped, he possessed a luxuriant black beard from the moment of his creation, it being strongly maintained by *Martinus Scriblerus* and others, that our first father had no such distinguishing mark of manhood till after the fall, and that the pain of shaving was thereupon inflicted on him and his posterity for ever; and the author of *Don Juan* seems to have been of the same opinion, for he says,—

"That ever since the fall, man for his sin
Has had a beard entailed upon his chin."

Like all the oriental nations, the Assyrians appear to have taken extreme care of the beard, which, to judge from the bas-reliefs from Nineveh, they allowed to grow long, and arranged in so regular a manner, that the representations of it might almost be regarded as merely conventional.

Without pausing to inquire whether the custom of shaving, "pollarding the chin top, top and top," was practised by the patriarchs, it will be sufficient to observe that it must have been known to Homer; for that blind old bard of the *Iliad* borrows some of the finest of his metaphors from the art; describing the fate of Troy as being *on the edge of a razor*.

In the *Psalms* we read of Aaron's beard; and the golden beard of Esculapius, the father of physic, is universally celebrated; so that it is not at all improbable that in those days it was a professional distinction with the priest and the

doctor to keep their chins unshorn, and hence might have arisen the proverb of the wisdom of the wig, and superior sanctity in a quantity of hair depending from the chin. The gods of the ancients are, with the exception of the "imper-bis Apollo," always represented with beards reaching to their breasts; and Thetis, we are told, in the first book of the *Iliad*, wishing to conciliate the great Jupiter, sat at his feet with one hand embracing his knees, and the other smoothing his flowing beard.

The custom of shaving appears to have varied considerably in different ages and countries, according to the caprice of fashion, the arbitrary will of sovereign princes, or the necessities of the climate; but the practice of abrasion, nevertheless, seems to have become more common as mankind have advanced in civilization. We are told by Cicero, that for some hundred years there were no barbers in Rome. Pliny and Varro inform us that the Romans did not begin to shave till the year of the city, 452, when Publius Ticinius Mena brought over barbers from Sicily. Scipio Africanus, Pliny adds, was the first Roman who shaved every day.

Speaking of the early Roman Kings, Juvenal tells us that they were proud of their long beards. And this reminds me of an anecdote I have heard, or read somewhere, of the good old King George the Third. It is said that the monarch, whose chin had remained unshorn for many years, was present at the chapel in Windsor, when the preacher by an unfortunate impediment in his speech, misread a sentence so as to make it appear "O Lord *shave* the King!" a *lapsus lingue* which, of course, set the congregation into hysterics of well-bred laughter.

Few fashions have undergone greater mutations than those to which the hair and beard have been subject. With women long tresses—those natural jewels of the sex—have always been admired; but with men, the changes of dress, manners and language have been of less importance than the way of cutting their beards and trimming their locks. There was a time when

"'Twas merry in hall, where beards wagged all."

Whole nations have been named from their beards. The Tartars waged loud and bloody wars with the Persians, because they would not consent to cut their beards in the Turkish

fashion. The insult offered to the beards of the senators, decided the fate of ancient and imperial Rome, which fell before the swords of the barbarous unshaven and audacious Gauls. Beards were worn by the Greeks till the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 330; by the Romans till the year B.C. 297; by the Jews, from the earliest period, till in A.D. 1066, when they were discontinued in this country. Peter the Great of Russia had such a horror of hair on the face, that he appointed officers to go about and cut off the beards of all those of his subjects who wore them above a foot and a half in length.

The fashion of the beard, we all know, is an interesting topic with the male sex, from the stripling of sixteen to the patriarch of sixty. Barbers have wielded the destinies of empires, taking their rulers by the chin; and have sometimes been the greatest of tyrants. A ludicrous tale is told of our government in 1831, who, by the mouths of Lord Goderich and Howick, ordered an allowance of two razors per annum, for renovating the ebony chins of the West Indian negroes, a people without beards; and Mr. Hume, in the House of Commons, publicly declared about that time, in opposition to the razor grant, that the best instrument of the kind he ever possessed, had been bought of a Jew boy some twelve years previously for a shilling. Alas! for Sheffield, if all men found shilling razors last so long, and shave their epidermis so cleanly as did that belonging to the honorable member.

The ancient Indian philosophers, called *gymnosophists*, were solicitous to have long beards, which were considered symbolical of wisdom. The Assyrians and Persians also prided themselves on their long beard; and St. Chrysostom informs us that the kings of Persia had their beards interwoven or netted with gold thread. The figures on the Babylonian cylinders are usually represented with beards, and those on the reliefs from Persepolis, in the British Museum. The first Etruscans wore a large long beard, pointed and turned up in front. Mercury was represented with this sort of beard. In the earlier times the Etruscans marked the hair of their statues like scales of fish, or in corkscrew curls. The hair and locks (says Winckelman, the first great sculptor who treated the hair with care,) disposed *par etage* (in stories) are found without exception in all Etruscan figures. Aaron Hill, in his *Account of the Ottoman Empire*, published

in 1709, draws this distinction between the Persians and the Turks: "The Persians never shave the hair upon the upper lip; but cut and trim the beard upon their chin, according to the various forms their several fancies lead them to make choice of; whereas the Turks preserve with care a very long and spreading beard, esteeming the deficiency of that respected ornament a shameful mark of servile slavery."

The Chinese are said to affect long beards; but nature having denied their natural growth, they are sometimes supplied to the chin artificially.

Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, mentions, incidentally, that Alexander cut off the beards of the Macedonian soldiers, that they might not be used as handles by their enemies in battle; for nothing is so painful to the feelings as a tug at the beard.

The Greeks continued to shave the beard till the time of Justinian, under whom long beards came again into fashion, and so continued till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. The Greek philosophers usually made the beard a distinguishing feature in their appearance. Persius terms Socrates the bearded master (*magister barbatus*), and Prudentius bestows the same title of "*barbatus*" upon Plato. Adrian was the first of the Roman emperors who wore a beard. Plutarch says he wore it to hide a large wart and other scars in his face. The emperors who followed him continued to wear the beard.

An antiquarian writer has discovered that the custom of shaving off the beard, on the continent, was introduced by Peter Lombard, 1160. Innocent III. confirmed it with the monks at the Council of Lateran, in the year 1200; and the reason which induced the Council to make the injunction for shaving beards was, lest in the ceremony of receiving the Sacrament the beard might touch the bread and wine, or crumbs and drops fall and stick upon it.

The clergy, however, were averse to this change, and it appears that in France, from 1515 to 1547, Francis I. made the priests pay a large sum for wearing their beards.

The Christian priests seem to have adopted the custom of wearing beards from opposition to the heathen and Egyptian priests who shaved themselves.

Southey, in *The Doctor*, tell us of an insolent message sent by one of the early kings of North Wales to King Arthur. And this was his message—

"Gretyne wel Kynge Arthur in this manere wyse, sayenge, 'that Kynge Ryons had discomfyte and overcome eleaven Kynges, and everyche of hern did hym homage, and that was this; they gai hym their berdys clene dayne off, as moche as ther was; wherfor the messenger came for Kynge Arthur's berd. For Kynge Ryons had purveyed a mantal with kynges berdes, and there lacked one piece of the mantel, wherfor he sent for his berd, or els he wold entre in to his landes, and brenne and slee, and never leve tyl he have thi hede and thi berd."

According to Hudibras, we should always

"Speak with respect and honour

Both of the beard and the beard's owner."

The Anglo-Saxons at their arrival in Britain, and for a considerable time after, wore beards. The Normans not only shaved their beards themselves, but when they became possessed of authority they obliged others to imitate their example. It is mentioned by some of our historians as one of the most wanton acts of tyranny in William the Conqueror, that he compelled the English (who had been accustomed to let the hair of their upper lips grow) to shave their whole beards; and this was so disagreeable to many of them, that they chose rather to abandon their country than to lose their whiskers. Ordericus Vitalis relates a curious anecdote of Henry I., submitting to lose his beard at the remonstrance and by the hands of Serlo, Archbishop of Sees.

In the higher classes of society the beard, in a greater or a less degree, was encouraged by the English for a series of centuries, as is evident from the sepulchral monuments of kings and chief nobility, and from portraits where they remain. Edward III. is represented upon his tomb at Westminster, with a beard which would have graced a philosopher. Stowe, in his *Annals*, under 1535, says, "The 8th of May the king (Henry VIII.) commanded all about his court to poll their heads, and to give them example he caused his own head to be polled, and from thenceforth his beard to be knotted and no more shaven."

The practice of wearing the beard continued to a late period, and the reader will readily call to recollection the portraits of Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Cardinal Pole, and Bishop Gardiner, all ornamented with flowing beards, in the reign of Mary I. The commentators on *Shakspeare* show that in the reign of Elizabeth beards of different cut were

appropriated to different characters and professions. The soldier had one fashion, the judge another, the bishop different from both. While the Churchman wore a long beard and moustaches that flowed on the breast, and was known as the *cathedral beard*, the soldier wore the *spade beard* and the *stiletto beard*, equally indicative of their calling. These beards were so called from their fancied resemblance to these weapons.

Malone has quoted an old ballad, inserted in a miscellany, entitled *Le Prince d'Amour*, in 1660, in which some of these forms are described and appropriated :—

"Now of beards there be
Such a companie,
Of fashions such a throng,
That it is very hard
To treat of the beard,
Though it be ne'er so long.

"The soldier's beard
Doth match in this herd
In figure like a spade,

With which he will make
His enemies quake
To think their grave is made.

"The stiletto beard,
O, it makes me afeard,
It is so sharp beneath :
For he that doth place
A dagger in his face,
What wears he in his sheath ?"

John Taylor, the Water-poet, in his *Whip of Pride*, also particularizes the fashions of the beard, &c., as they still continue to subsist in his day :—

"Now a few lines to paper I will put,
Of men's beards' strange and variably cut ;
In which there's some do take as vain a pride,
As almost in all other things beside.
Some are reap'd most substantial, like a brush,
Which makes a nat'ral wit known by the bush.
(And in my time of some men I have heard,
Whose wisdom have been only wealth and beard.)
Many of these the proverb well doth fit,
Which says, ' Bush natural, more hair than wit.'
Some seem as they were starched stiff and fine,
Like to the bristles of some angry swine ;
And some (to set their Love's desire on edge)
Are cut and pruned like to a quickset hedge.
Some like a spade, some like a fork, some square,
Some round, some mow'd like stubble, some stark bare.
Some sharp, stiletto-fashion, dagger-like,
That may with whip ring, a man's eyes outpike ;
Some with the hammer-cut, or Roman T.
Their beards extravagant reform'd must be ;
Some with the quadrate, some triangle fashion,
Some circular, some oval in translation ;
Some perpendicular in longitude,
Some like a thicket for their crassitude.
That heights, depths, breadths, triform, square, oval, round,
And rules geometrical in beards are found.
Besides the upper lips strange variation,
Corrected from mutation to mutation ;
As 'twere from tithing unto tithing sent,
Pride gives to *pride* continual punishment,
Some (spite their teeth) like thatch'd eaves downward grows,
And some grow upwards in despite their nose ;
Some their moustaches of such length do keep,
That very well they may a manger sweep,
Which in beer, ale, or wine they drinking plunge,
And suck the liquor up as 'twere a sponge.

But 'tis a sloven's beastly pride,
To wash his beard, where other
And some (because they will not
Their upper chaps like potbooks
The barbers thus (like tailors) are
Acquainted with each cut's vari

William Rufus, the second was so called for his red beard surnames in manhood from vi and not as now by inheritance East—the Nelson of the Turk Doria—Haireddin Pasha, bet Barbarossa or Redbeard, acqu as did Frederick the First of (barossa ; and who does not re interest wherein Bluebeard sa to his lust.

William Fitzosbert, or Long reintroduced among the peopl origin, the fashion of long hai citizens and Normans, and, fi hanging down to the waist, of he is best known to posterity.

Jean Staminger, a citizen an of Brannan, upon the river J died Sept. 28, 1567, had a re reached to his feet, and rend attraction, especially to strang

Martin Van Butchell, fat Butchell, had a very long an beyond his waist.

The fashion of wearing a lo by the Normans, gradually re Tudors we find the portraits of warlike, with bristling hair an choly interest clings still to th Thomas More, who, when t lifted high his axe to perform weak hand from the block, ex till I have put aside my bea treason." And again there is but unfortunate, Sir Walter R visited him in the Tower to tri him, " Desist, dear sir ; there

the king and me about this head, and I don't wish to lay out any capital upon it till the cause is tried."

It was the custom of old to color the beard and whiskers artificially, either for disguise or foppery; softness in love, or ferocity in war. Arrian alludes to it, and states "that the people of India daub their beards white, red, purple and green."

In former times as much pains were bestowed on dressing the beard, as in later ones upon dressing the hair. Sometimes, as we have seen, it was braided with threads of gold. It was dyed to all colors, according to the mode, and cut to all shapes.

In Lodowick Barry's comedy of *Ram Alley*, 1611, one of the characters asks "What colored beard comes next my window?" receiving for answer, "A black man's, I think." To which comes the response, "I think a red, for that is most in fashion." In Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman*, the barber exclaims, "I have fitted my divine and canonist, dyed their beards and all."

The church never showed itself so great an enemy to the beard as to long hair on the head. It generally allowed fashion to take its own course, both with regard to the chin and the upper lip. This fashion varied continually; for we find that in little more than a century after the time of Richard I., when beards were short, that they had again become so long as to be mentioned in the famous epigram made by the Scots, who visited London in 1327, which ran as follows;—

"Long beards, heartlesse;
Painted hoods, witlesse;
Grey coats, gracelesse,
Makes England thriftlesse."

When the Emperor Charles V. ascended the throne of Spain, being only 16, he had no beard. It was not to be expected that the obsequious parasites who always surround a monarch could presume to look more virile than their master. Immediately all the courtiers appeared beardless, with the exception of such few grave old men as had outgrown the influence of fashion, and who had determined to die bearded as they had lived. Sober people, in general, saw this revolution with sorrow and alarm, and thought that every manly virtue would be banished with the beard. It became at the time a common saying, "We have no

longer souls since we have lost part of his reign the beard was on his medal with a flowing be

In France the beard fell into Henry IV., from the mere rea XIII., was too young to hav immediate friends of the great Sully among the rest, refused notwithstanding the jeers of th

The beard now gradually Charles I. was the last in whic rished. After the restoration taches or whiskers continued, shaven; and in a short time entire face became universal.

In Russia it continued some "Hudibras" alludes to the be sian standard;" which Grey il tract from *The Northern Wor the Great and his illustrious* (1728).

"Dr. Giles Fletcher, in his *Tre Russian nobility and gentry, accou gross and bushy, they therefore noi have them long and broad. This f the time of the Czar, Peter the Grea these ornaments, sometimes by layi at others by ordering those he foun up by the roots, or shaved with a blu it, and by these means scarce a be death; but such a veneration had gravity, that many of them careful cabinets, to be buried with them, in make but an odd figure in the grav Emperor Peter set about this refor given that the people might get ove nance, after which every man who pay a tax of one hundred roubles. upon a lower footing, and allowed a cobeck every time they passed th a very considerable revenue was c collectors gave in receipt for its pa expressly for this purpose, and call bore the figure of a nose, mouth a beard, surmounted by the words ' circled by a wreath, and stamped w the reverse it bore the date of the :*

wear a beard was obliged to produce this receipt on his entry into a town. Those who were refractory and refused to pay the tax were thrown into prison.”*

As the hair began to be worn shortened, the beard was allowed to flow. Indeed this compensatory process has always obtained ; in no age were the hair and beard allowed to grow long at the same time.

Shakspeare was constantly alluding to the beard. In his day this term included the three more modern subdivisions of beard, moustache, and whisker—they were all then worn in one. “ Did he not wear a great round beard, like a glover’s paring-knife ?” asks one of his characters, clearly alluding to the extent of cheek it covered, and which was a common fashion with military men during the reign of Henry VIII. It looked sufficiently formidable, and took least trouble in trimming and dressing. In *Henry the Fifth*, act 3, sc. 6, Shakspeare makes Gower exclaim, “ What a beard of the general’s cut, and a horrid suit of the camp, will do among foaming bottles and ale-washed wits, is wonderful to be thought on !” In a word, the period, *par excellence*, of magnificent barbes comprised the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.

With the renewed triumph of long hair, the beard gradually shrank up ; first assuming a forked appearance, then dwindling to a peak, and ultimately vanishing altogether.

Although we are told that the fashion of smooth faces “ came in with the Conqueror,” like so many noble families, yet it must be understood that it was principally popular with courtiers and rich men ; for by reference to Fairholt’s *English Costumes*, we find that the aged, the unfashionable, and the lovers of old customs still delighted for many years in beards and whiskers of formidable dimensions—the square, the Franklin, the forked, the curly and the corkscrew. In the *Canterbury Tales*, we are told :—

“ A merchant there was with a forked beard.”

In the course of time, we read of knights with “ golden curls” about their faces, a sure sign of Saxon blood and lineage ; and of some bucks who wore their moustaches curled in a manner so unique as almost to rival the splendid beards of the Ninevites, who appear, by the relics recently imported by Mr. Layard, to have paid particular attention to their facial ornaments.

* See *Machay’s Popular Delusions*.

In the play of *Tam's Metamorphoses*, by T. Middleton, (1596), we have a further evidence of the mutability of fashion in this respect; for we find one of the characters asking of another, "Why dost thou wear this beard; 'tis clean gone out of fashion?" And by a note to Gray's *Hudibras*, we learn that so curious were the gallants of the day in the management of their beards, that they put them in paste-board boxes when they went to bed, for fear they should turn in the night, and so disarrange them! Comb and beard-brushes were as common then as now; and Holinshed tells us that the dandies of his day spent hours in the arrangement of their beards and whiskers. In Lely's *Midas*, we have a barber instructing his apprentice in the manner of trimming the beards of his customers, from those who wore them "like a spade or a bolkin," to those who had them "hang down like the goat's flakes!"

Some of the learned in curious trifles have spared no pains to record the changes that took place in the fashion of the beard. Hotoman wrote a treatise expressly on the beard, entitled *Pogonius*, first printed at Leyden, in 1556, and, which on account of its rarity, was reprinted at length by Pitiscus in his *Lexicon*. In Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis, or Artificial Changeling*, is a whole chapter "On the opinion and practice of diverse nations concerning the natural ensigns of manhood appearing about the mouth," quoted from innumerable authors, ancient and modern.

Various nations still cultivate and preserve the beard with scrupulous attention. To cut off the beard was esteemed infamous, and particularly disgraceful among the Jews.

It is so at this day among many Eastern nations. The Mahometans, by whom it is suffered to grow long, and is regarded as a mark of honour, consider it as a distinguished ornament, and their beards not unfrequently reach to their waist. They would resent as an indignity any insult offered to the beard.

The Turks are highly affronted if one even threatens to shave their beard. Aurengzebe, the Emperor of the Moguls, in the last century, terribly revenged the shaving of his ambassador's beard, on the Sophi of Persia. With the Lacedæmonians, the punishment of fugitives from the field of battle was to have their beards half shaved. We may there-

fore conceive the height of the contemptuous indignity offered to the ambassadors of David by Hanun (2 Samuel, x. v. 4.) Many people would prefer death to this kind of treatment.

The Arab makes the preservation of the beard a capital point of religion, because Mahomet never cut off his; and with them, as with the Turks, the beard is a token of authority and liberty. They consider the beard the perfection of the human face, which, in their opinion, would be more disfigured by its loss than by that of the nose. To kiss the beard is the prevalent and respectful mode of salutation by wives, children and friends.

Mr. J. A. St. John, in his *Isis, an Egyptian Pilgrimage*, states as follows :—

“When I arrived at Thebes I had one of the handsomest beards in the world, black as jet, and descending in curls and waves over my breast. This was a great recommendation to me among the Arabs, and I fear I must attribute to it much of the influence I possessed over them. Often and often, while passing along the streets of Gournou, Karnak, and Luxor, the women and the old men, as they sat on the stone mastabak beside their doors, would exclaim to each other, ‘Wallah, by God, has not he a beard!’”

The late Sir John Malcolm, in his very interesting *Sketches of Persia*, gives a curious gossiping account of the estimation in which barbers are held in that country, and the wealth which they frequently obtain. Their skill in shaving the heads and trimming the beards of kings and nobles, though highly prized, is subordinate to that which they display as attendants at the warm bath. It is on their superior address in rubbing, pinching, joint-cracking, and cleansing the human frame at the Hummums, that their fame is established. The luxury of the bath in Persia is enjoyed by all, from the highest to the lowest. Among the various attendants, the man of most consequence is the *dellák*, or barber. For he who has the honor to bathe and shave a king, must not only be perfect in his art, but also a man altogether trustworthy; and confidence amongst eastern rulers is usually followed by favor, and with favor comes fortune. This accounts for barbers building public bridges in Persia!

“I was one day (says Sir John) speaking to my friend Meerza Aga of the munificence of the barber of the great Abbas, in a manner

which implied doubt of the fact. I the barbers of the Seffavean monarch he said, 'that the Khâsterâsh (literate sovereign, in the abundance of self close to the royal bath at Teheran) he is entitled to riches, for he is his art, and has had for a long period a magnificent beard of his majesty, which for years, the pride of Persia.'

'Well,' I replied, 'if your permission, I will no longer doubt the worth for that monarch, though he won't trevellers and observe from paintings which he is said to have been very no doubt, was, as he deserved to be.'

"This conversation led to a long beard, upon which subject my friends had never seen, enabled me to mention. I told them many stories relating between the territories of Catbeards and whiskers to the Government prompt to destroy any one who made a combined feeling of religion and nation of life itself as slight, in comparison of these beards.

"I next informed them how they were once honoured in Europe. The great John de Castro, a former Governor of Portuguese possessions in India, made a loan from the citizens of Goa, at a loss for an adequate security.* His bones of his gallant son Don Fernando, after battle; but finding, on opening the coffin, he offered, as next dear to his cherished moustaches. This security was returned with more than they were vying with each other who should accept a pledge.

"The Persians of my audience combined feeling of pleasure and the value of that ornament of the face. One of the party, said to me with a mission wear moustaches in comparison of Persians; but is it true that many of them, and that they are again like I said, perhaps they might; add to the case, if there appeared the slightest to account in the money market like

* These facts are mentioned in the translation of the "Lusiad."

A Grand Vizier of Constantinople is also reported to have once borrowed a large sum of money on the security of his beard and whiskers ; and such was the faith of his creditors in the honor of a beard, that it is said they were content to visit their debtor occasionally, to see that their security was safely growing curly on his face.

"It is," says D'Arvieux, who has devoted a chapter to the exposition of the sentiments of the Arabs in regard to the *beard*, "a greater mark of infamy in Arabia to cut a man's beard off, than it is with us to whip a fellow at the cart's tail, or to burn him in the hand. Many people in that country would rather die than incur that punishment. I saw an Arab who had received a musket shot in the jaw, and who was determined rather to perish than to allow the surgeon to cut his beard off to dress his wound. His resolution was at length overcome; but not until the wound was beginning to gangrene. He never allowed himself to be seen while his beard was off; and when at last he got abroad, he went always with his face covered with a black veil, that he might not be seen without a beard; and this he did till his beard had grown again into a considerable length."

Burckhardt also remarks, that the Arabs who have from any cause had the misfortune to lose their beard, invariably conceal themselves from view until their beard has grown again.

To cut off the tail of a Chinese is in use as a national punishment. The Parsees are always shaven all over the head, and should he chance to remove his skull-cap (or indoor covering), the Parsee always places his hand on his crown, as if in shame of his bare head, and keeps it there till his cap is replaced.

In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, some eight years ago, mention was made of the Hon. Mrs. Dawson Damer having requested a lock of Mehemet Ali's hair, to place in a collection which already boasted the hair of Nelson, Napoleon, and Wellington, when she was gallantly informed by the Pacha, that in his will he would request his son Ibrahim Pacha to present her with his *beard*.

Swearing by the beard of the Prophet is the Mussulman form of oath. Nearly all of the inhabitants of Schinde, whether Mussulmen or Hindoos, wear beards, which they often dye of a red colour.

Before the revolution of 1830, neither the French nor Belgian citizens were remarkable for their moustaches; but after that event there was hardly a shopkeeper either in

Paris or Brussels whose upper lip displayed hairy with real or mock moustaches. The triumph gained by the Dutch soldier at Louvain, in October, 1830, it became known against the patriots, that they shaved immediately; and the wits of the Dutch had gathered moustaches on the upper lips of the Belgians to stuff mattresses wounded in their hospital.

An amusing anecdote has lately come to many. The authorities of Vienna have recently, attacked the beards of men, but some time since made an unsuccessful attempt about fifty servants of her guests to honor of their upper lips. The lady of the reigning Prince Adolphus & Prince Albert, at which the *crème* of the present. As is customary on such occasions, and acquaintances of the lady of the valets to wait on the guests during the illustrious lady, who, in the matter of fashion there, ordered that the servants' hair powdered. Now, as immense moustaches do not exactly harmonize with the uniforms, five florins (10s.) were offered to men's gentlemen who would sacrifice their *barb*. Need I say that the lady kept men their moustaches.

A facetious writer in the *Quarterly* has a mutton chop seems to have suggested a substantial British whisker. Out of this less varieties of forms have arisen. The truth, have grown up like all the grass in the country, noiselessly and persistently, as the Germans would say, of the people; the general idea, allowing according to their individuality of the next half-dozen men passing by, to write. The first has his whiskers to the side of his mouth, as though he were holding teeth. The second whisker that we see is into the middle of the cheek, and the

it did not know where to go to, like a youth who has ventured out into the middle of a ball-room with all eyes upon him. Yonder bunch of bristles twists the contrary way, under the owner's ears; he could not, for the life of him, tell why it retrograded so. The fourth citizen, with the vast Pacific of a face, has little whiskers, which seemed to have stopped short after two inches of voyage, as though aghast at the prospect of having to double such a Cape Horn of a chin. We perceive coming a tremendous pair, running over the shirt collar in luxuriant profusion. Yet, we see, as the Colonel or General takes off his hat to that lady, that he is quite bald—those whiskers are, in fact, nothing but a tremendous land-slip, from the veteran's head.

ART. V.—XAVIER DE RAVIGNAN.

Le Père De Ravignan, Sa Vie, Ses Œuvres ; par M. Poujoulat.
Paris, Charles Douniol, 1859.

To readers of English works of fiction published during the past eighty years, it must be a puzzle to guess whence could have come all the evil disposed Jesuits, plotting and doing every sort of mischief through the well or ill-written pages in question. *Waterley* and his brothers wrought an improvement in the world of imaginative prose, but the quasi evil-disposed disciples of Ignatius still retained their bad eminence, and wrought all the evil in their power to *Sir Reginald Montfort* and *Lady Alicia* as in times past. Catholic Emancipation is at last obtained ; the persons and principles of Catholics, lay and cleric, are better known and understood ; melo-dramatic villains and deep-designing knaves will be sought for in other places as well as in the cell and the confessional !—By no means. — Our living writers still resort to the same haunts for their disreputable characters, as the coteremporaries of *Bridget Bluemantle* or the now-unknown author of "*Says she to her Neighbour, WHAT !*"

Since the epoch of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, the crop has been more prolific than ever ; and publishers find it profitable to resuscitate even such wretched productions as the *Lollards* or the *Monks of Leadenhall*, for though the Jesuits themselves were unborn when Prince Hal took purses, their dead and buried relations, the monks and friars, were all alive, and prompt for evil doings.

What deduction could be strictly drawn from the contemplation of this mighty, many-sided mass of fleeting literature, if it gave anything like a true reflection of the state of society either of past or present times ? merely this :—Only for the supernatural strength, wisdom, goodness, and omnipresence of certain Gipsies, madmen, outlaws, and brigands, all the venerable gentry and aged widows for eight centuries would have been deprived of their little property, the minors reduced to beggary on coming to age, young gentlemen on the eve of the wedding day, killed by ambushed parties, and their shrieking or fainting lady-loves carried away before their

dying eyes ; and all done by the contrivance of diabolical minded, scowling fiends in soutaues and shovel hats. How the frame work of society has held together under such a dispensation, is not easy to conceive, nor have the romancers deigned to offer any explanation of the problem.

Let us be allowed to imagine a not very improbable case under these circumstances. A country recluse, deriving his information, from the authorities that rule in circulating libraries, entertains a heartfelt conviction that all the evils that now plague humanity, were hatched in the Old Castle of Loyola, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. He has never seen a live Jesuit, and the Parish Priest and Curate in his neighbourhood do not resemble in the least particular, such pictures as he finds scattered through his favorite works of reference. He finds their time occupied in the ordinary duties of spiritual shepherds, set over a sincere though wayward and excitable flock, but he knows from the information given in *Father Eustace*, *The Lady and the Priest*, *Beatrice or the Unknown Relatives*, *The Convict*, *Devereux*, *The Bosom Friend*, *Aspen Court*,* and other trust-worthy productions, that such monsters are to be found ; and he feels a conviction that it is his mission to discover and unmask them before the eyes of a careless and too trusting generation. Hearing that the Irish Metropolis is kept in terror by a body of strong, dark-coated young men, whose hats are distinguished by a rim of glazed leather, and who, though supported by the negligent British Government, are the secret spies and devoted champions of its implacable foe, he takes a second class ticket, and is found on the evening of the same day in Mountjoy square west, making marked enquiries concerning the morals and habitudes of the inmates of a house in its neighbourhood. He will not be put off with vague or equivocating information : his enquiries will go to the marrow of the matter, his eyes will pierce mill stones, or granite walls just as opaque ; and if necessary, he will aid the

* Honorable exception from the animus of the above named works, must be made in favour of *The Young Duke*, *Henrietta Temple*, *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and other productions of their author, who with his eyes fully open to the expediency of flattering the public prejudice, has sought his most estimable characters, and most pleasing social pictures among the old Catholic families of England. Whatever may be said of his political articles or parliamentary speeches, his novels have not pandered to a vitiated taste in the public.

sun at noon day by a forty-gas honest man, but a triple-dy respectable heads of families, pol and ragged little boys. He vis examines the interior of the dwel the expected discovery than whe the young ladies and gentlemen ' ance at the confessional, give m and better example to the work heads of families discharge ti effectually to each other, and to man grumbles less when offered torts an extra six-pence from the i that the policeman, when angel public peace, does his necessary permits ; and that the barefoot c ducted men and women, and are and Grange Gorman.

Taking a *precis* of the ordinar for whom his quest was made, h ing and morning prayer, celes spiritual comfort of labourers, an tually devout citizens, and spenc administering comfort to the ove the perplexed, and knowledge to his remaining time in devotional instructions either secular or thec to his care. He finds frugality in the modest furniture of his ap personal property ; and he says evil to his neighbour, and comm the privilege of enjoying this life of non-enjoyment as far as can b Miss Sinclair, Mrs. Trollope, Brooks, Mr. James, and Sir Edw made as conscientious a perquisit and are therefore not to be truste

" However, as Ireland furnish Christian life, Catholic and Prote each party naturally wishes to a other, it is not to be wonder present its fairest aspect in this fa

examine the continent where *Mrs. Grundy's* name is less terrible. Look at the mound of the abominations of the system piled up by that model of purity, philanthropy, and truth-telling, Eugene Sue. I will not, however, blindly trust to his guidance. I will look with my own eyes on the social aspect of Paris, see whether it is affected for the better or worse by the influence of the '*Parti Prêtre,*' and like a free and conscientious Protestant, draw my own conclusions."

After a suitable time spent in that Vanity Fair, our wanderer in search of Miss Sinclair's Jesuit, sets out on his return with the conviction, that only for the incessant, untiring, loving, unselfish, heaven-inspired, and heaven-supported efforts of the clergy, regular and secular, France would at this day present a frightful picture of unbelief or antinomianism; men, women, and children would be governed by the mere impulses of sensuality and selfishness; and if any images were set up in the public places in honor of the influences that rule the land, they would be those of VENUS, BACCHUS, and MERCURY.

On quitting Paris, he procures the work about which we are at present concerned, peruses it carefully on his homeward journey, considers the natural results of the spirit and discipline of the system, acting on a well disposed novice, and begins to look on the members of the society in the light of the life-guardians on the Serpentine when the strength of the ice is problematic. He is at present occupied in aiding the Catholic and Protestant clergymen of his parish in works of practical good, irrespective of the peculiar tenets of those for whom the good is to be done, in diminishing party prejudices, and in promoting good feelings to each other among those neighbours of his, who take different paths to their houses of worship on Sunday.

Our biographer M. Poujoulat has evidently undertaken a labour of love: he scarcely leaves unrecorded any incident, in the infancy or youth of his beloved subject that came to his knowledge. The length of the work, 534 pages 8vo., and our limited space, cause the omission of much that we should otherwise wish to retain, and make the choice of selection an embarrassing matter. For reasons which the reader will comprehend before he has done with us, we commence our extracts at page 101.

"People often ask with profound surprise, how it is that the order of Jesuits has excited more prejudice and hatred, and become the object of more persevering attacks than all the other religious orders

taken in a body ; they look on the fact as an i
On considering from a near point of vi
Jesuits, the date of their first appearance,
which history finds them engaged, this exc
of explanation.

" The Jesuits arose at a time when the
against the Catholic Church, namely the ep
of Protestantism ; and as they at once took
born foe, they were consequently detested.
later date the companions of Jesus found th
another enemy. They distinguished them
nents of Jansenism ; they had to sustain th
of Port Royal and the Parliaments ; they l
tracy as well as in the ranks of genius, tw
able, as being recommended to public esti
controversy of the Five Propositions it wa
distinguish with which side rested the co
That which they best comprehended in the
them amusement ; and it so happened that
eloquent raillery at the expense of the Je
haustless flow out of that immortal lie, *Le*

" The Jesuits not only defended Catholic
Jansenius ; they defended Religion in its
principles, in its works : their pens and to
service of those doctrines, which ensured t
of governments. Instructors of youth, th
of rising generations, religious and social
that their work ceased not with the passio
the future. This was the vanguard, the
was necessary to get rid of, when in the
conspiracy under the name of Philosop
Christianity. A campaign of calumny wa
against the Jesuits : it was an essential p
hostilities.

" If despite our long sufferings from whi
last to issue, public feeling has not thorou
idea of Jesuitism, we can only see therein
hostilities ; it is a proof of the breadth of
faith. For three hundred years, religion
vehemently assailed, and for these three
have upheld religion and authority. Th
objects of deeper animosity and outrage th
of truth on the earth, because the worl
at the immensity of their labours, in the c
purple is conspicuous. This hatred of
with that revolution in Europe, which dat
sixteenth century against the Papacy. T
accommodate themselves, as Catholicism i
government among nations ; but their s
the virtue of obedience, still sympathises
it, for it is at once the essential condition

of order ; and order here below, is an image of that higher harmony where the glory of God himself is unveiled. It is not surprising that in our days worthy people retain prejudices against the Jesuits, because the most honorable, and even the most distinguished spirits sometimes take judgments on trust, and do not give themselves time to go to the bottom of historical research, but the simply bad will never be the friends of the Order.

"If the company of Saint Ignatius was such as the Parliament of Paris represents it in the unfortunate decrees of 1762, if all the abominations ascribed formed a portion of the instruction given by the Jesuits, impiety and revolt would have paid them devoted worship.

"In a life merely contemplative, or devoted to study in the cloister, the Jesuits had lived in peace ; they would have encountered on their way none but the ordinary trials reserved for every Catholic institution : but they formed a militant body ; they were above all, men of apostolic action, sent against the powers of error and evil ; they ceaselessly offered battle under the Christian banner ; the most glorious portion of their destiny was exposure to assault. Saint Augustin has indicated to us the two cities, whose strife shall only end with time itself. Nothing can be more natural than the storms which form the staple of the history of the Society of Jesus ; that history is the history of truth and opinion in Europe for three centuries.

"A nation which has strayed from God, must either return or perish. It was the will of Providence that France should be preserved ; it was God's good pleasure to use it as an instrument for the accomplishment of his eternal purposes. Thus it happened, that after those days when guilty follies drove Him from the temples, as they would have driven Him from Heaven if they could, the days of renovation returned. The *low murmur of impiety* which Fenelon had heard, became in the eighteenth century a tempest, and the tempest was now appeased. A deep felt need of religion sprung from the midst of the ruins ; impiety appeared in its true aspect, exhibiting its immense ravages and its bloody fruits. Crime had followed as the natural consequence of principles established with such levity and rashness ; there had been enough of horrors, of ruins, of untimely graves. France astonished by all that had been destroyed in ten years, and wearied with the weight of life without faith, eagerly demanded once more the worship of their forefathers, priests and altars. Then the man whose sword was in the ascendant, hearkened to this vast sigh of a reviving land, and had the courage to respond to it, notwithstanding the ignorant and low bred oppositions of those about him. The First Consul foresaw an additional strength conferred on his authority by a return to the Catholic Faith. He acquired both advantage and honour from the opening of the churches.

"But if general opinion tended towards Christianity, and laid claim to it as to a long lost possession, there was greater interest exhibited for its recollections than its lights. People were glad to recover their church through a social, conservative, and patriotic instinct, but they knew nothing, or next to nothing, of religion. They had forgotten its benefits and its mighty works, its divine superiority over

every institution raised by the hand of sublime poetry of its ceremonies as to strike a great blow in the kingdom achieved, not by dint of reasoning; double power which attracts and awakens thought, which exalts, animates, and elevates nation and style. It now behoved to have only excited contempt in the writer, a great painter, was found.

"A young French noble, an exile of life, had seldom thought on religion, in the midst of the forests and the New World. No one returns in scenes of solitude. Himself has : after making the tour of the world, under the roof of his ancestors' habitation, M. de Chateaubriand found appeared at an hour the most favourable most brilliant and happy coincidence. Whoever has intimately studied this well aware of the important part played by various tribes: to despise it would of governing men. You have done when you have associated it to the Chateaubriand, rendered that service as marking an epoch. Look not to theology, for profound philosophy, the riches of the fathers of the church; be expected from sentiment and riches.

"At the distance of more than half a century he is already considered as posterity, and is admirable in every point of view. His reputation in the descriptive and critical tableaux, in which we are conscious in the 'natural,' have faded to some extent perusal of the '*Genius of Christianity*,' there are still found, and always beautiful, beauties of a high order, we Chateaubriand. They bear the stamp of powerful minds that have ever cured his defects have a certain character of visions of fancy; they are fleeting clouds to follow. The '*Genius of Christianity*' thus merited enthusiastic acclamation. We may be one was converted, and went to confess events, he might now go to Mass, with eyes.

"Imagination was won over to the but reason waited for something more also desired to be instructed, and to their faith to a certain limit. Oh yes

God, and against Christianity, lingered everywhere, and had acquired a certain status in the habits of the time. It was necessary to put to silence the common places of incredulity, whose echo was still noisily prolonged in books and academies; and to undertake with this view the guidance of the new generations: the accomplishment of this work of an apostle was reserved for M. Frayssinous.

"When we look back after being borne forward on the tide of years, how many things are recollected, about which compliments or passion made great noise, and of which nothing whatever remains! The memory of M. Frayssinous has risen and expanded over the dust of many a name, which once thought itself immortal. And as the works of man require to be seen, like monuments, from a distance, the labours of M. Frayssinous, after a lapse of forty or fifty years, now appear in their true grandeur.

"From the year 1801, we find him at the church of *Les Carmes*, where he became a catechist, to make known the principles of religion. M. l'Abbé Michel Clausel de Coussergues presented the objections. M. Frayssinous answered them. What a novelty in this Paris, which for ten years, had ignored Christianity! The great interest felt by the auditors, was a sufficient proof that they wished at last to emerge from the cavern of evil, the abode of every crime and every error. It was most consoling to see instruction in the Christian Faith, revived in the same place, where some years before, it had been sealed by the blood of martyrs. In 1803, M. Frayssinous was permitted to establish his conferences at Saint Sulpice, then restored to Catholic worship. At first, he contented himself with the building called the German Chapel, afterwards he made use of the church itself. It was on the 4th of January, 1807, that M. Frayssinous presented himself before this numerous audience. A brilliant assembly crowded into the vast enclosure; Cardinal Maury and the Minister Portalis, were there; the impression made was profound, the success immense. In 1809, Napoleon heaped persecutions on the illustrious and holy Pontiff, Pius VII.; it was only to be expected that he would impose silence on the conferencier of Saint Sulpice. The return of the Bourbons in 1814 again restored freedom of speech to M. Frayssinous, who continued the good work till 1822.

"Obliged to be an apologist for more than twenty years, M. Frayssinous chiefly addressed a congregation, whose cradle had rested between the temple of Reason and the scaffold. The auditors of the commencement of the century had forgotten their Christian Doctrine, his auditors of the Restoration had never learned it. From 1814 to 1822, he saw before him a youthful crowd, attracted by every thing great, desirous to raise itself to the knowledge of truth, and rejecting by an instinct of honor and moral dignity, the grovelling doctrines of the preceding century. What a delightful and befitting mission for this fervent apostle of reviving religion! M. Frayssinous was the instructor of a great number of young men, who were one day to possess considerable influence in their country; he was the lamp of their souls, and after divine grace, the father of their faith. He gave an impulsive movement to intelligence, excited courage, inspired generous designs. To him, in a great degree, is due the honor of the

religious good effected under the Restor storm of daily attacks from an anti-Cath the honor of having sown in the hearts of good seeds destined to spring up at the p stored and kept up the Christian tradition

" When M. Frayssinous took his plac prove everything, even the existence of G point of honor to convince themselves an orphans, and had been so from eternity. a new kind of discourse. He had not those who were strangers to the very eleme and philosophy; it was necessary to stoop to of his auditory. M. Frayssinous compr was a sad thing to be obliged to plead t children, as the Tertullians and Origen's c and Pagans ; but it was incumbent to mee He was obliged to establish the impotency nize the truth, and the philosophical adva ticism. The conferencier of Saint Sulpice created for truth, that there are primar duction, and that we are furnished with t And as the desire for truth does not ab deceived, the orator searched out the proved the existence of God by the univer and by the order and beauties of natur arguments of Atheism. Providence in t ality of the soul, natural law, free will soul, formed in succession the subjects c tablished the dogma of man 'owing w that this worship ought to be exterior a religious principles as the foundations o cussed the value of cotemporary testimon cles, examined the books of Moses and divine foundation in the establishment of trating to the profound depths of religio its mysteries, the fitness and utility of He cleared religion of ill-founded accusa re-produced, of wilfully false and hostile i ed the precise theological truth in dispu social power of the Catholic doctrine, an elements of the greatness, the peace, and

" It needs but to indicate this order of i tian lessons, to comprehend the importu by M. Frayssinous to the youth of Fra nineteenth century. Such a mass of fact and of proofs, shed floods of light on the rant of everything connected with religion the truth. The orator spoke with clearn vigorous and spiritual good sense. His argumentation well knit, the turn of t You saw in him an upright heart, profound

of country, horror of evil mens' doctrines, but of good will to the men themselves. He once said, 'if religion is without pity for error, as she is truth, she is full of consideration for the persons subject to error, because she is charity.'

"In citing M. de Chateaubriand and M. Frayssinous, as two mighty influences, which by different ways, favored the return to faith, we must not forget other labourers honourably united by their date to the work of reconstruction among us. M. de Bonald, caused in some degree the idea of the Divinity to take its place again in our philosophy, our society, and in the traditions of the human race; M. de Maistre attacked error in its remotest holds, with the original views of a rare genius, and the boldness of one who feels himself in possession of the truth. M. de Lamennais struck effective blows, but alas! to fall the deeper from his height of glory; and lastly, among this group of illustrious ancestors, let us find room for M. Michaud, the first Frenchman of the nineteenth century, who restored the great epopée of the Catholic middle ages, the first volume of his *History of the Crusades*, having appeared in 1808. The religious revival, however, particularly appertains to the *Genius of Christianity* and the conferences of St. Sulpice."

The above extracts are given from different portions of the life of the eminent and holy personage whose name heads this paper. We have taken no further liberty than arranging them according to time, and making them form an introduction to his history. His admission to the Society of Jesus closely followed the later conferences of M. Frayssinous, and as his subsequent career is so intimately connected with the after successful efforts of that society, he being in fact under God, its chief instrument for good in France, we may begin here to trace his heavenward route from his childhood upwards.

From the author's introduction we select a few lines.

"The perusal of this work should urge to a successful strife with discouragement. In it will be seen everything calculated to furnish strong hopes, and what constitutes the true honor of our age, the incontestible religious improvement of French society during the last twenty years. Nothing is lost when religion begins to revive, and resume her rights and her empire. Her tendency is to elevate the moral sense, true dignity, the idea of justice; and to teach us to look beyond the present hour. She is hopeful for the future, because she believes in the INFINITE, and she not only restores souls; she even aids in restoring states. As long as genuine religion shall remain free in our land, no evil can be irreparable."

The greatgrandfather of our Apostle, purchased the Chateau of Ravignan, near Mount Mersau in the *Landes* in the reign of Louis XIV; and with the castle and estate he bought the privilege of using the name, his own proper one being De La

Croix. The same gentleman owned an estate called the Gurgue, about four leagues from Bayonne, where he chiefly abode, as the Chateau of Ravignan was in a ruinous condition. The family followed the profession of arms. The father of the subject of our memoir was a Chevalier of Saint Louis under that unsalutary King the fifteenth of the name. His wife was a Saint Cérans, and a brother-in-law of his, a lieutenant in the expedition, of Lapeyrouse, died in the Philippine isles. He wore through the dreary revolution without emigrating, though at imminent peril of his life. The devotedness of his valet Dumaïne who once assumed his queue, powder, and embroidered coat; saved his life on the occasion.

On the 2nd of December, 1795, Gustave Xavier de La Croix de Ravignan was born at Bayonne, and privately baptized on the next day at the house of a watchmaker in the same town. As in the case of so many of the elect in the Old Testament, his name seems to have possessed prophetic power. During infancy he did not enjoy robust health. Afterwards, though frolicsome and lively with his playmates, he was serious when in the presence of his parents. His gravity made his family call him the young ambassador: he became one indeed, but it was to plead the cause of his fellow-mortals at the court of Heaven. His father being advanced in years at his birth, made him his close companion in all his little excursions to Bayonne and back.

In the year 1803, he conducted him to Paris, and left him under the care of the Abbé Hunot in the Rue Cherche Midi. He soon surpassed all his class-mates, and rather embarrassed his teachers by his extraordinary quickness in mastering his lessons. Even at that early time of his life, he experienced a strong devotional impulse; and performed his religious duties to the great content of the spiritual director of the school, the Abbé de Sambucy.

At the end of a-year and a-half, he was changed to a superior academy, Rue Matignon, presided over by M. Hix and three Clergymen, and affording secular and religious instruction to 250 students. The father-confessor was the Abbé Doremus, who about a quarter of a century later became the spiritual director of the Duchess de Berri. Here his progress was equally rapid. He was accompanied by his elder brother Hippolyte, who was also his god-father, and to whom he continued tenderly attached through life. We must afford space for one of his letters to his father, dated from the academy.

"Ah, dear and good papa! how I would wish to hear you call me once more your little companion, as when we used to walk together through the woods that surround the Gurgue! How happy I was at that time! Alas it is past. Let us hope that I shall one day re-visit my birth-place, which is so dear to me. How I long to see that happy day! Mean time, dear Papa, I console myself as well as I can, by sending you these letters, in which I describe what I feel." "Alas," said he in another letter to his father, "how I wish my studies were over, that I might be at liberty to embrace you, and be off to the chase with yourself and Dumaine."

His respect for the authority and advice of his parents was so great that he did not learn to ride or fence, though he delighted in these exercises, without obtaining their approbation.

"What particularly strikes us in this correspondence of his early years, is a character of a mature stamp, which early revealed itself, exhibiting a deep feeling of duty, strength, will, courage, and resolution. He is constantly pre-occupied with the necessity of doing good; he neglects nothing, but he is never satisfied with himself; though still a child, he seems sensible of a divine impulse, which prompts him to aim at perfection. One week of vacation is enough for him. At its close he commences his preparation for the opening of the classes. Endowed with a tender and sensitive nature, he endeavoured to conquer, or at least, restrain it; but, if on any solemn occasion, there was a mention of mothers, he at once sadly thought of his own; and his eyes filled with tears when at a distribution of prizes, he heard these words addressed to the children: 'Victors, your mothers will shed tears of joy at your triumphs; vanquished, your mothers will console you by their tender caresses.'

"Separation from the paternal hearth, weighed heavy on him. He sighed to re-visit his home, but then sadly reflected that a few days of happiness, would give place to the misery of a long absence. He used often to cry out, 'When shall I be able, poor child that I am, to live with my parents, without fear of being separated from them? perhaps never!' Ah! never indeed. Our greatest duties here are accomplished by the most distressing separations; and those mothers who are proudest of their sons, are often the most to be pitied."

At thirteen years of age, his parents were desirous that he should enter among the pages: but finding that generally these pages entered on a military career after a couple of years, he sought guidance in prayer, and announced to his parents, that he felt no inclination for arms, and preferred the study of law or diplomacy.

For five months before his first communion, he could not be induced to be present at a play. His preparation was probably as perfect as could be made by one of his age, where the grace received was so well aided by the most tender devotion in prayer and meditation.

"It was innocence itself, which on the 8th of June, 1806, in the person of Gustave de Ravignan, became the tabernacle of God. It was the child preserved, the child predestined, which on that day for the first time, was nourished with the bread of angels. Our poor country seldom presented at that period, a spectacle of the kind, so worthy of the regards of heaven. A first communion made by a child so stainless, was at once a benediction and the consecration of a destiny. A mysterious source of graces has been revealed to this sickly looking scholar of noble and grave mien, on whose countenance shines a tender and intense piety, and this source of grace shall never run dry. The first communion of Gustave de Ravignan, which so vividly presented the idea of an angel mingling with human beings, was the commencement of all the divine favors showered on a great life."

After five years of successful studies, he lost his father whom he had not seen since his entry at M. Hunot's academy. His vacations had been passed in the city, as in those days the idea of a journey from Paris to Bayonne and back again every year, was not to be entertained. At fifteen years and a half old, he finished his studies with M. Hix, having had for class fellows, among other celebrities, Oudenot, Alfred de Vigny, Perignon, the composer Herold, and lastly Count D'Orsay, who in after years presented to his former comrade, a Head of Christ modelled by himself.

At sixteen years of age he commenced the study of jurisprudence, taking for his guide M. Goujon, who was recommended by M. Seze, the illustrious defender of Louis XVI. His confessor was the sainted conferencier M. Frayssinous, whose labours in the pulpit were at this time suspended by Napoleon, as mentioned before. He applied himself at intervals to the study of English, German, and general reading; and might be seen praying with fervor at an early Mass, and delighting a salon in the evening by the elegance of his manners and the agreeability of his conversation; for as our author remarks "Piety in the fashionable world has no need of making faces at the company." Religion held his heart, and so exclusively, that these outward matters did not affect his deep seated piety in the slightest degree. He has occasionally said, addressing his mother, "If I have offended you in any way, I take refuge in your heart;" as St. Augustin once wrote, "If you are afraid of God, run and hide in his arms."

Inheriting by race and tradition, loyal attachment to the Bourbons, he took up arms after the return from Elba, and was in peril of his life at an engagement in the lower Pyrenees. He would not quit M. Barbarin, his colonel, who was severely

wounded, and the noble-minded but mistaken man, seeing no other means to compel his friend to fly for his life, snatched a pistol from his belt and shot himself on the spot. Gustave soon after rejoined the little body of French soldiers that were commanded by Count Etienne de Damas in Spain, and was appointed lieutenant of cavalry.

Want of space obliges us to leave out the many affectionate letters which he dispatched to his mother during these years of his youth : let our readers be assured that they were every thing that could give joy and comfort to the heart of a loving and religious minded mother.

We see prevailing in the life of the true soldier and the true saint, the same virtues of heroism, endurance, and loyalty to the cause adopted, and sometimes these virtues animating the same person in both careers, as in the instances of St. Martin, St. Ignatius, and the subject of this memoir, who will probably be one day publicly invoked among the ranks of the canonized defenders of the faith.

Gustave de Ravignan, after his brief military career, now devoted himself with more zeal to the study of the law. We extract a few lines of our author's, relative to the subject :—

"The study of law touches on what is greatest in the history of men, and conduces to the most noble occupations of the understanding. Gustave de Ravignan ceaselessly added to his information by a regular course of reading, and by the good and profitable practice of making notes of what he read. On finishing his annotations on the *Spirit of Laws*, he remarked that a valuable work might be composed as a companion, having for its title the *Morality of Laws*. It was a great and happy idea. It strongly seized on his mind, and we have proofs that the courageous young student fully intended to execute it. The notes which we have seen are those of an intrepid workman. They bear for title '*Notes on Religion, History and Laws*,' &c. . . . He did not go on with the execution of the intended work : the will was good, but time failed. He was at the age when great designs traverse the brain of those enamoured of goodness, but maturity was denied to the conception of the large design."

During parts of 1815 and 1816 his life was endangered by an attack on his lungs. His doctor recommended a visit to Cauterets, as he would have recommended any other place, but the instinct of a mother guided her to select the Eaux Bonnes in the Pyrenees, and after a short sojourn there his health seemed perfectly re-established.

In 1817 he was admitted to the office of *Conseiller Auditeur*,

being the elect out of three candidates proposed, the interest of the Duke of Angoulême, which was chiefly due to his conduct during the Hundred Days, having, it is supposed, influenced the King's choice. His first essay as a pleader dated May, 1820. The notes made on his first brief, which are still extant, exhibit great powers of reason, extensive information, clearness, and force. In all his speeches during his legal career, there was evident a serious study of the subject matter, and a rare correctness in the opening and the discussion of the cause.

On the 31st of August, 1821, he was employed in the prosecution of Cauchois-Le-Maire, for an impudent and licentious attack on the government. He conscientiously drew a distinction between license and liberty, and had the pleasure of seeing an unprincipled and mischievous writer found guilty under all the heads of the accusation.

During the vacation of Pentecost the President Amy used to assemble a select number of his friends, among whom was always found De Ravignan, at his chateau de Rosay in Upper Normandy. In the number of the invited were to be found Chaveau Lagard, the illustrious defender of Marie Antoinette and Charlotte Corday; Michaud, a collaborateur of our biographer in the History of the Crusades, and one whom he characterises as a delightful talker, a profound politician, a historian of great talent, of great knowledge, and of an upright conscience; M. Berryer, then a brilliant young advocate, and the professor Lemaire. There our future conferencier chatted, made verses, enjoyed manly exercises, and contributed more than any one to the general harmless enjoyment. One amusement alone he would not share—the card table, or gambling of any description. About this period a friend of his of an irreligious disposition, fell ill, and was watched by him with the care of a mother. He ceased not till he had the inexpressible comfort of seeing the sinner thoroughly reconciled to his God before the near approach of his dissolution.

"We elbow the crowd but it is very rare to meet a man. How few are there who live on their own proper funds! who seek their strength and greatness in themselves! The life of nearly everyone is a life reflected, re-echoed, or borrowed. They drag on a life out of doors, for inside they find nothing; they seek everything from others, and outside their own proper habitation; they borrow their dreams, their ideas, even their opinions. Gustave de Ravignan's character exhibited a sustained greatness, the secret of which is a sincere desire to do good and advance without cessation. This man of the world,

whom the world looked up to, and who stood far above its level, entertained a profound conviction of the dignity of human nature. He had considered with the eyes of faith, the divine stamp with which our nature is impressed, and it was on that account that he bestowed great care on his entire being; he carefully attended to his soul, his spirit, and even his exterior. He was not only one of the most pious of young men, there could scarcely be found one more attractive. With his beautiful regular features, and their charming expression, his superb eyes, fine curling black hair, and his clothes cut in such a good style, you might have taken him at first for a person too much wedded to the world; but with him all this was only the complement of the ideal of moral beauty. His Christian obligations were never absent from his mind; he was surrounded with attractions, yet he inspired respect; he was at once amiable and unaffectedly reserved. His gaiety never passed certain bounds; and there was in his spirit a slight tinge of irony, which he turned to the purpose of entertaining, and never allowed to offend any one."

About this period, the successive deaths of his grandmother, and of a dear young friend, with the dangerous illness of a beloved sister, sensibly affected his spirits, and probably served to turn his wishes towards the life of a Religious. We give part of a letter written soon after to his sister Pauline, who was living at the time with their mother at St. Laurent.

"I earnestly long for repose. It is as necessary to me as any other appliance for the sick; the least noise affects me. I beg of my mother to get the pigeon house or some quiet apartment in the garden readied for me. I do not like to hear any movements of outward life where I am. Without doubt it is an error, a defect, a vice: I look on it as a malady affecting the nerves, or something of the sort. I must have night and silence round me. . . . I am very much annoyed that Michael is not giving satisfaction to my mother. He does not go to confession! I will bring him with me when I go down, for I will go often myself to the Curé of the place. Adieu! pray to God for me. Cherish religion, for we have no other real good in the world; but you feel this better than I, and I love you the more for it."

He passed some happy days with his dear relatives at Ravignan or St. Laurent. The desire of entering into the ecclesiastical state had taken hold of him in a greater or less degree for some time; and his biographer is careful to assert, that no worldly disappointment, or chagrin, or affair of the heart, had the least influence on the travailing of his soul in these days. M. l'Abbe Frayssinous his spiritual director, cautioned him against a too sudden resolve. After his return from the country in 1819, he resumed his legal functions, giving thereby great pleasure to his mother, who seems always to have opposed his vocation somewhat more vigorously than strictly became

a devout Christian parent. This remark is made, not for the disparagement of the good lady, who, we hope, is enjoying at this moment the society of her blessed son in glory and bliss, but for a warning to living mothers, not to pull against the divine bands which are drawing their happy children into the refuge of Christian perfection. The rule in this matter is simple: force or persuade not your children to enter a Religious state, but do not oppose their wishes when they tend in that direction.

"Among the worldly pleasures he enjoyed, the young counsellor preferred the little reunions at his mother's. He there appeared lively, witty, and well pleased; and often at the close of one of these parties, he would request them to fix on a time for the next. He took pleasure in dancing, and often when returning from a ball, he would find fault with himself for having been so much amused. His mother would sometimes say to her daughters, 'Our dear Gustave has given up his projects; he now thinks only of that career which is opening so brilliantly before him.'

"One day in the year 1820, at a small party, the discourse turned on religion and the Jesuits. The Catholic Faith and the Company of Jesus were attacked, and Gustave de Ravignan undertook their defence. Immediately the vehemence of the assailants was directed full on the celebrated society; but our young counsellor retorted with vigour, rectifying facts, confounding calumnies, and proving the innocence of the accused. All at once, having given utterance to his historic and religious convictions, he rose up with eyes on fire, sublime with truth, faith, and confidence, and cried out, 'I will die a Jesuit.' 'Then,' said his opponent, 'you will be hunted from every place, along with them.' 'I may be hunted,' answered he, 'but I will die a Jesuit notwithstanding.' This scene, so indicative of prophetic inspiration, was never forgotten by those who witnessed it."

He was appointed substitute to the *Procureur du Roy*, 1st. August, 1821; and during the following winter he went pretty freely into society by order of his director, who wished to test the genuineness of his vocation by bringing him face to face with the attractions of the world. He no longer danced, and was often found by his family very sad in appearance. His hour being come at last, he spoke to his mother of his being obliged to take a journey which might occupy him a week or so, promising to write if he would not have returned by that time. In embracing her at his departure, he jestingly requested her not to present a petition *à la Loveday*.*

* An Englishman so called presented, a little before that time, a petition to the Chamber of Deputies, complaining that his daughter had become a Catholic, and embraced a religious state.

On the morning of the 19th of April, 1822, he entered the little seminary of Issy in the outskirts of Paris, where so many holy and learned men had tested their vocation before him. In the garden of the house called the Solitude, are two large cypresses standing like two silent sentinels, and the solitaires have a view of Paris, lying silent and untempting beyond their little world. He wrote to his mother as he had promised, asking forgiveness for not being more explicit with her, as he could not endure the sight of her grief. His director was M. Mollevaut, the superior of the house of Solitude. M. Frayssinous, on confiding him to this venerable guide, said, "when he informs me that you have received a call, I will be as much at peace as if the words came from God."

Mme. de Ravignan, in her distress, paid a visit to M. Frayssinous, now Vicar-General of Paris, and Almoner to the King. He gave her all the consolation and courage that could be obtained by looking at the separation in a religious light, and repeated more than once, "I am growing old: your son is destined to succeed me at Saint Sulpice." From a letter of her's to some lady among her intimate friends, the biographer gives his readers an opportunity to judge of the depth of the sacrifice she was obliged to make in parting from her beloved child.

He received a letter from the Procureur General, M. Bellart, in answer to one announcing his resignation of office, in which this brave defender and preserver of so many of the illustrious accused of past days, exhorted him to a most careful examination of himself before making his irrevocable choice; but such light had been already shed on his interior, that his path was as clear before him as a well beaten causeway through a marsh in the full blaze of noon. He thus addressed a friend some time after his entrance at Issy;—

"Oh, how I bless the infinite goodness of God! How was I employed in the world! In agitation, in torment, in debate; and for what purpose? Little of what was good; much of what was evil; often for nothing at all. Here, I pray; I meditate on the fundamental principles of faith; I labour for the sanctuary; and my conscience tells me, that I am of some service to my country, to my friends, to myself. Implore God that this life may endure long for me."

"Two days after this letter was written, he received the tonsure from the hands of the Bishop of Hermopolis (M. Frayssinous), whose own consecration had only just taken place. * * * It was a fine and affecting sight, such as we meet occasionally in the history

of the Church. The young man kneeling before the Bishop to receive the lowest degree of priesthood, had been since 1814, his most assiduous hearer at Saint Sulpice. He had revealed all the secrets of his soul to him for ten years; and it was by his advice that he had prolonged his stay in the world, in order that the gold might be the more purified in that world's furnace.

"After the ceremony the Bishop addressed the new cleric in words the memory of which has remained fresh in the minds of those present, and at once, claimed those rights of the Creator which men seem not willing to recognise. 'The world speaks of your sacrifice, you have made none: is it a sacrifice to quit the world for God?' Being oppressed with the duties of the times, of which he felt the weight and difficulty, he demanded of the dearly-loved Levite the assistance of his prayers. 'You are going,' said he, 'to pass long days of peace in a holy solitude: forget not those who are launched on a sea disturbed with storms, and strewn with rocks.' Touching and merciful wonders of Providence! The elect succeed each other: from one work crowned with glory, arises another work destined for a glorious future; and the mantles of the prophets are bequeathed, as in the ancient games the torches passed from hand to hand. It was in 1822, that the conferences of M. Frayssinous ceased, and it was at the same period that the orator of Saint Sulpice introduced young De Ravignan into the sanctuary. When Ambrose baptized Augustin, he was little aware that the new Christian would be the most sublime and profound doctor of our faith; but when the Bishop of Hermopolis opened the barrier to a vocation so well known to him, he knew full well the apostle that was going to arise for the glory of the Church."

His mother having gone to Saint Laurent, and being very anxious about his health, he writes to her in the most tender and affectionate style, describing his entire contentment in his present life, and mentioning that, to give pleasure to her and his other dear friends, he attends carefully to his health.

It is very probable that De Ravignan had no intention of entering the ranks of the Jesuits when he began his retreat at Issy; but there was such bitter hostility shewn to the order by the revolutionary party about the year 1822, that he became decided, even as a brave volunteer quits garrison duty to encounter the enemy where the war is actually raging. His mother having returned to Paris in November, drove to Issy in all haste to embrace her son, but he had set out on foot on All Souls' Day to Montrouge, where the Society possessed a little house, with court and garden, since 1816, the novices amounting to one hundred.* She followed him thither, and

* In 1830, they were driven from this retreat: a separate branch of *Picpus* now occupies it.

wept, and embraced, and reproached him in turn. He consoled her as well as he could ; and when he had brought some degree of comfort to her mind, he remarked with a smile, " You see, my dear mother, that you did not name me Xavier for nothing." A small portion of a letter to his mother on her Festival day (St. Catherine's), is subjoined.

" I hope you will be convinced that the most serious reflections and the most abundant grace have conducted me to Montrouge, and that you will extend your love for your son to the society of which he aspires to be a member. May our Lord, through the love of his mother, and the intercession of your holy patroness, grant you all succour to pass well through this short life, and rejoin us in Heaven ! To-morrow I will pray for you at the Holy Sacrifice. I will communicate for the same intention : this is my bouquet for your festival, prayer, and union with God. Receive them with welcome : unite your prayers with mine that you may be consoled, and become tranquil and happy."

To his brother he writes, deprecating any merit to himself in the step he has taken :—

" Once the will of God is made known to us by faith, prayer, and meditation, the man is no more himself in following the route which has been traced out for him. When you think of me, pray that I may live only to do His will, to save myself thereby, and to labour in future for the sanctification of the souls committed to my charge. Herein is no question of strength, of sacrifice : there is nothing but facility and simplicity in executing the orders of the Sovereign Master. I pray yourself and our sister to rejoice, and to think more of that Heaven to which we tend, than of this earth on which we creep. Our mother is deeply affected ; but time, grace, and consolation from on high, will change her grief into true joy. . . . I rejoice with you on the promises made for your advancement ; but think of the King of kings, who after this life will distribute grades according to our fidelity here—and that for all eternity."

Our author introduces his account of the noviciate of his young postulant by some appropriate and judicious remarks.

" That man is in possession of true peace on earth, who can sincerely say that he is doing God's will. Not to be where we ought, is the real evil, even as the real good is to be where God wishes us to be. Philosophy is of accord with religion, in teaching that on the choice of a state in life, depends our future ; and that on the well or ill resolving of this question, depends the repose of society. True order is, *Every Thing in its own Place*. Let any organ of the human body be transferred from the spot where it ought to fulfil its functions to another, and this body, whose structure is so beautiful, could no longer exist. Suppose the least detail neglected in the most wonder-

ful invention of mechanical genius ;—the machine loses its power or its surety. It is the same with societies, whose individuals are not at the posts assigned them by Providence. Terrible and frequent are the shocks we experience at times ; and if the world is not oftener thrown from its balance ; if it still holds out through such discordant and displaced elements, it is only a standing miracle of God that sustains it.

“ Before assisting at the profound labour of a soul which seeks to know God and itself, before considering the working of the constitutions which form the Jesuit, let us pay homage to the great Ignatius of Loyola, the wounded officer of Pampeluna, soldier of God and catechist of his people, founder of an institution, perfect in its first formation and never changed, father of a magnificent family of apostles and martyrs, and whose life was a prophetic image of the struggles and griefs of his posterity. All is one long combat in his genius, his means, and his object. He is roused to anger against his own person, and treats it as an enemy whom it is necessary to conquer. It is by a decided victory over himself that he will prepare to conquer the world. He emerges a new being from the grotto of Manreze ; and this unlettered man has become so learned in divine things, that he requires only thirty days to compose the *Spiritual Exercises*, a wonderful book, which has brought back so many souls into the path of order, and restored them to God.

“ These *Spiritual Exercises* are the preludes to the noviciate, among the Jesuits. There are eight days' exercises for the commencement of the noviceship, and thirty days for the third year of probation ; but they may also be used as a preface to every Christian state. It is a labour of interior purification, from which there cannot fail to issue a good and generous will for any labour to which we may have to apply. It is the grotto of Manreze for every aspirant to evangelical regeneration. Xavier de Bevilacqua lays down the *Spiritual Exercises* on the threshold of an evangelical life.”

Our author now gives a resumé of the processes by which a pious aspirant, entering on his noviciate, comes to conquer his own irregular desires and propensities, breaks the yoke of the world's spirit and customs which formerly oppressed him, resigns his own proper will, and thinks only of what may be the will of his Creator in any future action or proceeding. Aided by meditation on the mysteries of the life of our Lord, he is decided to follow where the standard of the Cross leads the way. He selects the Saviour as his captain in the war he is compelled to wage against himself, the devil, and the world. Led by a heavenly call received in prayer and meditation, he embraces the station appointed for him ; and determining to acquire, through grace, a pure and disinterested love of his incarnate Saviour, all his thoughts, aspirations, and actions will have only one object—THE GREATER GLORY OF GOD.

Hear what Xavier de Ravignan says of his experiences of the new life he is about to embrace :—

"A man tired of the world quits it; he searches for a shelter; he entertains a profound desire to take revenge on himself and his life, by labours profitable to his neighbours.

"He believes that the great evil of the age is want of obedience. Feeling the utter worthlessness of what is called independence, he thirsts to be in subjection, knowing it to be the only safeguard to man's dignity, and the assurance of true liberty, the emancipation of the soul.

"The performance of the *Spiritual Exercises* brought the light and pointed out the way. He knocked at the gate of the company of Jesus.

"What first struck him was the profound peace which prevailed in the religious abode, the silent halls, the order, the poverty which reigned everywhere, the kindly welcome given by the good brother who introduced him, the mild gravity of the father who received him. * * * He felt himself in an atmosphere breathing of goodness, of devotion, of the presence of God.

"Still on the threshold, he will know the extent of his duties in his new life, and be penetrated with its spirit.

'Are you ready to renounce the world, the possession and the hope of temporal goods? Are you ready to beg your bread from door to door, if necessary, for the love of Jesus Christ?' 'I am.'

'Are you disposed to live in any part of the world, and in any employ which your superiors may judge to conduce to the greater glory of God, and the salvation of souls?' 'I am.'

'Are you resolved to obey your superiors as God's vicegerents, in every matter where your conscience detects no sin?' 'I am.'

'Are you sincerely determined to repulse with horror, all that the slaves of worldly prejudices love and embrace; and do you feel disposed to desire and accept whatever Jesus Christ our Lord loved and embraced?' 'I am.'

'Do you consent to wear the livery of ignominy which He bore; and through love and respect for him, to suffer as he did, abuse, reproaches, and false testimonies, without having in any way merited them?' 'I do.'

The noviciate of a Jesuit lasts two years; and as the main object is to imbue him with a thorough spirit of devotion and obedience, human learning forms no part of his occupation, which wholly consists of exercises of meditation, self-denial, humility, and severity to self. A *Religious* being a man dead to the world, the agents to induce this spiritual death are merely grace, faith, persevering energy.

Xavier had probably less struggle with himself in conquering pride, self will, and bondage to the outward world, than others. He owned no attachments beyond the walls, except such as

are rendered holy by our nature with genuine zest to the low performing other menial office and the vigour of a labourer. a novice.

"The Novices rise at 4 o'clock the Holy Sacrament, which lasts followed by an hour of meditation. beds, and sweep their chamber: wards take breakfast. What are them a certain time; these are that would be performed in families by order of the time till dinner is over of a religious life, by an exercise hour, and by a recitation of verse particularly the Epistles of St. Paul mid-day, is followed by three-quarters Meditation, the recital of the Rosary the intervening time to supper.

"Once a week they have an exercise make sincere though charitable reflections of each other. On Monday pronunciation, and speaking in praise of truth or the life of a saint. On and perfect liberty of remark is allowed knowledge and temper of the catechism.

Our Novice's duty was that orders from the superiors, saw comrades (three by three) who promenades sometimes extended inactive found him a rough corner of mud, cold, heat, frost, or humility had place, no one was on his manners, but when he returned listened to as a master of tone.

"A novice without study was one's self and to know God, to have been accustomed to the rigorous per book or entering on the career what an effective and perfect preparation studies with peace of soul, that peace from the subjugation of evil propensities for truth; and as his interior light better use of the gifts of nature. a man confers additional value on passions are allowed to obscure

never in full possession of his powers. On removal from the noviciate, during which the renewal of the man was perfected, the postulant is in the most favorable disposition to receive light, instruction, and elevation of the soul. When the barrier is removed, the intelligence springs forward with delight into the field of study so long closed to it. Xavier de Ravignan found such vivid pleasures in the acquisition of knowledge, that he probably reproached himself for the indulgence.

"Study holds an important place in the apprenticeship of the company of Jesus. They devote to rhetoric and literature, the first two years which follow the noviciate; after this, three years or sometimes more, are given to philosophy, the physical sciences, and mathematics. . . . Then the Religious is reduced from the rank of master, which he had held, to that of pupil—to wit in theology. He not only studies Dogmatic Theology and Moral philosophy, but also the Holy Scripture, Canon Law, Ecclesiastical history, and the Oriental languages. To these he devotes four years and sometimes more, being subject to strict yearly examinations. This long course of study is terminated by a general examination, in which he must have three favorable suffrages out of four, in order to gain admittance to the *Profesion*.

"To a heart so truly Christian and an intelligence of such elevation as that of Xavier de Ravignan, what a world to reconnoitre and explore! in these regions of theology, where the foundations of religion are revealed, where divine truths are established in their rigorous exactitude, where the whole sublime edifice of Catholic faith expands before us. What a science is that of the Divine Scriptures! where nearly every word contains a wonder or mystery, a science not yet exhausted by the brightest geniuses, and whose whole secrets will never be penetrated by man. For him who prepares himself for combats and apostolical works, what an appropriate study is that of the history of the Church! ever pursued and ever victorious; ever reckoned among the things which have been or which have lost their power, and yet stretching from shore to shore, and advancing with its cross and its martyrs to the extreme boundaries of the universe. Who can help admiring this Church! Mother of the greatest nations and the most durable monarchies—indestructible Pillar in the midst of such a mass of ruins! Vessel constructed by the divine hand, steering with all sails spread through an ocean strewn with wrecks, and out of which, as from the ark, comes from time to time whatever is to renew the life of the world. These later studies occupied our candidate from November 1824, to July 1828.

"During the summer of 1827, he was preparing to receive sub-deaconship and deaconship, these holy bonds which will link him inviolably to the sanctuary. He thus writes to his family concerning the expected event, 13th August 1827.

"As I am informed by the superior, I will shortly have an additional consolation and a powerful means for intercession for you before God. . . . Pray all for me; and if you can obtain for me the blessing of becoming a holy priest, you shall have an abundant share of efficacious prayers and fervent sacrifices. Thus it is that God invites to himself even the most unworthy."

The most touching, tender, and edifying letters were written during these studies to his mother, brother, and sisters. The burthen of nearly the whole being, renunciation of our own proper will, cheerful acceptance of the will of the Creator, the nothingness of this short span of life except the opportunity it affords of gaining a blissful eternity, love of the crucified Saviour, and the great benefit of meditating on the mysteries of his divine life. His mother not being reconciled, even at the end of his probation, to the selection he has made, he takes great pains to shew that it would be sinful to have resisted the gently drawing grace that induced him to embrace it, and that he will shortly be of more service by using his privilege of presenting the Holy Sacrifice for her weal here and hereafter. To her he is still the loving and respectful *Gustave*, though he has long laid aside that name to all his other correspondents. He is now, in 1828, thirty-three years old, having for the last six years, renounced the world, its honors, its pleasures, and its occupations. Before enjoying sacerdotal functions in perfection, he will have yet to spend five years as professor of Dogmatic Theology.

He gave his first lectures at Acheul, near Amiens, where he had fifty novices under his charge. In his lessons he was remarkable for the luminous precision of his explanations. He allowed no turning back or starting to one side, but kept his pupils within the circle traced out by the terms of the question before them.

Passing, much against our will, his letters to his relatives, redolent of piety, consolation, and submission to the Divine will, we approach the days of July, 1830. A sketch of the general state of the Society in France for some time previous, will not be amiss at this point of our notice.

Two months after the publication of the Bull, *Sollicitudo*, of Pius VII., 6th August, 1814, which re-established the Jesuits in the Christian world, an ordonnance of Louis XVIII. authorised the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm to erect ecclesiastical schools, of which they were to appoint the heads and the teachers. The Jesuits, under the inoffensive name of *Fathers of the Faith*, answered to the call of many of the Bishops, and were entrusted with the charge of these ecclesiastical schools. Bourdeaux, Soissons, Forcalquier, Montmorillon, Amiens, and Sainte-Anne d'Auray, were the first cities in France that gave welcome to these worthy successors of

the Jouvencys and the Porées. To the work of youthful instruction they joined, as opportunity offered, the functions of home missionaries, preached, and heard confessions.

The famous congregation of which the valiant people of France were so afraid, while they ignored the very existence of republican clubs, whose hands were already on their throats, had for founder, in the beginning of the Empire, the Father Delpuits, and for director under the Restoration, Father Ronsin. While religion was acquiring something like liberty, the Abbé Legris Duval founded the *Society of Good Works*, who took the prisons, the hospitals, and the little Savoyards under their protection. The *Society des Bonnes Etudes* also flourished as a branch of the congregation. The Association of St. Francis Regis, established by a councillor of the Cour Royale, M. Gossin of pious memory, also arose to lend its aid for the effectually carrying on of the work of God in France.

"But it was the unholy mission of part of the public press of the era of the restoration, to mock, to insult, to invent evil against Catholicity under the convenient name of Jesuitism. They could not put the servants of God in the dungeon or under the axe, but they tortured them with railleries, and lying inventions. They could not expose them to the horrors of the circus; so they inflicted a daily flagellation on them before an excited public. They treated them somewhat like those early martyrs whose faces and bodies were smeared with honey, and then exposed under a burning sun to be tormented by mosquitos.

"The most blood-thirsty of their foes, could hardly avoid laughing among themselves, at the game they were playing:—men prepared to blow out the lamp of civilization and bring back the night of ignorance and anarchy! They represented them, poignard in hand, lying in wait for the lives of kings. Ah! if such were the designs of the Jesuits, their accusers would be only too willing to let them accomplish their purpose."

While the tempest was raging, the Bishop of Hermopolis, (formerly M. Frayssinous, already honorably mentioned) on 26th May, 1826, contended that French priests were authorised by the Charter to submit themselves to particular rules in community; and mentioned, without looking closely at the consequences, that eight petit seminaries were presided over by members of the Society. Many devout and generous hearts were rejoiced at the avowal; but the liberal (?) papers sounded the alarm, and proclaimed the *country in danger*. A certain Count Montlossier, wearied with a lonely chateau life in Auvergne, and wishing to hear himself spoken of, now attacked

the body in a bitter pamphlet, representing them as engaged in a conspiracy to overturn society, religion, and government. His brochure occupied the attention of the *Cour Royale*, which pronounced itself incompetent to try the question. The Chamber of Peers appointed an unfriendly commission, which referred the statement to the President of the Council. The Duke Fitzjames spoke vigorously against the views of Montlossier, and gave an instance of the wisdom he once exhibited in a plan to drive out the Jacobins, when he was an emigré during the old revolution. He collected his friends together one day, and proposed that all the Capuchins in Europe should be summoned to enter France in procession, bearing before them the Cross as their standard, and Jacobinism would cease to exist.

The Bishop of Hermopolis, minister of ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction, examined, with the firm impartiality of an historian, the praises and the accusations of which the Society had been the object for three centuries, dwelt on its re-establishment by Pius VII., and the re-entry into France of a certain number of its members under the buckler of the *Liberty of Worship*. His efforts were in vain; a majority of 130 voices above 63 resigned the petition to the President of the Council. This was in January, 1827. A year after, a commission was appointed to examine measures necessary for the execution of the laws of the realm in regard to secondary ecclesiastical seminaries. From the report of these commissioners sprung the *Ordonnances* of June, 1828, which dispersed the eight colleges mentioned, and set restrictions on the rights of *petit seminaries*. The Bishop of Hermopolis gave in his resignation; another Bishop, M. Feutrier, did not shrink from the heavy responsibility. The poor old King was obliged, against his own will, to temporize; but it is not by concessions to injustice, but by vigor, that states can be upheld. Two years after the *Ordonnances* had effect, Charles X. and his family were on their way to exile in Holyrood.

The apostles of the new order of things had now everything their own way.

"They persuaded the people, who are always ready to believe every thing but the truth, that the Jesuits were pestilent animals, whom it was necessary to extirpate from the face of the earth: and the Hercules of the people, armed with his club, appeared at the gate of the seminary of Acheul.

"On this occasion, Hercules consisted of a few hundred wretches,

who learning that the insurrection of July had triumphed in Paris, determined to have a little campaign for themselves. The band had for chiefs, three traders clad in blouses, who knew the place well, for they had been pupils at the seminary, and had always shewed themselves impenetrable to every good influence. They had never forgiven the Jesuits for their endeavors to make them good members of society. Armed with cudgels and iron bars they arrived at Acheul about midnight. They found the gate closed, but they soon broke it in, and spread through the court with cries of 'Vive la Charte! Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Enfer!'

Father Ravignan addressed them from a balcony, but he was soon struck by a stone in the forehead, and obliged to retire. The address and courage of a student, a Breton by birth, delayed the destruction of the house, till a sudden recollection of the Oratory of the Sacred Heart passed through their ignoble heads. They repaired thither, they drank, they tore the books to pieces, and committed other depredations; but the report of a little band of soldiers marching to the rescue, soon dispersed the cowardly marauders. The three gents in blouses found something the reverse of a blessing attending their subsequent career.

There being no hope of surety in a further abode at Acheul, the students dispersed, the head of the establishment dividing his *riches*, amounting to five francs a head, among them.* The masters and students in Theology appointed a rendezvous at Brigue in Switzerland, where the Society of Jesus owned a small establishment.

Father Xavier found shelter in the house of a friend at Amiens, and watched and sheltered as well as circumstances allowed, his dispersed brethern. Few of his acquaintance of old days would suspect the shabby brown wrapper, and the equally shabby waistcoat and trowsers, to be the only suit of the once finely attired Gustave de Ravignan, the successful advocate.

At the end of September, masters and pupils were assembled in their house at Brigue in the Valais, on the left bank of the Rhone, and near the entrance to the Simplon. It had once been a citadel of Buonaparte's. With the mountains keeping out the sun from the dwelling, poor Xavier suffered enough from the

* Several years later, Father de Ravignan, coming home one day after holding a conference, found himself and his little community without a dinner or the means of procuring one, an evidence of the correctness of the popular notion of the riches of the Jesuits.

cold, but never complained. Grateful for the reception they met from the Valaisans, Father Xavier and his companions collected subscriptions, and built a little chapel on a neighbouring mountain, where the dispersed families of the country round might enjoy the comforts and aid of religion. Many of the letters he wrote at this period to console and fortify his friends, are given in the biography.

"The five years of *profession* being achieved, there remained the third year of probation, the last period of profound retreat and spiritual labors before entering on the fulfilment of the different employs and ministries of the Society of Jesus. It is at once a halt and a final effort of preparation before entering on the career. . . .

'The man* destined to the apostolic ministry spent two years in recollection and silence. Then came nine years of studies and five or six of teaching. He was ordained priest, and yet has never exercised priestly functions. He is probably thirty-three years of age, and fifteen or sixteen of these, have been spent in a religious life. The Religious, the Priest now re-enters the noviciate.

"He must now for an entire year renounce human studies and exterior human relations. He must apply to himself everything that can promote a sincere humility, a general abnegation of will, and even of judgment, a subjection of the inferior propensities of our nature, a more profound knowledge, and a greater love of God, so that he may be better enabled to assist others in their progress through the same paths for the greater glory of God, and of our Lord Jesus.

"This time of holy repose which will never return, passes too quickly. I have enjoyed it, and I never can enjoy it again during my earthly probation.

'Then the great career of the *Exercices* is again measured through; prayer and meditation are prolonged. The spirit of the Institute, the conditions of the apostolate, poverty, suffering, obedience, everything that constitutes the duties of a Religious, are again studied and sounded. Some teachings of catechism to children, some missions in the neighbourhood, vary the solitude, and serve as prelude to those ministries still more dear to the heart of an apostle.

"When the year is expired, the superiors enquire into the progress made in virtue and knowledge by the aspirant, and according to the judgment entered by the Father General himself on the report, the *gradus* is given; i. e. he is admitted to pronounce the latest vows of a *Spiritual Coadjutor* or a *Professed*. These two classes are equal in rank, neither privileged beyond the other; but the latter named are entitled to assist with the superiors at the provincial and general assemblies of the order. These reunions are very rare and limited to certain cases'. "†

* What follows is from the pen of Father de Ravignan.

† From the *Existence and Institute of the Jesuits*, by Father de Ravignan.

This last period of repose and preparation was passed by Father de Ravignan at Estavayer in the Canton of Fribourg, on the edge of the Lake of Neuchâtel, where the order had a college of novices. Though seemingly inactive at the time, his mind must have been teeming with projects for the advancement of God's reign on earth.

"The Jesuit resembles a soldier ever on active service. When not on the field of battle, he is under the tent; he is always on duty, ever at his post, and dies without experiencing sickness. A learned and vigorous laborer of the seventeenth century, when advised to take some repose, exclaimed that he would have all eternity for repose. This has been for three centuries the answer of every Jesuit worthy of the name; it is the response of every one who devotes himself to the good fight, heroes of religion, apostles or sisters of charity. Man can always do more than he really effects; and it is oftentimes in the later season of life that the fairest flowers of genius spring out."

Apropos to the young ladies of several French families who were exiled to Fribourg by the glorious days of July, taking the veil in the convent of the Sacré Cœur, he said in one of his letters :

"How much do parents need to be instructed on the point of the vocation of their children! Let us never, by any means, infringe on their liberty, but by all means allow them liberty to devote themselves to God. Tender mothers, if your daughters feel a genuine vocation for a religious life, exhibit a real love, and remember that your authority does not extend to the choice of a state."

"And this prudent practice was ever followed by Father Xavier. His advice was, 'never exhort your children to the choice of a religious life: let them make a selection in perfect unrestraint. Such a wish may be felt in the secrecy of the heart, but expressed to God only.'"

During this *third year* he varied his interior studies and exercises by catechisings and missions among the country people of Champéry, Monthey, Saint Maurice, Outre Rhone, &c. He at last broke a silence of twelve years, and plunged into the work of the salvation of souls. "The time being come he made his vows of a *professed*, heard the bell of his active life ring, and never after reposed till he was received into the arms of his Lord."

The society in which our apostle was now incorporated, being deprived of the right of teaching, exercised themselves either with their novices or theological students, or on missions. In 1832, while the cholera raged, they were found at the bed-sides of the sick and dying: their house at St. Acheul was

converted into a military hospital, a spiritual retreat, that Father Faughy, in his full powers as member of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity, made on himself during the re-

"We saw enter, and take his meagre looking priest, austere in his eyes, and the marks of long watchful vigils, breathing from his face that he had not come to deliver our company, and profit of the holy mansion, and to communicate from the HOLY SPIRIT for our consolation. Consequently, there was less need of silence, and prayer; for God dwells in those souls who pray, and we witness the apostles when awaiting the Lord. We need a great tranquillity in the passions, as God, according to the souls when in a state of trouble.

"The pool of Silcé was still a troubled, it was to indicate that it was the Holy Ghost who he begged us to offer a holy violence might be endued with power. He spoke in colloquies, and kept his promise in the pulpit,* from which he never stirred, except with one arm.

"His discourses were apparently fervent, broke forth at every instant in appearance, exhibited in reality the good Religious had deceived us; He engraved in our hearts the perfection. He discovered for the interior spiritual life;—in the life He preached one of the incomparable *Saint Ignatius*. From the second consciences into complete subject his feet.

"I went to confession like the fervent. I found the prie-dieu on the tears of those who had preceded was forgotten in the unction of his penitents. 'Oh the happy fault be freed from pride.' Such

* Some continental pulpits are so preacher, liberty to walk from end to his impulses.

fancied myself for the moment, transported into the arms of the mercy of Jesus Christ. I was about to lift my head, and seriously to ask him if he was not that Saint Ambrose, who wept the sins of his penitents, when themselves showed no compunction. Incredulous souls, who might have resisted his eloquence in the pulpit, could never have resisted his cordial sympathy in the confessional.

He still asserted to us that he feared the gift of eloquence, lest it might damage the action of the HOLY GHOST in our souls. The fruits of a retreat preached by such a man may be guessed. From the silence of the house inhabited by a hundred and fifty young people, noisy enough at other times, you would say it was occupied by shadows.

"On an occasion when the Holy Sacrament was exposed, and he was consequently obliged to stand up, he spoke of the love of Jesus for all men, but particularly for those destined to continue and perpetuate his mission and sacrifice on the earth. The subject enkindled him. I have never heard such beautiful developments on a subject worthy of the meditations of an entire life. The great orator was at length revealed; and we afterwards heard without surprise, the triumphs of his eloquence.

"He quitted us at last, this man of God, from whom we no more wished to be ever separated, than St. Peter wished to descend from Thabor. But he left peace in our souls, divine grace in our hearts, and the most loving cordiality among the brothers. After his departure, the seminary appeared entirely renewed in a spirit of fervor, charity, love of the rule, and of study."

In this wise Father de Ravignan commenced his apostolical career. He went forth with the ardor of those who parted from Olivet, to subjugate the world to the peaceful yoke of the Gospel. He had left the retreat of Estavayer on the lake with an inextinguishable thirst for the salvation of souls; and his first efforts were directed to those young disciples who in time were to be at the head of those appointed to shew the way.

During the year 1835, Father de Ravignan remained at Achenl, and preached during the advent at Amiens, being his first season of public teaching. He was called on to preach during the next Lent at the church of St. Thomas Aquinas in Paris. His former acquaintances, noble magistrates and councillors, who had last seen him, some on the bench, others at a ball, others the admired centre of a salon, fourteen or fifteen years ago, dressed with elegance and refined taste, now recognised him in soutane and rochet, with forehead bald, hair short, countenance pale and meagre, but bearing the unmistakeable impress of the seal of the Divinity.

His presence was demanded at Bourdeaux for Advent in the same year. He had the happiness of joining his mother and

others of his family for some days before he made his preparatory retreat at the old chateau of Ravignan, which was now the family seat of his elder brother.

As might be expected, the accession of the citizen-king was attended by a decided indifference to religion ; but still there was a leaven of devotion among the people : they anxiously enquired was there nothing to be done ? and God sent the idea of re-establishing the Conferences at Notre Dame.

“ M. Frayssinous was no longer there. Years and adversity had passed over his head, and added to his glory ; but champions are never wanting to the good fight, and Providence bestows on them the gifts by which they are to succeed. The conferences were opened in the Metropolitan church of Paris by a young priest whose talents bore a lively, sparkling, and original stamp. He spoke, as few have spoken since orators first appeared on the earth. His object was to reconcile the people of his time to the religious idea ; and indeed he possessed every quality calculated to charm the young. Among the enemies of Christianity might then be encountered writers, whose style and imagination were adapted to mislead ; but the young orator proved himself more attractive still than these fantastic and erring seducers. They accused Christianity of hating liberty :—the young orator, formerly editor of *L'Avenir*, himself animated by a love of liberty, which he could scarcely keep within bounds, recalled to their minds that without the Gospel there never would have been any liberty for the people ; and repeated that if Christianity disappeared from the world, it would sink back into servitude. The Christian, on coming out of Notre Dame, found himself newly armed ; the unbeliever found himself obliged to reflect, and moderate the expression of his contempt. The Abbé Lacordaire, having gone on a visit to Rome, a successor was needed at Notre Dame : the illustrious Mgr. de Quelen nominated the Abbé De Ravignan.

“ Our *Religious* appeared for the first time in the pulpit of Notre Dame in the Lent of 1837. . . . Every look was fixed on the noble and austere countenance, which presented nothing of the world, but on which appeared, as if engraved, long habitudes of meditation and penitence. Before commencing, the preacher took a few moments of recollection, which infused a deep feeling of respect into the souls of his auditors : then he made the sign of the cross at the full extent of his arm, emblematic of the fullness of his faith ; and his first words, in the lull of a profound silence, had the effect of music in the vast nave. As the preacher advanced in his discourse, the audience became more and more subjected to his strong and calm convictions. They remarked the perfection of his diction and gestures, and no one dared to think it was art : they felt themselves in presence of an apostle. There was in his appearance such authority, and in his words such eloquence, that those present felt themselves as much influenced by what they saw as what they heard. But the word he spoke was truth itself. A great orator

had shewn himself without at all resembling his predecessor, and his deeply affected auditors repeated in whispers, 'He is a man of God.' Such was he the first day, and such they found him during the ten years of his holy career at Notre Dame. He retained the auditory of Father Lacordaire, and increased it by individuals from the highest ranks of French society, desirous of bringing order into their mode of life. They crowded to these Sunday conferences as to festivals. The understanding sought light, the heart repose, and the souls who aspired to ascend to God, laid up a provision of courage. The privilege of occupying a little space in the nave was not considered dear though purchased by long hours of waiting. Father Xavier, addressing himself to the nobler part of man, excelled in laying hold on his sense of honor, and when he became a Christian, he entered into possession of the most noble portion of himself."

The conferences lasted from 1837, to 1846 inclusive. M. Poujoulat gives a resumé of the subjects, p. p. 237 to 281 of the volume. As might be expected, they contain the essence and proofs of Catholic doctrine, and the full relations and duties, during this life, of a devout soul to its Creator. Our space would afford but the most meagre outline of matters, the full development of which is worthy of the most attentive perusal. We direct the reader's serious attention to the original, giving a few extracts taken almost at random.

"The man without Christianity will become an idolater, a worshipper of brute force : to say that there never was idolatry, is the same as to wish that it should still exist. Put away from before your eyes these temples, these idols, these names of impure divinities, and all the sombre veils of antiquity ; pierce these clouds studded with errors, and what will you find in the heart of the idolater ? —the same thing you would find in the individual of this present day —man like unto himself where he is destitute of faith. * * *

"One day a tree was felled in a wood ; it was hewn and fashioned. This time it was not to be made into a god ;—no, it was for something better. A man laden with griefs, ignominies, outrages, condemned by the cowardice of a prevaricating judge to an ignominious death, was to carry this cross. He took it on his shoulders ; spent with fatigue, he dragged it to the top of the hill. There, his garments are torn off him with violence ; he is fastened, nailed to the wood ; the cross is fixed in earth, it stands upright ;—the world is regenerated, changed, instructed for ever :—vain thoughts of men, where are you ? * * Men believe that to subvert the world, brilliant armies and powerful geniuses are needed :—No, facts prove the contrary. Livid and bruised flesh, blood gushing forth with violence, a crown of thorns, an infamous and cruel death, a cross of wood :—Lord, behold your arms and the instruments of triumph prepared for the conquest of the universe. And all the stones of this temple were hewn, and chiselled, and set in their places, to do

homage to this truth. See the cross at the end of the sanctuary exalted above the altar: it says, 'this temple was built for me.'

"Statesmen have no fear of a church or religion which calls itself Pagan, Arian, Greek, Turkish, or Anglican. Catholics fear only their own church, and all separatists are equally in fear of it. Why so? Because elsewhere the church and state are one; i.e., the church is submissive to the state; and this can never be the situation of the Catholic church. Its origin, its laws, its authority, its faith, forbid the fact. To fear and hate the priest and his mission, is to fear and hate the Gospel: history has well proved it. The Catholic church is the superior power which combats man's inferior propensities, and therefore he loves it not. He begins to love it when he shows a submissive spirit. But to believe, it is needful to be courageous at heart. The Church is a great school of reverence, it is also a great school of courage.

"One of the most useful of the conferences was the explanation of this dogma, *Out of the Church there is no salvation*. It enlightened the consciences, and disarmed the oppositions and prejudices of many. No one after hearing the exposition, ventured to say, that an error held in good faith would be punished by damnation. They learned 'that a genuine desire of the heart to belong to the true Church, would be sufficient in the eyes of God. *Himself alone is judge of the sincerity, the reality of this desire.*' So the Protestant in good faith, who sincerely believes himself in the way of truth, shall be saved, if he has not committed, without amends or repentance, any of these grave offences which exclude from salvation.

"An impossibility of distinguishing the church, which produces invincible ignorance, is not in itself a cause of damnation: the church has so defined against Baius, in proscribing that impious doctrine.

"That which brings condemnation is, voluntary and culpable error: this is the error which puts you out of the pale of the church, and excludes you from salvation. It is necessary to seek the Truth in sincerity. Comprised and defined in this way, the principle has nothing intolerant or cruel in it. We must beware of positively affirming the reprobation of any person in particular, whatever may have been his religion, his country, his era, his conduct even. At the last instant of life, on the threshold of eternity, mysteries of divine justice are doubtlessly wrought in the soul, but they are accompanied by the higher mysteries of mercy and love.' Beautiful and compassionate words! inspired by a profound feeling of the goodness of God, and the weakness of man.

"Must Catholic faith be accused as exclusive? Exclusive unity is the very character of Truth itself: it essentially excludes the False. Religious truth is one because God is one. Still the Catholic church condemns resistance to *known truth only*.'

"Some months before his death, the man of God addressed these lines to a venerated friend, 'I have just revised my *Conferences*. These poor *Conferences* are not written: I do not know how to write. After my death it will be judged whether there is anything in them worth publishing.' But these *Conferences* will, we hope, be published; and it will then be seen that the study of them will be

judged eminently profitable. There will be discovered in them, a sound and well defined theology, solid information, well knit argumentation in the style of Bourdaloue, a turn of phrase lively and concise as the word of command, a certain military fashion of imparting doctrine, modified by the piety and mildness of the tone.

"Another pencil than ours shall finish the portrait of the orator of Notre Dame. 'He has studied in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, science remarkable for its light, but still more remarkable for its heat; and so, although he knew well enough how to convince, he knew better how to convert. His knowledge, full of unction, blazed only to warm. Flashes of flame issued from his mouth which penetrated to the inner folds of the heart. He knew well that heat penetrates farther than light; one can only brush and gild the surface, while the other pierces the very entrails, thence to extract desirable fruits and inestimable riches. It is this general warmth which gave such divine efficacy to his saintly lectures. He has restored religion to the heart of society; but do not suppose that he made use of disguise to render her more agreeable in the eyes of worldlings. He presented her in her natural garb, with her cross, her crown of thorns, her estrangement from the world, and her sufferings.' These are the words of Bossuet: in painting St. Francis of Sales, he most accurately represented Father Xavier de Ravignan."

On the 17th February, 1839, he had for listener his former preceptor and guide, Mgr. Frayssinous, now an aged man with white hair, and a venerable countenance, whose benevolent expression never yielded to the rudest trials. Allusions were made by the preacher to the former efforts of the good old bishop, and his own obligations to him. At the end of the discourse all eyes rested on the former conferencier, and a murmur of admiration and pleasure arose from the congregation. It will be recollected that the preacher received the tonsure from his auditor, 11th June, 1822, just seventeen years before.

For four years had Father Xavier held his conferences in Notre Dame, and the result seemed to himself only the conversion of a very small number of souls. He judged that a large proportion of his hearers came to see and be seen; and that if religious principles were admitted, they were not followed up to their legitimate conclusions. A bold idea took possession of him—he would have a retreat for men during holy week at Saint Eustache. The success was great. Next year the retreat was held at Notre Dame. Being once established there was no falling off, but an increase in numbers and zeal from year to year; the retreat in fine was the crowning of the conference.

Three or four times a day the good father addressed his

flock, and in the intervals was found in the confessional of the establishment Rue des Postes, or that of Rue de Sevres, or in a room off Notre Dame. His residence was in Rue de Sevres, and many a time during the few hours allowed for sleep, was he wakened up for the consolation of some untimely, or wayward, or impatient penitent. Scarcely would he have laid down his head to get a few moments' rest when steps would be heard in the corridor leading to his cell, and a new intruder be introduced.* He would be received as cordially as the rest, and having cleared his bosom of its "perilous stuff," and received divine instruction and consolation, he would soon be repacing the corridor to give place to some other restless spirit.

"A day came when the servant of God forgot all fatigue, and in his new found bliss, hardly seemed to touch the ground: it was the day of Paschal communion for the men. Who does not recall the seraphic radiance of his countenance, when on Easter morning he offered the holy sacrifice, and then, in concert with the Archbishop of Paris, distributed the BREAD OF ANGELS to these thousands of Christians! Those were the days of great consolation—his happiest days in fact. For two centuries France had not afforded such sights. There men of all ranks and all ages advanced in crowds to the altar, with arms crossed and eyes cast down, in an attitude of recollection, of dignity, and of strength, to receive under the veiled appearance of bread, the Incarnate God, who in the preceding century was openly outraged at the same place. It was a memorable event, and for sixteen years it has been annually renewed with increased blessings. A nation cannot be near its fall, when it can present to the world such cohorts armed for the good fight; when it can produce such an instrument for the salvation of souls as Xavier de Ravignan."

During the ten years of the conferences, Father Xavier had his spare time sufficiently taken up by retreats, Advent lectures, charity sermons, &c. in the various cities of France. One sermon

* One of the Protestant traditions (an expression borrowed from the *Rambler*) is the state of slavish subjection in which the Catholic laity is kept by their clergy. We wish that a convincing Protestant would accompany us some week morning to the church of . . . He would then see the benevolent Father P. obliged to make three long weary rounds of the sanctuary rails to administer the Holy Communion to about sixteen or twenty people, when a quarter of one circuit would have been more than sufficient, if it pleased those *slaves* to consider his convenience for a moment. This, and various other modes of "ingeniously tormenting" their spiritual fathers by unthinking and selfish Catholics, have decidedly convinced us that, compared with a really devoted Priest, the worst used of Mrs. Stowe's negroes may be considered a free, enlightened, and inquisitive Citizen of Boston.

for the construction of a church in Switzerland produced 10,000 francs. Along with the whole church in France, he mourned the loss of Mgr. Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, who passed to his rest, 31st December, 1839.

It was in 1840 that the circumstance occurred of himself and his community in the Rue des Postes being obliged to go without a dinner, while writers after M. Guizot's heart were proclaiming the endless riches possessed by the body.

In 1841 he lost a younger brother; the same year he was invited to Rome. He preached during the advent at the church of Saint Louis of France, and afterwards held a retreat at the church of Caravita. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul was established the same year at Rome, and a few days after the retreat at Caravita, occurred the miraculous conversion of M. Ratisbon the Jew. The reception of Father de Ravignan by Pope Gregory XVI., was what might be expected; his pontifical blessing was given to the work of the conferences.

During the lent of 1843 he received news of his mother being dangerously ill. The retreat and confessions kept him away from her death bed :—This was part of his last letter to her.

“ I am in deep affliction for being prevented by the duties imposed on me by God himself from joining my brother and sister in their tenderness and cares for you. The Lord has sent you new and sharp sufferings : Oh, how I wish for power to bring solace for them ! At least I can offer each day, at the sacred altar, the holy sacrifice of the Mass for my good and tender mother. The blood of our Lord Jesus will intercede for you better than I can. It will obtain for you the graces of resignation, strength, and confidence, which are so necessary for us all. Ah, yes ! confidence in the boundless goodness of God. Receive my most tender and profound respects.’ This letter was written in large characters, so that the poor dying mother might be able to trace out the lines written by her son. It was signed *Gustave*, to give her still greater pleasure. The first moment duty permitted, he hastened to Bourdeaux, hoping still to see his mother alive. He found but her cold remains, and could only pray by her coffin. He followed to the tomb, her who had so lovingly watched his cradle, and whose life, dashed with bitterness, had been one long act of maternal devotedness.”

When the monopoly of the university in public instruction began to be assailed, they made (as our author remarks) powder out of Jesuitism, and scattered it on the charter, to prevent its rights being read out. A shower of pamphlets fell round the order, and in 1843, the evil passions of its enemies had infected the chamber of deputies. During the storm an eminent lawyer, M. de Vatimesnil, gave this as his opinion :

"The law has only to ascertain if men living in a common dwelling, and occupied about religious objects, contravene the article 291 of the penal code. When it is proved that there is no infraction of this particular article, the law takes no cognizance of their belief or of their rules. The members of religious associations do not form a legal corporation; they are only individuals living together, united by a purely civil contract or quasi contract, and subject to a common rule. No doubt but religion looks on the matter in another light, but human law can only consider it from this point of view."

Such was the veneration among all classes for Father de Ravignan, and such the good, it was considered, he could accomplish, that a friend thus addressed him—"Write something to explain what a Jesuit is, and say that you are a Jesuit yourself." The working out of this idea required a certain intrepidity, the very quality he possessed in perfection; and therefore it offered a greater charm for him. He published *The Existence and the Institute of the Jesuits*, and in a pamphlet shape, the letter of M. de Vatimesnil, with a brief on the legal status of unauthorised religious institutions in France; both productions bore his name on title-page.

From the introduction we quote a few passages.

"Prudence has its laws, its limits. In the lives of men there are circumstances, where precise explanations become a duty to be strictly fulfilled. * * * I am a Jesuit, that is, a member of the company of Jesus. This declaration I owe to myself, to my ministry, to my brothers in the priesthood, to the youth intrusted to us, to the faithful who honor us with their confidence; I owe it to the Church of God. * * * Before I became Priest and Jesuit, I was a man of my time—a Frenchman, I am so still. In becoming a *Religious*, I did not intend to abdicate my country, nor to violate her laws, nor renounce the rights or duties of a citizen. * * * Has the charter proclaimed liberty of conscience—yes or no? Is evangelical perfection a right of conscience—yes or no? Well, the Religious state is Evangelical perfection in practice. I ask, by what right then do you prevent me from being a French Benedictine, Dominican, or Jesuit? I do not demand public and recognised existence, nor the smallest portion of the revenue of the state; I simply ask to breathe the free air of my country; I claim the privilege of making vows, and of observing in community with my brothers, rules approved by the Catholic Church. And in what respect, may I ask, does my liberty interfere with yours, or interfere with any one's? * * * What words coming from our mouths, have compromised public tranquillity or respect due to the laws? And yet from more than two hundred pulpits have our words gone forth in the most populous cities, in the most humble hamlets. If the sun shines for all the world, must justice and common sense extinguish their lights when we are in question?"

"Our author asks, 'why have those pages so affected us, and; why

does it appear so sad, that they should have to be written at all, and why does the accused appear so immeasurably superior to his accuser? It is because the language we have just heard, is that of innocence in the face of injustice. Innocence and truth have the same destiny on the earth—one meets injustice, the other calumny. Sisters from the beginning of the world, they have ever found fallen man their enemy, but neither has ever been totally crushed. Struck down to-day, they rise to-morrow, in twenty years, in a hundred years. What matters the number more or less? And this is the secret of the indestructible duration of the Society of Jesus."

The Existence and Institute of the Jesuits consists of four chapters. The first includes a précis of the *Spiritual Exercises* with a sketch of the "four weeks" employed in recollection, and in purifying and elevating the soul. The second is taken up with the constitutions of the Society, which Richelieu called the master-piece of genius. It treats of the noviciate, the studies, the third year of trial, the different ministries discharged by the order, the government of the society, and the vow of obedience. "A divine light is shed on those things never mentioned by the irreligious and prejudiced except as gloomy mysteries. It is as if the Society had opened all its doors and gates, that the world might inspect its spirit and discipline at its entire convenience." In this second chapter is also given the daily employment of a day by a Religious of the order; and our author hints that many among the detractors of the Society would probably feel a little embarrassment about publishing a *true* journal of an ordinary day in their own lives.

The third chapter is entitled *Doctrines of the Society of Jesus*. Father de Ravignan shews in this chapter that the Society entertains no peculiar opinions, but follows those universally received, particularly those enlarged on by St. Thomas; and that in open questions, there is thorough liberty to individuals to adopt either side without blame.

"The Jesuits have no peculiar doctrines; but every religious body has a spirit peculiar to itself; and the company of Jesus forms no exception. Its proper spirit is, zeal for the salvation of souls, defence of truth, and the propagation of the holy reign of the Gospel. In theology and philosophy it has a decided tendency to guard the rights of rational liberty and of reason; and therefore it has ever battled against the doctrines of Luther, of Calvin, and of Jansenius. * * * The glory and very life of the Church is its Apostolicity: the Jesuits are essentially Missionaries. Their first mission arrested Protestantism in Europe; and as Fenelon said in one of his finest sermons, 'the company aided by the Portuguese, opened for the church at its birth, a new road to the Indies.'"

In the enumeration of the successful results of the missions of St. Francis Xavier and others of the body, occur the words spoken to Philip V. by the bishop of Buenos Ayres: "Sure, among these numerous tribes composed of Indians naturally prone to every kind of vice, there prevails such innocence, that to the best of my belief, no mortal sin is committed by any one."

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the subject of missions, and is written with great freedom, brilliancy, and convincing force; and at the conclusion, an appeal is made to the good feeling, common sense, and common justice of his countrymen.

The chamber of deputies were as insensible to the influence of the work, which, by the way, ran through several editions in a few months, as the ears of Esop's ass to the melody of the nightingale, or as our own Commons are to mere logical argument, when they have decided to vote for or against ministers. In May, 1845, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of M. Berryer for the cause of good faith and mere justice, the majority confided to the government the care of seeing the laws executed.

The unfortunate Executive did not well know how to set about the ungracious task of dispersing the dreaded though unresisting community.

"The cause of the Jesuits had assumed a name and a countenance—it was entitled 'Father Xavier de Ravignan.' The Government stood in his presence, and not before nameless phantoms. The prime-minister said to him: 'A great storm is blowing—I will meet it—I have spoken to the King—to the council—we cannot be guilty of such gross injustice—no measure has as yet been resolved on; we will let the flood go by.' . . . The court opened a negotiation with Rome. . . . The Pope felt it his duty not to submit to the demands of the government; and Father de Ravignan thus summed up the state of matters 12th July, 1845—'The Holy See has made no concession; the Father General believes it our duty to submit; and we will probably be obliged to disperse, and live here and there in little groups of threes and fours.'

"And this was the great victory achieved:—a community of poor priests instead of living together under the same roof, were obliged to separate and seek asylums, where two or three might live together unmolested. Humanity might fearlessly resume its march of glory, and the great of the earth enjoy untroubled sleep."

In February, 1845, he had to sympathise with his brother Hippolyte for the loss of his beloved wife. After the Lent of 1846 he found his constitution much shaken, but he continued

to discharge his missionary labours, visiting Toulouse, Avignon, Metz, Nancy, Lyons, Bourdeaux, and other cities.

We find him at the Eaux Bonnes in 1847, when he fancied he was recovering some of his old vigor. From his retreat at Vals, in August of the same year, he wrote a letter to a friend, from which we select a few extracts worthy of the serious consideration of the heads of families.

God has assigned to Christian fathers and mothers, the important mission of preparing and assuring, as far as in them lies, the future welfare of their children. The essential point is, that these children should, before God, be strongly convinced of the necessity and duty of occupation and labor. My soul is sad, my heart afflicted, when I reflect that at this present day, and under the circumstances of the times, when every man, every Christian is called by God to fight for the good and the true, young persons do not arm themselves with zeal and courage to exercise a useful influence some day, and to exhibit in a sickly state of society, qualities of probity, devotedness, zeal, honor, faith. Ah! I beg of you to animate and urge on your sons in this good career."

In 1845, M. de Montalembert offered hospitality to Father Ravignan and his companions, when they were deprived of the right of living in community *in the name of the laws of the realm*. The invitation was not accepted, but the offer was gratefully remembered in connexion with the other struggles of that intrepid combatant of the Church.

"'Let me return you,' wrote Father de Ravignan on the 10th of July 1846, 'the most hearty and enduring thanks in the names of the objects and persons most dear to me. May God sustain, preserve, and recompense you. Beautiful and rich will be the crown reserved for you in heaven.' When the vigorous and eloquent pamphlet on the *Duty of Catholics* appeared, no one did such ample justice to the author as Father de Ravignan. These devoted and generous pages produced in him the most profound emotion. He wrote to the Count on the 22nd of July, 1845: 'Rising from prayer, and sitting at my writing table, it seemed to me while reading your lines as if I was praying still. I return thanks to our all good and all powerful Lord for having raised up such a great soul for the defence of the liberty of the Church.' M. l'Abbé Dupanloup, afterwards consecrated Bishop of Orleans, being in Rome a little after the election of the present Pope, heard from the lips of Pius IX. the most cordial testimonies to the services of M. de Montalembert. Father de Ravignan deeply enjoyed this act of just gratitude rendered from so high a quarter to his worthy and religious friends."

A meeting of the Society being held in Rome in the winter of 1847, he journeyed thither at the suggestion of M. de Montalembert, backed by the advice of his medical attendants. He

felt the brewing of the coming spirits to the Count on the st Company of Jesus being called faith, he answered :

“ Our Institute recognises acts Gospel or the Church recognises Christ's apostles for all places, for forms of Government. We keep our entire policy, and God forbid:

Our good father was receive saintly Pius. He returned to ruary, 1848, that being the po Father General. For some of bances in June and the death refer to the original.

Our author taking up the su education at this point, gives a Church and State in France or tion, when neither the universi sive monopoly of public instr about rebuilding society out of he considered it essential that na on the precepts of the Catholic the chief directors from amc change occurred during the yea 1830 to 1837 there was nothi in favor either of the Universit the struggle went on, the Abbé the University, and maintainin allowed a share in the importai youth. From the *Religious P* 1845, we extract a passage in speak in the exact spirit of its i

“ In the old Pagan times the ju ‘ Seeing that you are Christians, y our present rulers say to us, ‘ You a cease to be French citizens. * * * I tian, than an ordinary Priest, if y We banish you from your own pro that you be a Christian, aye, even perfection only. Whoever passes t a citizen by us. As you despise the tions after a heavenly country, it is

enjoyment in this world, except under all the conditions and restrictions we choose to impose. We give you full liberty to breathe the common air, to practise meditation at your leisure, as long as the law takes no offence. In a word, your country must be considered in the light of a way-side inn, not a family abode. A home, citizens' rights, rights of nature, native country, none of these things are for *Perfect Christians*. They may seek them elsewhere if it please them."

Catholic exertions for the liberty of religious education required a central point of action. Father de Ravignan turned his earnest attention to the matter, and a committee was organized in 1844. A great deal of good was done by the publication of Episcopal charges, and other useful writings; and additional service was rendered to religious liberty by M. Le Baron Cauchy, who in a work on the religious orders, gathered into the compass of a few pages, all the claims possessed by the Jesuits to the respect and gratitude of the Christian world. But strange as it may appear, it was not till after the proclamation of a republic in 1848, that the good object was attained.

The Abbé Dupanloup was associated in the prosecution of the great work, with no less a name than M. Thiers. Our biographer gives all due praise to the diligence and devotedness of this remarkable man in the new phase of his public career; but the reader feels that he is surprised at the zeal of one whose antecedents were such as the world knows well enough. One expression of the Abbe's during the discussion is worth recording.

"With the pretended right of the State to fashion childhood and youth to its own image, he was well content, as long as it called itself by the name of St. Louis, but what would be the result, if the name of the State for the time being, happened to be Sardanapalus or Proudhon?" Father de Ravignan had said early Mass for his friend, on the day when this pious and valiant defender of Religious liberty, weighed down by private sorrow at the time, was to speak on such a momentous subject. 'God has assisted me,' said he with humility, on passing out of the assembly."

On the 15th of March 1850, the liberty of religious instruction was established, after a ten years incessant struggle.

The most fervent piety and most strenuous and unflinching exertions for the promotion of God's kingdom on earth, could not exempt Father de Ravignan from family sorrows and trials. His sister lost her husband Count Excelmans by a violent death, and was bereaved of her daughter soon after. His brother followed the remains of a beloved wife and daughter to the tomb within a short space of time. He gave all the consolations

tion that could be drawn from
vours, but his own tender disposi-
losses and the affliction of the

In the Lent of 1850 he appeared
to lead the conferences, for he
any length, but to hold a retr
voice strengthening, he lent
charitable work that solicited
London during the great exhibi-
of Cardinal Wiseman.

"Bossuet writing to Lord Per-
who was converted to the Catholic
said, 'You must now be aware, at
the tender love which I feel for E
of all the saints who have flourish-
which has produced such excellent
times I have longed for the opportu-
ation of that great island, for which
cease to ascend to Heaven.'"

Our unworldly father looked
the Crystal Palace, only as a gossamer
matter; but said he in a letter

"There is something better in
serious movement towards the Catho-
deed, but it is very evident and manifest
I believe that one element of the progress
taken by young men of birth in the
the past are still here in full vigour
law, the constitution. The land is
ful. Meanwhile they speak of the
middle class.' . . . He gave
of May and June, and the French
removed to a concert room. His
many errors and calumnies heaped
given up to worldly enjoyments, and
of our priests, was astonished by
liged to feel in presence of the
sanctity in which he was enveloped
argument, or the most powerful of

In the early part of 1852, he
of death; and the doors of the
was constantly beset by people
ers of such an earnest multitude.
May we find him convalescent
tations from his medical adviser, I

rest. Like every fervent soldier of Christ he naturally regretted the loss of the forces necessary to carry on the holy war, but devout submission still kept him reconciled to God's good appointments. On the 9th of September, the first festival held in honor of blessed Peter Claver, he wrote a long letter to his old attached friend, Mgr. Dupanloup, lamenting his inability to be present at the happy solemnity.

In June, 1853, he attended the meeting of the Society in Rome for the election of a successor to Father Roothan, lately deceased. Some votes were given for himself, but Father Beekx was elected. The quasi-liberal journalists of Turin could not let such an opportunity pass without spreading mis-statements and lies respecting the election ; we extract in preference, some lines from Father de Ravignan to Count Montalembert, dated 1st August, 1853.

" There was neither a French party, an Italian party, nor a Belgian party ; not a shade of division nor of ill-feeling. We endeavoured to sound the dispositions of those judged worthy to fill the office of Father general. Prayer and peace have preceded every move, and have brought about the happy result. Our choice was decided a month ago, and we are now labouring for the perfection of the rule, and for the accommodation of ourselves to the exigencies of the times, and for the consolidation and increase of the good we hope yet to do. Aid us to thank Heaven for the concord that reigns amongst us, and for the entire liberty we enjoy in settling every matter according to our constitutions. The sovereign Pontiff has been much pleased with the election of Father Beekx. He has spoken to me at large on the state of the Church in France. He can well appreciate all the good that has been done ; he mentioned the Bishop of Orleans in a manner most gratifying to my feelings."

The father expresses most feelingly in the suite of this letter, the deep gratitude felt by the father of the Society and all its members to the Count, the strenuous defender of their rights, and of the general liberties of the church.

It must have afforded Father de Ravignan great consolation (let not this be mistaken for gratified spiritual pride or vanity.) to have been the instrument chosen by God in effecting so many tardy conversions. A young woman once presented herself at the parlor of the house Rue de Sevres, and though the father was occupied, and several obstacles came in the way, she persisted, saw him, acknowledged to not having ever received Baptism about which she had heard him preach, persevered in her good purpose, and became a fervent Christian.

An old actress sent for Father Ravignan in her last illness,

acknowledged that she knew not but that she had heard him once attention, that during her presence minded of him, and was urged send for him, that she supposed grace, and that she wished to become a true penitent indeed, even and even desired their continuance expired after severe sufferings, face; her pious decease was a father confessor.

He devoted much of his late the house of the Sacred Heart, of his voice prevented him from ladies of the Faubourg St. Germain sharp look out for tickets as the 1851, being disagreeably affected of negligence prevailing in the forth to his high bred audience complimentary.

“He spoke to these ladies of their toilettes, of their expenses, of their daughters, of the reading of where nothings succeed to nothing sense of back-biting. So pass their useful employment. A severe reform for time is given us to obtain toilettes! with what sadness of heart their luxury and their style of dress delicacy of expression he knew he ‘Ladies, how are you attired? Sit just like—Truth herself.’ He also might have suited Pagan times, but

“Do you suppose, ladies, when found faded at the end of these days are not equally faded?” The holy little watchful over the faith and in many a queenly brow was bent to subjects he pointed out the abyss opened by lavish expense. He produced a statement in which he proposed the sin of your debts?” He laid his hand on the lifted veils which concealed the card. In consequence of the good impression in the evening reunions, the kerchief

the *Ravignans*. About two hundred years before, modesty warned and corrected, had imagined the *Bourdalouses*.”*

Our author next gives an outline of the course of instructions imparted during these retreats at the *Maison du Sacré Cœur*, to which we direct the careful attention of the devout in or outside the cloister. It is followed by sundry letters of comfort, encouragement, and direction to some individuals who had particular claims to his attention. To those dispirited souls who seemed to have no worldly comfort in their future prospects, he pointed out the long series of suffering and endurance borne by our Crucified Redeemer, and the mere reasonableness of our being prepared to bear his cross during this short scene of trial, that we may then enter into the participation of his glory.

Father Roothan shortly before his death, had enjoined it as a duty on Father de Ravignan to write a history of the Pontificates of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV. We will touch slightly upon the subject of the work, regretting our all too narrow space for the treating of this and other deeply interesting subjects.

In 1761, Voltaire writing to Helvetius made use of the well known horrible expression springing out of his hatred to the Jesuits for being the foremost champions of Christianity.

“Infidel Philosophy, in order to destroy the Christian religion, had enrolled Jansenism in its ranks, on account of its fixed determination to destroy the Society of Jesus. The Jansenists, occupied with their own proper quarrel with the Jesuits, little thought of the disturbance they would cause in the moral order by extinguishing them ; but the Philosophers were fully aware of the vacancy that would spread round the banner of Catholicism, when that wished for consummation would take place. St. Alphonsus de Liguori called the Institute of St. Ignatius, the bulwark of the Church of God, and Voltaire and his school were of the same opinion. Twenty thousand Jesuits scattered through the world as instructors of youth, directors of souls, preachers, writers, apostles of civilization, and martyrs at need, bathed the earth with their sweat and blood. . . . The order never required reformation. Lord Bacon applied to the members the words of an Ancient, ‘being such as you are, would to God that you were ours!’”

* Oh for a month of Father de Ravignan once more ! at Notre Dame, St. George's, Southwark, or St. Francis Xavier's, Dublin, to moderate the dimensions of hoops, or trundle them into the Liffey or the Red Sea.

The most terrible catastrophes of minds without faith, and the forty years before the Revolution the Kings, their hands to their own destructive wicked kings, were found ministers prompt to work it. Choiseul in France and D'Aranda in Spain, and Talleyrand of innovation, and rejoiced.

"Pombal, one of the most odious of the destruction of Catholicity in monstrous accusations against the proofs, without trial, without any tyrannical measures by the cruel Pombal, finding them intractable, demanded their expulsion from the Parliament. Charles III. of Portugal, influenced by an atrocious calumny, and his own legitimacy were compelled for their banishment. Six thousand breviaries and a change of clothes by a barous precipitation. Naples, Palermo the evil work. Pope Clement XII years was one scene of struggle and Portugal in the words of Scripture 'gray hairs of your father, and do not shorten his life.' At the approach of the danger be firm in defence of the interests to co-operate with him."

All except three did their duty. In its decree in 1762 the Pope in the name of parliament null and void. Head of the Church to be silent after the impudent proceedings. Bull, *Apostolicum*, was condemned. Bishops of France gave it their dressed vigorous reclamations to the scribed company.

Clement XIII. at bay before Naples, declared to the Assembly of his predecessors, he preferred the cause of Religion and the Church to reply, but ordered the doors to the conference. The occupation of Ponte Corvo, did not turn him from this heroic determination though who ought to have shewn them

ful children, and oppressed with the infirmities of age. He was released by death from his sufferings, and his hapless successor, Clement XIV. was required, as the dreaded sons of St. Ignatius were now expelled from four kingdoms, that he should banish them from the world entire—extinguish them altogether. For four years he temporised; he lived from day to day hearing nothing but injunctions and threats; and after every sleepless night, he commenced another day of misery and anguish. At last the *poor Pope*, as the pious witnesses of his torments called him, signed for the SAKE OF PEACE, the Brief of Abolition, 21st July, 1773, and on the 22nd September, 1774, the anguish of his soul brought him to the tomb. In the process of the Canonization of St Alphonsus de Liguori it was proved on unquestionable evidence, that the venerable servant of God living at Arienzo, a little town of his diocese, was found by his domestics in a species of trance which endured for a part of two days, 21st and 22nd September, 1774, and that on his awaking from it, he announced the death of the Pope whose last moments he had been allowed in spirit to sustain.

The literary and religious world are aware of the existence of Father Theiner's History of these transactions, written in an unfriendly spirit to the Society of Jesus. Father de Ravignan was enjoined by the General, as already mentioned, to go over the same ground, with the object of making a better apology for the Pontiff who had suppressed the Company. Aided by the researches of Father Montezon, he laboured from February, 1853, to July 1854, when the work, under the title of "*Clement XIII. and Clement XIV.*," appeared in one volume. A supplementary volume by way of appendix was afterwards issued. He wants nothing to be believed on his own word: he gives transcripts from original documents to prove the heroic resistance made by Clement XIII, and the harassing, goading, and threatening, that at last forced his successor to sign for the *Peace of Christendom*, the death warrant of the supporters of the Faith. The Historian had to deal between the love for his order, and the reverence due to the Head of the Church; but he seemed more anxious, as far as truth allowed, to apologize for the signing of the cruel mandate under the pressure of necessity, than to excite sympathy for, or justify his own brotherhood.

"What a mass of mighty works perished in Europe, in America, and in Asia, on the suppression of the Jesuits, and what a spectacle was presented by that silent obedience to the Pontifical Brief!

Works, the most important and ;
murmur escaped from the heap of
overlook the breach made in the
the Jesuits fell, but their downfal

The number of converts distin
or birth, won over to the Catholic
conferences held with himself,
degree for his later inability t
life of an active missionary. I
to the Oxford movement, and t
Mr. Allies, and others, to the
The first step generally taken by
their spiritual state, was to g
Churches and Hospitals, where
guste Cochui) generally secur
either to Sister Rosalie or E
but could not speak English,
the some predicament as reg
were possessed by a devout spir
sought the true path of life
safety. There was a power of
ritual counsellor, by which, u
were enlightened, and their h
that full communication with (br/>his Saints, which can be found
Rev. Wm. Allies gives an acc
vignan in his delightful and
France and Italy: to this wo
ferring our readers. These
brought about by discussion.
rous of truth; he affirmed such
were moved by grace, and the
guidance of that Church, with
the troubles of religious doubt

In the Lent of 1855, Fath
Chapel of the Tuilleries before
not afraid to speak of the nece
ment, of sin, and of hell. To
we may suppose, that might ar
the High Powers, he next pres
of one of the houses of the Pe
not able now to do much,' said

me the favor of confiding this little work to me.' His identity was kept a secret to his audience, who little suspected they were listening to the great orator of Notre Dame.

Father de Ravignan had received from Heaven, along with the power of turning the hearts of his hearers to God, the gifts of being well qualified to direct their steps in the way of Christian perfection, for he was well acquainted with the spiritual life and its sacred depths. This habitude of guiding souls, had given him wonderful light for distinguishing true vocations. He attached himself with a paternal tenderness to those young spirits, who on considering the things of the earth, had found them unworthy of their attachment, and had set forward on their road to Heaven through the quiet paths of prayer and the cloister. He took particular interest in those, who had renounced rank, brilliant prospects, or the enjoyments attending wealth, youth, and beauty. We insert extracts from his letters to a young Carmelite, who had renounced high station, and its accompanying seductions, for the close gratings of the daughters of St. Theresa. These letters date from the 2nd November, 1856.

"Oh! how I long to revisit our dear Carmel of the Rue de Messine! There it pleased God to send me true consolation. Courage, my child, for self-conquest, prayer, then death! May we tend with one accord to this perfection, which is the only way traced for us by the Divine hand. You commence your religious life nearly at the same time of year, in which thirty-four years ago, on All Souls' day, without a word to any one but the venerable priest my director, I went alone at foot, to knock at the door of our noviciate of Mont-rouge. I was then twenty-seven years old, and now I have arrived at old age. I had lived too eagerly the life of the world: I brought away deep wounds which left sharp pains behind them. And now, poor laborer of the eleventh hour, faithless disciple of God who had long since called me, I felt myself thenceforward drawn to the interior life, the principle of such unspeakable happiness. And after the promises of these early days, what have I done? However, God be blessed that I have still found myself drawn to prayer, to recollection. I have always found in them, remedies for my misery, and living grace for my efficient help. You, my child, will do better than your father. You will courageously embrace this life of immolation and prayer. In the perfect renunciation of yourself, and in an inviolable fidelity to prayer, you will meet with strength and peace. How happy will I be to behold the fruits. Advance then to the cross of your master like MARY, your mother and your queen. . . Aspire, as you can and ought—aspire, I say, to that life of prayer which your blessed mother, St. Theresa, has bequeathed to her daughters, as their peculiar inheritance. Let no bitternesses, distractions, obscurities, or any temptations whatever, stop your progress. God has appointed your place in the way to the garden of

delights, where you will indeed his cross, but still with unspeakable to die and immolate ourselves—to which holds us to the earth, in or

“This is the proper day to come to retreat, and the holy resolutions of you. Bless him with your whole towards the Divine Infancy.

there comprehend the simplicity the immolation. . . . Holy passion of the crucible of Divine Love. All is to live only by grace, for the glory

“Saint John of the Cross, the mother, has marked out the way. the struggle will be long; but when God has seized on the heart Your heart, dear child, is whole May he be ever blessed!

“Prayer, my daughter, is the limit, it is Heaven upon earth. droughts, and continual distraction to the holy exercise of prayer, for passing all sensible pleasure. It is God, with a father always tender, and the rough trials he sends. I severe, and your soul shall be at anything be better than to think love him without interruption; with briars and thorns: we are down, but with courage we rise: a life of a victim immolated for the souls, is an arduous course, at the prizes for the victors: we must receive them.

“It is necessary to fight valiantly and vigilant love, which your mother for herself and her daughters. approaches. Oh! prepare the victim united to the heart of your loving

His last apostolical labors were to the Carmelites of the Rue de November, 1857, at 4 o'clock of the same month. He came season and the distance from he discoursed four times in the day parlor, and with his face turned listened from behind the grilles 12 o'clock, and returned home is a happy circumstance that has been preserved: an outline

Early in December he fell ill.* He was able to celebrate Mass on the festival of the Immaculate Conception; but it was his last on earth.

They brought him the Holy Communion at 5 o'clock every morning; and Mass was celebrated in his chamber by permission of the Archbishop. His left lung only was now remaining, and that much affected since 1852; and in consequence he suffered much in his breathing. He sometimes desired death, at others thought of convalescence, and the labors it would refit him for; but dreaded a recovery unattended with powers to be useful to his fellow mortals. Till the 10th of February, 1858, he was able to rise and sit for a few hours in an easy chair near the fire. It would require more space than we can afford, to mention the numerous relics that were sent from Germany, Italy, and England, which, though convinced of his approaching death, he piously wore about his person; the Novenas that were offered up for his recovery; the crosses, &c. that were sent to receive his benediction. His illness caused a profound sensation through every part of Christendom, where devotion still retained any influence.

From the 21st, of February an inflammation of the bowels was added to his other sufferings. On the 25th, the forerunners of death were evident—the restless and cold hands, feeble, short, and abrupt breathing, and the cold perspiration streaming down the countenance. For the circumstantial diary of the last hours of his well spent life, and his heavenly communications with his devoted brothers in the ministry, who read for him, prayed with him, and rendered all the solace in their power to his bodily sufferings, we refer to the work. They are more suited to the pages of a book on ascetic devotion than to those of a secular journal. Suffice it to say, that the same severity to self, the same ardent love of his Saviour, and the same zeal for his neighbour's salvation, that were so evident during his active career, prevailed during these trying hours: we supply a few passages from the latest moments of his trials, supplied by Father Pontlevoy.

* The account of his illness and happy death was obtained from Father P. de Pontlevoy.

"It was one hour after midnight agony : a feeble and panting breast ; he was bathed in a cold perspiration as if frozen. ' Dear Father, do you forgive me ? ' ' You are going to expire.' ' But do you wish to gain the jubilee ? ' ' Then kiss this crucifix.' I perceived that he himself had brought from Rome. to our Lord Jesus Christ the sacred heart.' ' Ask pardon from God for your sins.' ' He joined his hands, raised his eyes to heaven, and in a low voice, ' My God, pardon all the sins of your people, and beseech God that he may grant us the last absolution. . . . The Father and the Son wish that we recite the prayers of the Mass with great pleasure.' While we were thus evidently united his intentions to the Father and the Son, on February, 1858, at half past One in the afternoon, he was fixed on the crucifix before him, in the name of the Saviour of the world, and twenty-three days old thus die all the saints.

His last days were in some measure marked by his character, were evident during his last days, faith, humility, obedience, delicate peace, resolution, immovable firmness.

There was grief and profound sympathy in the city of Paris, when the death of the saint was announced. His body, clothed in a simple garment, was placed in a bed in a lower room of the hospital ; and the populace of the city gathered from Wednesday to Sunday to look at the body of him who had labored so much for the world, they looked on now as a saint.

It was wished that the grand funeral should be celebrated over his remains in Notre-Dame de la Vierge, provincial preferred that it should be celebrated in the place of his birth, the place of his religious. His old and attached friends were informed by telegraph from Orléans. The funeral sermon in St. Sulpice, by the Rev. Father Theunissen, was a masterpiece of eloquence. The unstudied discourse affected the hearts of the faithful, and thousands were obliged to retire on the steps and in the

Even as conversions from vicious courses are more seldom wrought by severe measures, than by mildness and patience, so as already observed, conversions to Catholic faith and practice are more the result (humanly speaking) of friendly inter-communications with Catholics of devout lives, and the study of devotional books, than of the perusal of controversial works or of holding viva-voce discussions. We therefore welcome the life of this good and great man, as calculated for the spread of piety among Catholics, and the partial removal of the prejudices against the Society of Jesus, and the Church of which it forms one of the strongest bulwarks. Should it be said that he was an exception, we repeat in the words of his biographer, that he was a Jesuit to his heart's core ; and from ourselves, that his heroic character, his love of his kind, his severity to himself, his zeal for the salvation of souls, his stainless life, and ardent piety, are common to him with thousands and thousands of his brethren ; and that though many may lack his human abilities, the amount of good, spiritual and temporal, wrought by their quiet and silent efforts is incalculable, and will not be known in its grand proportions till they are called to receive their reward at the last day in the presence of the angels and of the whole of Adam's race.

We are not altogether pleased with the execution of the portrait accompanying the volume. Intellect and penetration are abundantly expressed in the ample forehead and eagle eyes, and resolute firmness in the lower part of the face, but there is a hard quality about the mouth, which we are sure did not belong to the living features. Though denying to himself, he was charity itself to all others.

M. Poujoulat is well known in the literary world of Paris by his share with M. Michaud in the "History of the Crusades," his "Letters from the East," "History of Jerusalem," and other works relative chiefly to Palestine and Egypt. He has contributed largely to *Le Correspondent* and other Catholic journals, and has all the ease and skill of a practised writer. It is very desirable that a translation should be presented to the English reading public, for as our readers may perceive, even from our meagre sketch, there is a considerable amount of historic information to be got, in addition to the edifying life of the subject of the work ; and the outlines of the retreats and conferences would be most acceptable to every devoutly inclined person

whether in community, or battling for salvation amid the turmoils of the exterior life.*

* In the *Past and Present* of Thomas Carlyle there is a most delightful and spirit-stirring picture of the talents, the struggles, the self-denials, the heroism and the exertions of a monk of the dark ages, for the weal of his little community—what may be called his “little world.” Would that the Jesuit in *Devereux* could subject this German-souled and genial Pantheist to the mesmeric trance, if mesmerism itself was not a humbug and if the practice was not interdicted by the Church. Having put him in rapport with himself, he might for the time, imbue him with a Christian spirit, give him pen and paper, nor allow him liberty, till he had sketched the subject of this memoir in his own peculiar spirit and fashion. Then would a matchless picture be given to the world, for which under present circumstances it will have long to wait.

ART. VI.—THE DEAF AND THE DUMB.

1. *The Lost Senses.* By the late John Kitto, D.D.F.S.A. Editor of the "Pictorial Bible," and "The Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature." London: Cox, 1857.
2. *Catholic Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. Twelfth Annual Report.* Dublin: 1858.

Varied as the ideas may have been relative to the privations endured by the deaf mute or those deprived of sight, popular opinion at all times leaned to the side of the blind, and regarded the combined loss of the two senses of hearing and speech as comparatively more easy borne than that of not being able to behold all the beauties which Nature and Art present to charm our vision, combined with the still more hallowed pleasure of regarding the dearest objects of domestic life; these considerations present themselves so palpably before the mind as to exclude the idea of any loss being comparable in extent to that experienced by the blind. We are free to acknowledge that we indulged in similar theories, and it was not until we had studied with deep interest and much attention the very instructive little volume which has, we may say, been bequeathed to us, by one who experiencing the loss of one of those senses, devoted himself to the study of all the others, that our illusions have been dispelled; and so clearly has he pointed out the various sources of enjoyment open to the blind (in the intellectual not the material world,) that we, sceptics as we admit ourselves to have been, have had the scales removed from our eyes, and sad as the choice may seem, pronounce in favor of the blind.

In order, however, to prove the truth of this axiom which may at first glance startle our readers, we think the best mode of convincing, is to adopt that which convinced ourselves, namely, the proofs presented by the experience of Dr. Kitto in his most interesting work entitled *The Lost Senses*, a book which we would fain see on the table of every philanthropist who sympathizes in the sorrows and privations of his fellow man, or who, in any way is desirous of ameliorating his condition.

Without further prelude we shall lay before our readers, as much of the spirit of the work as we can condense

in the brief space allotted to us and profit, and trust it will : who may be tempted to glance

Dr. Kitto has left us a short the feelings and sensations expriation of hearing, a calamity twelfth year. The circumstance no promise of a future of a master builder. commenced : auspices, in connection with a great repute; the road, to fortune like many others of equal or destroyed both brothers, and duced to comparative poverty; had to earn his bread as a job employment his little boy was accident, to which it may be his after life, occurred on his 1817; and twenty-eight years account of all he thought, felt, most momentous day; we give

“The circumstances of that hearing, and the first of twenty-eight more distinct impression upon my or almost any subsequent, day of remembered. The last day on which a last day on which any customary p on which we do the things we have days in the calendar of life; how it linger in the memories of a day w things, and in which one stroke of a of time, wrought a greater change loss of wealth or honours ever made may be recovered, and new honours without them; but there is no record for such a loss as was on that day s and pleasurable sounds with which t —of sounds modulated by affection can be appreciated only by one who in the want of them, and who for utter silence amid the busy hum of woods and mountains, and, more than music, which are in the winter hearth.

On the day in question my father

myself, were engaged in new slating the roof of a house, the ladder ascending to which was fixed in a small court paved with flag stones. The access to this court from the street was by a paved passage, through which ran a gutter, whereby waste water was conducted from the yard into the street.

Three things occupied my mind that day. One was that the town-crier, who occupied part of the house in which we lived, had been the previous evening prevailed upon to entrust me with a book, for which I had long been worrying him, and with the contents of which I was most eager to become acquainted. I think it was 'Kirby's Wonderful Magazine;' and I now dwell the rather upon this circumstance, as, with other facts of the same kind, it helps to satisfy me that I was already a most voracious reader, and that the calamity which befel me did not create in me the literary appetite, but only threw me more entirely upon the resources which it offered.

The other circumstance was that my grandmother had finished, all but the buttons, a new smock-frock, which I had hoped to have assumed that very day, but which was faithfully promised for the morrow. As this was the first time that I should have worn that article of attire, the event was contemplated with something of that interest and solicitude with which the assumption of the toga virilis may be supposed to have been contemplated by the Roman youth.

The last circumstance, and the one perhaps which had some effect upon what ensued, was this. In one of the apartments of the house in which we were at work, a young sailor, of whom I had some knowledge, had died after a lingering illness, which had been attended with circumstances which the doctors could not well understand. It was, therefore, concluded that the body should be opened to ascertain the cause of death. I knew this was to be done, but not the time appointed for the operation. But on passing from the street into the yard, with a load of alates which I was to take to the house-top, my attention was drawn to a stream of blood, or rather, I suppose, bloody water, flowing through the gutter by which the passage was traversed. The idea that this was the blood of the dead youth, whom I had so lately seen alive, and that the doctors were then at work cutting him up and groping at his inside, made me shudder, and gave what I should now call a shock to my nerves, although I was very innocent of all knowledge about nerves at that time. I cannot but think it was owing to this that I lost much of the presence of mind and collectedness so important to me at that moment; for when I had ascended to the top of the ladder, and was in the critical act of stepping from it on to the roof, I lost my footing, and fell backward, from a height of about thirty-five feet, into the paved court below.

Of what followed I know nothing: and as this is the record of my own sensations, I can here report nothing but that which I myself know. For one moment, indeed, I awoke from that death-like state, and then found that my father, attended by a crowd of people, was bearing me homeward in his arms: but I had then no recollection of what had happened, and at once relapsed into a state of unconsciousness.

In this state I remained for a fortnight as I afterwards learned. These days were a blank in my life, I could never bring any recollections to bear upon them; and when I awoke one morning to consciousness, it was as from a night of sleep. I saw that it was at least two hours later than my usual time of rising, and marvelled that I had been suffered to sleep so late. I attempted to spring up in bed, and was astonished to find that I could not even move. The utter prostration of my strength subdued all curiosity within me. I experienced no pain, but I felt that I was weak; I saw that I was treated as an invalid, and acquiesced in my condition, though some time passed—more time than the reader would imagine—before I could piece together my broken recollections so as to comprehend it.

I was very slow in learning that my hearing was entirely gone. The unusual stillness of all things was grateful to me in my utter exhaustion: and if in this half-awakened state, a thought of the matter entered my mind, I ascribed it to the unusual care and success of my friends in preserving silence around me. I saw them talking indeed to one another, and thought that, out of regard to my feeble condition, they spoke in whispers, because I heard them not. The truth was revealed to me in consequence of my solicitude about the book which had so much interested me in the day of my fall. It had, it seems, been reclaimed by the good old man who had sent it to me, and who doubtless concluded, that I should have no more need of books in this life. He was wrong; for there has been nothing in this life which I have needed more. I asked for this book with much earnestness, and was answered by signs which I could not comprehend.

'Why do you not speak?' I cried; 'Pray let me have the book.'

This seemed to create some confusion; and at length some one, more clever than the rest, hit upon the happy expedient of writing upon a slate, that the book had been reclaimed by the owner, and that I could not in my weak state be allowed to read.

'But,' I said in great astonishment, 'Why do you write to me, why not speak? Speak, speak.'

Those who stood around the bed exchanged significant looks of concern, and the writer soon displayed upon his slate the awful words—'YOU ARE DEAF.'

His first sensations on this announcement were not very overpowering; he was too young to know the extent of his calamity, and if he thought at all on the subject merely considered his deafness as temporary, but such alas! was not the case, and every experiment that medical skill could suggest was tried in vain to restore the lost faculty, and he seems to dwell with peculiar feeling on that sad phase of his existence, and the innumerable tortures he had to undergo: but medical art was of no avail; and sorely puzzled, the doctors had at length to desist, having come to the conclusion that the auditory nerve was completely paralyzed. He pays a very kind tribute to the exertions used by Mr. Snow Harriss in putting him through an electrical operation, but all was useless.

It was some time before his general health regained a proper tone, and during those hours of weakness and uninterrupted quiet, the base of his after life was fixed ; he had no resource but reading, and the book to which he so feelingly referred was re-borrowed for him, and he attributes much of the habits of his future career, to the avidity and interest with which he read this book, "Kirby's Wonderful Magazine;" it drew his attention to books as a source of pleasure and information.

At the period of which he has written, education was not as general in the class in which he then moved as in the present day. Many, it is true, could read, but it was not considered a necessary attainment ; and books were so extravagant in price as to be scarcely within reach of those whose means were limited. Religious literature was consequently that most in vogue amongst the poorer classes, who not being able to purchase the current literature, wished at all events to have something of substantial and permanent worth for their money ; thus, the works eagerly read by young Kitto were of a character to form the structure of good and sound mental training ; he assures us in his short biographical sketch that he never saw a newspaper to read till he was near twenty. At a later period he indulged his literary predilections for books of a different class, and went through a range of metaphysics, poetry, history, and even novels ; but amid all this heterogeneous mass of reading, the theological bias given by his earlier reading returned with redoubled ardour, and whatever he had learned or whatever talent he had cultivated, eventually proved most useful, an instance of which he mentions for the benefit of the young as it involves instruction to them by proving that mental culture, no matter how apparently useless or it may be abstruse, is sure eventually to benefit the possessor. Having acquired the Hebrew language with no higher view than that of qualifying himself to teach that language to the sons of a friend whose tuition he had undertaken, the knowledge became in after life one of the most useful acquirements he ever made.

We now close his brief biography, which led us away by the interest we felt in all concerning this gifted man from the subject in hand.

He conceives that there is more connexion between the organs of hearing and of speech than is usually supposed ; the general impression being, that dumbness is occasioned by the inability of hearing the human voice, which precludes the possibility of

one born deaf acquiring language ; this, in the abstract, is mainly correct ; still, Kitto contends that apart from this, and physically connected with deafness, there is a sort of *inability* to utter articulate sounds. The impressions of one who has had, himself, practical experience is almost an irrefragable proof of the truth of this reasoning ; the hearing being the more delicate organ is utterly extinguished by that which may only impede the vocal organs, leaving them sufficient vitality to be partially awakened under artificial training ; thus, the deaf may be taught to speak as it were mechanically, but there still exists difficulty or pain in the use of this acquired art, which is another proof, if such were necessary, of the almost physical impossibility of speech with one born deaf.

To explain this theory more practically we need only point to our author, who says, that before the accident which deprived him of hearing, his pronunciation was clear and distinct, but that after that event, he spoke with pain and difficulty, and in a voice not easily to be understood, and though at a later period he was unconscious of having felt thus, those who watched him with interest at the time, remembered his having complained of pain, and remarked the peculiar change in his voice, which had become similar in intonation *to that of one born deaf and dumb, but who had been taught to speak*. This appears to be corroborative of his former assertion relative to the affinity between the organs of hearing and speech.

So strong was the disinclination which he felt to speak that, for many years after his becoming deaf, he communicated his thoughts by writing to avoid the occasion of speech ; he sometimes expressed his wishes by a slight motion or gesture, and rejoiced in the protection afforded him by the impression that may entertained of his being deaf and dumb, and he would have eventually become so, from disuse of the vocal organs, were it not for the intervention of some kind and judicious friends.

When going to the Mediterranean, he was fortunate enough to have for companions on his voyage a German physician named Dr. Korck, and one or two other well-informed and kind-hearted men, who soon perceiving how the matter stood, entered into a conspiracy with the captain of the ship not to understand a word he said except orally ; this they persevered in so well that before the end of the voyage he relinquished the habit of communicating by writing, and never after resumed it ; in fact practice rendered him so perfect that his language became sufficiently clear to be understood even by foreigners.

It is a remarkable fact that on thus again, as we might say, having obtained the use of speech, his language became more copious, and he used words far more choice than any he had heard previous to his calamity ; this was occasioned by forming his language on books which rendered him sometimes doubtful as to the true pronunciation ; a few of his words were pronounced in the provincial dialect, such as *tay* for tea. This, though an error which he immediately detected, seemed to afford him a species of pleasure, as it appeared to give his language a *living* character.

He had at all times a singular reluctance to use any superfluous words, complimentary phrases, or even terms of endearment. Of this he was on one occasion touchingly reminded, when one of his little boys suddenly quitted his study, and ran off to tell his mother that his father had for the first time called him "Dear." This avoidance of all unnecessary expletives rendered his language dry and hard ; his voice was unusually loud, but not articulate except to those very near, and it was sometimes amusing, at others annoying, to see the sudden start and turning round of persons in the street at the almost unearthly sound of his voice ; this was merely in the sound, as those to whom he spoke could understand him perfectly,

The play of the mouth or muscles enabled him to form a very distinct idea of the sound of the voice or even the laugh, and he formed a very accurate idea of the distinctive characters of both in various persons ; this he attributed to the experience he acquired during the days of his hearing, and does not conceive it possible for one born deaf to distinguish one voice from another.

Though many anecdotes have been recorded of what has been termed mouth reading, he appears sceptical on this point, and did not attach the same amount of importance to this practice that others have done ; he considers the greater portion of it guess work, which may be correct, or may not, according to the quickness of perception in the parties under its influence.

There is he considers a peculiar susceptibility of the whole frame to tangible percussion ; this kind of vibration which on some occasions seems to pervade the whole frame to the very bones and marrow, is not, he conceives, in anything different from the feeling experienced by persons who are in possession of their hearing, but the sensation is more concentrated, and consequently more acutely felt.

The loudest thunder was perfectly inaudible to him, and he gives a touching instance of a peal of bells, which he recollected in childhood as having imparted to his young soul a strange and inexplicable delight; he made vigorous efforts to catch even the faintest intimation of that dear old sound, but in vain; at no time, and under no circumstances, could he even recover the slightest trace of that familiar voice, which he describes as the music of his childhood. When he placed himself in direct contact with the tower, he became conscious of a dull percussion over head, like that of blows struck upon the wall above him. The tower was both lofty and solid, composed of granite and limestone, which may perhaps account for the indistinctness of the impression.

He describes a strange sensation which he experienced whilst shewing St. Paul's to a young friend from the country; they chanced to be examining the clock at the very time it began to strike, and the vibration imparted to his whole frame the feeling as if heavy blows had been struck on the building where he stood, and communicated through the medium of his feet, diffused over his whole body. He conceived a faint idea at the time of having heard a dull metallic sound, but after reflection induced him to believe this was only occasioned by early recollections, and was consequently merely an association of ideas.

He has given very minute details of the painful shocks felt by his entire nervous system, at what persons possessed of hearing would pass almost unnoticed, such as the moving of furniture, as tables, or sofas over the floor, either above or below him; being unprepared by any preliminary sound they startled him dreadfully, and the vibration being diffused through the feet over the entire frame, affected him sensibly. He compares the moving of a table to the combined noise and vibration of a mail coach drawn over a wooden floor; the feet of children, like the tramp of horses on the same floor; and the shutting of a door like a thunder-clap shaking the very house. These sensations, though intensely painful, would have been utterly indescribable by one born deaf; it is only by having once heard them, that they are capable of illustration.

It is a strange anomaly that the percussions which made the strongest and most painful impressions were those experienced from another room of the same floor; the fall of a book for instance causing a painfully distinct percussion, as occurring

upon the very boards where he stood. The loudest knocking at the door was perfectly inaudible, whilst shutting the same door caused a distressing sensation ; he was not altogether insensible of the beating upon the door of the room in which he happened to be ; this he describes so feelingly as to induce us to give the extract in its entirety :—

“ Having business in London, I went in upon the previous afternoon, that I might have the whole of the following day before me in which to go through it, and took up my quarters for the night at an inn. I locked the door before going to bed ; but the bed being strange, some time passed before I could get to sleep. My meditations were not of a very pleasing character. I reflected that I was now apart from those who would know perfectly well how to act towards me in any emergency that arose, and whose first care would be to arouse me in case of fire or any like accident. But here I was among strangers who probably only regarded me as “hard of hearing,” and who, under that impression, would make no other effort to attract my attention than by uselessly thumping at the door, which I had unadvisedly locked. The fatal fire at an inn in Oxford Street, not far from the spot where I then lay, had been sufficiently recent to give an agreeable pungency to these considerations. It was clear that I ought not to have fastened my door. Then why not get out and unlock it ? It was very cold ; and by this time I was warm in bed : and as I had from my youth up abominated cold beyond all other evils of life, it was a serious and nicely balanced question—whether it were better to risk the *possibility* of being roasted alive, or to incur the dead *certainly* of a chill by turning out to unfasten the door. Before I could make up my mind, I fell asleep ; and in the morning I awoke safe and sound. Apprehending, however, that I should not be able to distinguish the knock of the attendant when he should bring my warm water at the hour I had directed, I now unfastened the door and returned to the bed,—concluding that after having knocked, and finding that I did not answer, he would come in without more ceremony. I lay awake and watchful, when presently I became conscious of a tremendous thundering at the door, which I think would have sufficed to awaken me had I been asleep. I cried, “Come in !” and in came the warm water, the bearer of it looking quite naturally, as if nothing particular had happened. This discovery gave me greater satisfaction than anything connected with my physical condition which had occurred for many years, as it showed that in one important class of matters I was not so entirely helpless as I had previously imagined.

Alas ! alas ! This pretty discovery has, after all, come to nothing : and yet I suffer the page which records it to remain ; as the explanation which I have now obtained, with reference to the fact on which this satisfaction was founded, serves better than almost anything I could state, to illustrate the uncertainty of the impressions derived from the source under consideration ; and this is one of the points which it is the object of this chapter to demonstrate.

Having some misgiving that, after all, there might be some mistake in the conclusions to which I had arrived, I read the above paragraph to my wife, to whom I had not previously described the circumstances with the same degree of minuteness and coherence. She shook her head, and doubted much, affirming that she had often knocked at room doors in vain, to attract my attention. "If the head of the bed had been on the same side with the door, and some part of it had touched against the wall, I could understand it better: but as you state that the head of the bed was against the side of the room opposite the door, it is at variance with all my own observations, and requires further proof." Then why not prove it at once?

Accordingly, a loud knocking at the door of the room in which I write this, was speedily produced, but I could distinguish nothing. "The room is too large, let us try another." This was done, in a very small room, still without effect. "It is clear to me," quoth my wife, "that what you took for a 'knocking' at the door, was a stamping upon the floor. In all probability the attendant had been knocking in vain, and then as a last resort, to avoid coming in upon you unannounced, bethought himself of stamping upon the floor." To prove this she went out; and presently I distinguished the very percussion, which at the inn I had mistaken for a knocking at the door. She had merely stamped on the floor outside; and the identity of the sensation produced, with that which I had previously experienced, at once settled the whole question."

He details with almost painful sensitiveness the various degrees of pain experienced by the deaf occasioned by shocks to the nervous system of which those blest with hearing are happily ignorant; they amount at times almost to torture. After all that has been stated it could scarcely be supposed that music could impart any gratification; such is not however quite the fact, as we shall see by his own admission.

On one occasion he mentions his having been in a church in the west of England, the organ of which was considered the finest in that part of the country; whilst in the body of the church he was quite insensible to its tones, yet in the gallery he experienced a strong vibration but without any metallic sound, and more like the distant singing of a congregation, where only the very higher notes could be caught, than anything else to which the sensation might be compared.

A piano playing even in the same room was quite inaudible. One day however, very many years before he wrote his work, he happened to place his hand upon a piano when it was in the act of being played, and became conscious of a more pleasurable sensation from the higher notes, than any he had felt since his deafness. On further experimentalising he discovered, that the notes were more distinct when his fingers rested on the

wood over which the wires were placed and to which they were attached. He could then make out with tolerable distinctness all the high notes, and if he knew a tune, so as to be able to supply the low notes from imagination, he obtained a considerable degree of enjoyment in the music; the loud notes however were more suitable to his capabilities.

He seemed to feel particular interest about a lad both blind and deaf of whom he had been reading, and whose principal enjoyment seemed to be derived from striking a small key upon his teeth; as we shall give a more lengthened detail of this poor lad's sad condition before concluding this paper, we merely mention it here, in order to illustrate a similarity of sensation, which Dr. Kitto discovered on reading this, and of which he was unconscious before; namely, the habit he had acquired of striking the back of his thumb nail, or the point of a pen-knife, upon the edge of his teeth; he also describes a pleasure he experienced without being conscious of the reason, in vibrating a knife or spoon upon the edge of a dish or plate, or against an empty tumbler or wine-glass. He seems desirous to extend the knowledge of this slight but pleasurable feeling, as of some value to those whose range of sensations is limited.

Keener perception, or strong ervisual powers, are considered by the many, as the essential prerogative of the deaf.

From this proposition Dr. Kitto altogether dissents; he admits, it is true, a keener perception of the beautiful whether in nature or art as being perfectly possible, but the mere attribute of discovering objects at a distance, or retaining sight to a later period than ordinary and more gifted mortals he altogether disclaims.

To the danger, which he seem to apprehend, of losing, to him, the only charm of existence, sight, he pathetically alludes, and here he draws the first picture of the relative positions of the blind and deaf; the former he describes as enjoying all the intellectual and social intercourse of a cheerful fireside, combined with the higher mental culture afforded by lectures, sermons, and the reading aloud of others; the community of feeling thus imparted, informs the understand, and supplies food for thought. But to conceive the situation of one who has lost both these senses, the horror is too great to dwell upon, and could only be felt in its most acute sense by those who once enjoyed their possession.

A more refined and exquisite sense of the beautiful is how-

ever developed in a stronger other senses ; this is to them agreeable emotions. It is well surable is far more extensive than, for each is felt with like

The latter sensation, Dr. K almost morbid with him, and feeling he experienced when inhibiting distorted or imperfect ister or malignant expression he says, " to feel a strong inclination from me, but found it my presence, which I uniformly c

He gives a painful instance of young people in any position marked deformity ; this remains young persons, whether labour of the deaf mute, or in full po

" There was," he says, " p had been destroyed and his This was a terrible infliction man's temper and conduct with which his presence inspired of qualities he acquired a strange man ever before, or ever since evil genius. I dreaded, hate all things the slave of his will his finger, and the faintest touch many years been dead, but I sometimes."

All grand and beautiful c filled his heart, he knew not v less ocean," the wooded mountain possessed for him a peculiar lighted by the pale radiance c enraptured by them.

An exquisitely keen perception though developed at rather a him almost to a passion, and an awful act. He acknowledged he considered the slaughtering that of an animal, whose year

Paintings, particularly in bright and vivid colors, were to him a source of intellectual enjoyment ; and he refers to the many happy hours he spent in the London National Gallery as tending to form and purify his taste, and to invigorate his perceptions. He looked on a picture as an object of sensation, and formed his judgment of it according to the degree of enjoyment it afforded him. This, though an instinctive perception, was generally correct, as it uniformly happened that he singled for his admiration the paintings which he afterwards learned were first-rate works of art.

One of the most remarkable traits of visual organs possessed by a deaf mute, is that of seeking and knowing the character of persons by their countenance. Thus it is true, to a certain extent, that every one deaf must be more or less a physiognomist, not by any rules of art, but merely as a matter of impression, and these impressions are almost invariably correct.

Darkness, or even twilight, to a deaf mute is peculiarly irksome: the reason is obvious. No book can be read, no communication carried on, a gesture of assent or dissent cannot even be perceived, and the play of the countenance, which sometimes betrays the inward thoughts, is altogether shrouded. There are other inconveniences to which darkness exposes the deaf ; they cannot stir out after nightfall, or even during twilight, as their incapability of hearing would render it almost impossible for them to avoid accidents : their own deafness preventing them from hearing the sound of carriage wheels, and the dim light concealing them from the driver, precludes all possibility of escape by any other means than staying at home.

Though deafness must be admitted as a sad disqualification for almost every high pursuit in life, yet we have an instance in the gifted man who has afforded us so much useful and interesting information, that all avenues are not closed upon those so severely tried ; and that he trod the path of literature, and acquired a just celebrity, is too well known to need elucidation here. Yet had he much to contend with in his upward path, for literature is not all closet work ; it involves, or should involve, intimacy with men of similar pursuits, and business often of a delicate and perplexing nature ; and when he goes forth into the world, in which so many other men find their element, his strength departs from him.

The consciousness of his (bidly sensitive, and neutraliz belong to his position. He i personal friendships in which lace ; no new ideas are start dissenting minds,—no hints dence is in itself a serious dis how much a man's career is i with studious men. All this man must work his own way.

Serious and sad as those d are influences even more detr social intercourse. Where l man of letters has much to c ability to convey his ideas, he unfinished, or engross too mu siness, and be thus considere presenting less impediments has, nevertheless, its disadvan

Kitto was six years deaf be existed any mode of commu tleman happening to accost discovering his complete ign spot. This mode of commi general at that period as it ha

He alludes in very touchi during infancy, attempting to seems to have felt more acute heard their infantine prattle deafness had subjected him. to have afforded him vast sou in glowing terms of the chee carried on with friends, as the together, whilst travelling ove

The really practised finge communication to writing, be veying ideas. The perfection racters with rapidity and disti knowledge is difficult. The n arise from the set signs used l of them are too much alike movement. Upon the whole,

defective, and capable of great improvement ; there would be danger and difficulty, however, in altering an established usage. The best mode of improvement, without disturbing existing arrangements, would be to establish a set of arbitrary signs expressing familiar phrases, such as "and" and "the," and terms of common import might also be taught thus.

Talking in the air is also a mode used by those who are ignorant of finger talk ; but this is even more liable to mistakes, and can only be required in the open air, and when at a distance from writing materials. Of *signs*, as a medium, he appears to have had but a limited acquaintance. The born deaf and dumb, however well instructed to speak, to write, or to use the fingers, will, through choice, resort to signs in their intercourse with each other, for signs are their natural language.

It so happened that before his own deafness he had a boyish acquaintance with a born deaf mute who was running wild about the streets and entirely uninstructed ; after a lapse of some years he came again into contact with him, and found that though he had undergone a course of training, he could better express his ideas, or understand those of others, by signs than any other mode. The signs were of his own devising, and generally indicated some peculiarity of the person whom he wished to point out ; for example, to avoid a perplexing multiplicity of signs, females and young people were for the most part designated in reference to their relationship to the head of the family, and translated into words would stand thus :—the wife of Longnose ; the first, second, or third son, or daughter of Longnose, &c.

The knowledge of signs which he thus acquired proved useful to him when in foreign parts, where the habit of substituting signs for oral language was regarded as want of knowledge of their particular tongue, rather than deafness. The signs used by the orientals were somewhat similar to those used by his former friend the deaf mute ; some however were founded on national or local customs ; those were more difficult to be acquired, and were not mastered till he had been for some time a resident in the east. Travel, however, to a deaf man, notwithstanding all the help of signs, is sometimes dangerous. We cannot better exhibit the truth of this, than by giving in his own words a little incident which bears on the subject :—

"I was staying at the village of Orta Khoi on the Bosphorus, about six miles above Constantinople, of which it is one of the suburbs, and was in the frequent habit of going down to the city and return-

ing by water. One morning on which I had determined to go, it threatened to rain; but I took my umbrella and departed. On arriving at the beach, it appeared that all the boats were gone, and there was no alternative but to abandon my intention, or to proceed on foot along a road which manifestly led in the right direction, at the back of the buildings and yards which line the Bosphorus. I had not proceeded far before it began to rain, and I put up my umbrella and trudged on, followed, at some distance behind, by an old Turk in the same predicament with myself: for it should be observed, that, at and about Constantinople, the people are so much in the habit of relying upon water conveyance, that there is less use of horses than in any Eastern town with which I am acquainted. Nothing occurred till I arrived at the back of the handsome country palace of Dolma Caktehe, the front of which had often engaged my attention in passing up and down by water. Here the sentinel at the gate motioned to me in a very peculiar manner, which I could not comprehend. He had probably called previously, and in vain. Finding that I heeded him not, he was hastening towards me in a very violent manner, with his fixed bayonet pointed direct at my body, when the good-natured Turk behind me, who had by this time come up, assailed me very unceremoniously from behind, by pulling down my umbrella. After some words to the sentinel, I was suffered to pass on under his protection, till we had passed the precincts of the imperial residence, where he put up his own umbrella, and motioned me to do the same. By this act, and by the signs which he had used in explanation of this strange affair, I clearly understood that it was all on account of the umbrella. This article, so useful and common in rainy climates, is an ensign of royalty in the East; and although the use of it for common purposes has crept in at Constantinople, the sovereign is supposed to be ignorant of the fact, and it may not on any account be displayed in his presence, or in passing any of the royal residences.

That day I was detained in Pera longer than I expected; and darkness had set in by the time the wherry in which I returned reached Orta Khoi. After I had paid the fare, and was walking up the beach, the boatmen followed and endeavoured to impress something upon me, with much emphasis of manner, but without disrespect. My impression was that they wanted to exact more than their fare; and as I knew that I had given the right sum, I, with John Bellish hatred of imposition, buckled up my mind against giving one penny more. Presently the contest between us brought over some Nizam soldiers from the guard-house, who took the same side with the boatmen; for when I attempted to make my way on, they refused to allow me to proceed. Here I was in a regular dilemma, and was beginning to suspect that there was something more than the fare in question; when a Turk, of apparently high authority, came up, and after a few words had been exchanged between him and the soldiers, I was suffered to proceed.

As I went on, up the principal street of the village, I was greatly startled to perceive a heavy earthen vessel, which had fallen with great force from above, dashed in pieces on the pavement, at my

feet. Presently, such vessels descended, thick as hail, as I passed along, and were broken to sherds on every side of me. It is a marvel how I escaped having my brains dashed out; but I got off with only a smart blow between the shoulders. A rain of cats and dogs, is a thing of which we have some knowledge; but a rain of potter's vessels was very much beyond the limits of European experience. On reaching the hospitable roof which was then my shelter, I learned that this was the night which the Armenians, by whom the place was chiefly inhabited, devoted to the expurgation of their houses from evil spirits, which act they accompanied or testified by throwing earthen vessels out of their windows, with certain cries which served as warnings to the passengers: but that the streets were notwithstanding still so dangerous that scarcely any one ventured out while the operation was in progress. From not hearing these cries, my danger was of course two-fold, and my escape seemed something more than remarkable; and I must confess that I was of the same opinion when the next morning disclosed the vast quantities of broken pottery with which the streets were strewn.

It seems probable that the adventure on the beach had originated in the kind wish of the boatmen and soldiers to prevent me from exposing myself to this danger. But there was also a regulation preventing any one from being in the streets at night without a lantern: and the intention may possibly have been to enforce this observance, especially as a lantern would this night have been a safeguard to me, by apprising the pot-breakers of my presence in the street."

Signs he considers the natural language of the deaf mute, as it is the mode adopted by persons ignorant of each other's language, and virtually dumb to each other. "The Indians, Tartars, or aboriginal inhabitants of the country west of the Mississippi, consist, he informs us, of different nations or tribes, who each speaking different languages, or dialects of the same language, hold converse without speaking, having adopted a language of signs."

Some of the signs employed by the Indians, have a peculiarity arising from their savage customs; but there are others more universally applicable, and are the same as those used in the schools for the deaf and dumb, after the method of the celebrated Abbé Sicard.

He conceives it probable that some vague rumours concerning this people, led the Abbé to conceive the possible existence of a nation of deaf mutes. The following passage from one of his books is cited in Dr. Orpen's "Anecdotes and Annals:"—"May there not exist in some corner of the world an entire people of deaf-mutes? Well, suppose these individuals were so degraded, do you think that they would remain without communication and without intelligence? They would have

without any manner of doubt, but more rich than our own ; it is always the faithful portrait of them, what should hinder the deaf should they not have laws, a country less involved in obscurity.

This gifted and excellent signs were the proper language is borne out by others and par the instructed deaf-mutes may their own feelings on this matter American Asylum at Hartford given as the answer of a deaf do you consider preferable-signs ?" Answer—" I consider best of it, because the language me elucidation and understanding with the deaf and dumb persons subjects, without having the language of signs is more still speech, which is full of falsehood.

Kitto is of opinion also, that means of intercourse among the deaf and the fingers, their instrument be merely used in correspondence beyond their own class ; speech and used with such pain and no intrinsic value to them. This experience, for when he felt and such difficulty in speaking, not the effort be to those born to be thoroughly convinced that for all the intercourse of which

The Abbé Sicard unites in that were taught to speak. His pupil l'Epée whose views were not was as large as Sicard's, indulged deaf mutes entirely to society. Deafness—the same cause which though so eminently qualified as he says, though they "spoke" fice to exclude them from it. comparatively little use to his house.

The following letter written in English by Laurent Clerc, one of the pupils of Abbé Sicard, and afterwards engaged to teach in the American Asylum at Hartford, corroborates this opinion. It was addressed to Dr. Orpen, the founder of the Irish Asylum :—

“ Connecticut Asylum, Hartford,

“ September 30, 1818.

“ We have received the report you forwarded us. I ought not simply to thank you for this complaisance, but for the opportunity you have thus afforded us of augmenting the number of our acquaintance with men of benevolence. The report is excellent, and the time we have employed in reading it has certainly been profitable to us. It has excited our wish to pursue the object of increasing our library. Send us then an account of all you may hereafter do ; it will be a new obligation which we shall owe you.

“ The eulogy which you have given to my master's mode of instruction has sensibly affected me ; and the answers of my friend Massieu, which you have mentioned in your address, are exactly the same as I saw him write ; and I think them so correct and so precise, that they themselves prove the excellency of Monsieur Sicard's system. *I therefore wish very much that you would follow the same, and lay aside the useless task of teaching the Deaf and Dumb to articulate sounds, or I cannot expect to see your pupils forward enough to understand abstract ideas.* If I have not mistaken the contents of your Report, it appears that — and — of — and — have not been very kind to you ; you ought, nevertheless, not to be sorry for it, for whoever declines to communicate his secrets gives a proof of their sterility.

“ Adieu ! The task which you have embraced is a very good one. May the Lord bless you, and keep you, make his love to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you, lift up his countenance upon you, and give you courage and light, and reward you above, for the good you are doing to my poor companions in misfortune.

“ Your humble servant,

“ LAURENT CLERC.”

We give another specimen of letter writing ; though not by any means so well composed as the first, it is so graphic that we cannot omit it. It was written by a pupil of the Claremont Asylum near Dublin, to no less a personage than George IV. The writer appears to have been considered the best specimen of the instruction imparted in that institution. He was much excited by the visit of George the IV. to Dublin, and wrote him the following letter, which the King actually received, and to which he responded in the shape of a draft for ten pounds, with which he was afterwards apprenticed to the printer of this REVIEW.

" Wednesday, July 4, 1821.

" My Dear George,

" I hope I will see you when you come here to see the deaf and dumb pupils. I am very sorry that you never did come here to see them. I never saw you ; you ought to see the deaf and dumb boys and girls. I will be very glad to see you, if you come here often to see me. Did you ever see the deaf and dumb in London ? In what country did you ever see the deaf and dumb ? The boys and girls are very much improving, and very comfortable here. Are you interested in seeing the deaf and dumb ? All the soldiers in the armies belong to you ; the King of England gives a great deal of money to them. You must write a letter to me soon. I am very much pleased with writing a letter to you. I want to get a letter from you. I am much polite and very fond of you. How many brothers and sisters have you ? Would you like to see me at Claremont ? I could not go to London, because there is too much money to pay to the captain of a ship for me. I am an orphan, and a very poor boy. God will bless you. I love God very much, because he is the Creator of all things, and sent his Son to save us from sin ; He supports us and gives us everything, and makes us alive in the world. Do you know Grammar, Geography, Bible, Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Dictionary ? I know them very little. Claremont is a very beautiful place ; it has a great deal of meadows, ponds, lakes, trees, flowers, gardens, a horse, and an ass. I am thinking of everything, and to be polite to every one. Some of the deaf and dumb boys are always working in our garden, with my brother. I have been at school for four years and a half. I am sixteen years of my age. I am very delighted that I am improving very much. Perhaps I will be an Assistant of the Deaf and Dumb School. There are forty-one pupils at Claremont. Where were you born ? I was born in Dublin. I am quite deaf and dumb, and can speak very well. Would you like to correspond with me ? I would be very fond of you. You ought to write a long letter to me soon. What profession are you of ? I never saw you ; I am very, very anxious to see you indeed, and would like to see the King of England very much. We want a new school-room, and we want more deaf and dumb boys and girls at Claremont ; but we have not money enough to buy clothes and food for them. Will you send us some deaf and dumb children, and give us money to pay for educating them.

" I am your affectionate Friend,

" T. C."

Society, to the deaf man, is rather an infliction than an enjoyment ; the consciousness of his utter isolation wounds him deeply, as he becomes painfully aware of the depressing influence his presence must create in the social circle ; with them, though not of them, he feels like one thrown amongst a foreign race, where unknown tongues are recounting matters which to him, the uninitiated, seem fraught with the deepest interest, and yet, of which he is totally ignorant,

The almost morbid desire with which the deaf mute craves to know all that passes around him, is to the observer a subject of deep pain; the mere commonplaces, which form the staple matter of general conversation, become so vapid by repetition, that the deaf man can be scarcely persuaded that he is accurately informed when the twice told tale meets his perception; having watched the play of feature, the varied interest, or pleasure, or enthusiasm with which those around him have listened to what to him seemed so dull and stale, makes the deaf man immediately conscious that the principal charm has been the play of conversation, and not the matter to which it related. Dr. Kitto alludes most touchingly to that ardent desire he experienced to hear the nameless nothings which nobody thinks worth repeating to one who is deaf; he longed to hear the talk of children to each other, and often marvelled at the little interest apparent in the streets to hear the passing conversation; speculating, as he said, within himself, on all the useful knowledge that could be gleaned from the casual expressions which strike the ear on all sides.

He gives an anecdote from the first Report of the Dublin Asylum, which so painfully illustrates the facts we have noted, that we cannot withhold it:—

"Thomas Collins (a pupil whose progress was afterwards considered remarkable), being present where some gentlemen were conversing on a subject that interested them deeply, he watched the varying expressions of their countenances, with the most minute and anxious attention, as if endeavouring to catch some knowledge of what seemed to afford them so much entertainment, and striving, as it were, to burst the bonds which withheld him from the social circle. He repeatedly asked by signs to be informed of what was the source of their obvious gratification, but the subject of their conversation being beyond the range of his attainments at that time, he could receive no answer that was calculated to satisfy his curiosity. Finding all his efforts to participate in their pleasure fruitless, and productive only of disappointment, the poor child at length, turned away his head, with a countenance expressive of the deepest regret and dejection, and almost bursting into tears, made use of the few words which he had at that time learned to use and to understand, to say, 'Deaf and Dumb is bad,—is bad,—is bad!'"

Kitto describes with painful interest his sensations on witnessing a public meeting held at Exeter Hall for the Niger Expedition. Prince Albert was president on the occasion, and being his first appearance in public naturally attracted a vast assemblage of illustrious persons. It was something to see

together, as he remarks, on one platform, such men as the Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Chichester, Archdeacon Wilberforce, M. Guizot, Earl of Ripon, Daniel O'Connell, Lord Howick, Lord Ashley, Sir R. Peel, S. Gurney, Dr. Bowring, and many other famous personages. He watched the speakers with deep interest, men of political and historical fame, and took much pleasure in comparing the relative oratorical powers of the speakers lay and clerical, and admitted that the balance of impressive and graceful manners was evidently in favor of the political speakers.

He admits having felt a strange desire to observe the motions of the speakers, though utterly unconscious of a word they uttered, and watched with deep interest the enthusiasm of applause with which a favorite orator was greeted; there was much scope for his imagination, as he was acquainted with the usual style of the most eminent of the speakers from the political and religious papers of the day. He describes vividly the feeling he experienced on reading the speeches next day, and his disappointment on perceiving how seemingly poor and meagre they appeared when contrasted with the enthusiasm with which they were delivered. This, however, he attributed to the fault of the reporters.

Of the many essential differences between the blind and deaf Dr. Kitto enumerates, in a particular manner, the prominent tendency to the poetical in the former and the almost utter absence of such tendency in the deaf, at least as far as rhyme or poetical numbers; this he explains very simply; in the first place the deaf man wants language, and then he has in a painfully literal sense *no ear* for numbers. It is consequently nothing remarkable that deaf mutes, who either become deaf in childhood or have been born so, never attempt to contend with these difficulties. With regard to those who have become deaf at a later period the case may be different, though he does not seem to know of any case worth recording; he made, himself, some slight attempts in the poetical way, but does not appear to attach much importance to his effusions in that line. We give here a specimen of his poetical talent, not selecting it as altogether the best, but the shortest:—

ALTERNATIVES.

Were all the beams that ever shone
From all the stars of day and night,

Collected in one single cone,
 Unutterably bright ;—
 I'd give them for one glance of heaven
 Which might but hint of sin forgiven.

Could all the voices and glad sounds
 Which have *not* fallen on my sense,
 Be rendered up in one hour's bounds—
 A gift immense ;—
 I'd for one whisper to my heart
 Give all the joy this might impart.

If the great deep now offered all
 The treasures in her bosom stored,
 And to my feet I could now call
 That mighty hoard ;—
 I'd spurn it utterly for some
 Small treasure in the world to come.

If the sweet scents of every flower—
 Each one of which cheers more than wine—
 One plant could from its petals pour,
 And that were mine ;—
 I would give up that glorious prize
 For one faint breath from Paradise.

Were all the pleasures I have known,
 "So few, so very far between,"
 Into one great sensation thrown—
 Not *then* all mean ;—
 I'd give it freely for one smile
 From Him who died for me erewhile.

Though deficient in poetical talent, as regards rhyme or metre, the deaf mute possesses an inherent feeling of poetry, which pervades occasionally his entire nature, and renders his mute language almost sublime. Massieu, the celebrated pupil of the Abbé Sicard, furnishes one or two instances of true poetical feeling, though expressed in prose. Of his life, though truly interesting, our space will not admit further mention than merely to record his answers to questions put to him at different periods; the first we give relates to the earlier portion of his life, before he had the good fortune of knowing his kind master, the Abbé Sicard :—

"What were you thinking about while your father made you remain on your knees?"

"About the heavens."

"With what view did you address to it a prayer?"

"To make it descend at night to the earth, in order that the plants

which I had planted might grow to health."

"Was it with ideas, words, your prayer?"

"It was the heart that made it, or their meaning, or value."

"What did you feel in your heart?"

"Joy, when I found that they had seen my injury by the hail, and I was sick."

At these last words of his answer expressed anger and menaces. (says the narrator), was, that day he went out every evening to pray to the Virgin, for its beauty, for her restoration, he was enraged, and pelted stones.

"Is it possible that you menaced them?"

"Yes."

"But from what motive?"

"Because I thought that I could do it, for causing all these disasters."

"Had you no fear of irritating?"

"I was not then acquainted with what this heaven was ignorant what this heaven was, education was commenced that I could do it."

"What is hope?"

"Hope is the blossom of happiness."

"What is the difference between hope and desire?"

"Desire is a tree in leaf, hope is a tree in fruit."

"What is gratitude?"

"Gratitude is the memory of a kindness."

"What is time?"

"A line that has two ends,—a line that has two ends in the tomb."

"What is eternity?"

"A day without yesterday or to-morrow."

"What is God?"

"The necessary Being, the nature, the eye of justice, the will of the universe."

The acute and dangerous question to have been put to him by Sir John was—

"Man reasons, because he doubts; God is omniscient; he never doubts."

Persons born deaf rarely obtain the discovery of the blind is not so unfrequent.

solaced by a hopeful feeling, that their case is not irremediable ; and vain as that hope may eventually prove, it still possesses a charm of which the deaf are totally bereft. Thus, the more a person reflects on the relative privations of the blind and deaf, the more will he become imbued with the feeling, that dreadful as the loss of sight is, (and we do not want to prove aught that might seem to lessen the sympathy we all feel for those deprived of the golden glories of the day,) yet, as all sorrows and joys are comparative, the loss of hearing tends more to sadden the social happiness of our being than the loss of sight.

Dr Kitto gives several reasons for expressing this opinion in which we have coincided. He accords to the blind a higher degree of mental culture, which is, in itself, a source of the purest pleasure, and appeals to the fact that the memory may be taxed in vain to recollect the name of a single deaf person of any note either in past or present times, whilst, as he says, a host of blind men distinguished in every branch of knowledge rushes on the mind ; even in optics they have been distinguished. Blind James Wilson says truly :—

“ In the pursuit of knowledge the blind have been very successful ; and many of them have acquired the first literary honours, which their own or foreign universities could bestow. In the different branches of philosophy, if they have not excelled, they have been equal to any of their contemporaries, but more particularly in the science of mathematics ; many of them have been able to solve the most abstruse problems in algebra. In poetry they have been equally distinguished. Two of the greatest men that ever courted the muses, laboured under the deprivation of sight : Homer, the venerable father of Epic poetry ; and the inimitable author of ‘Paradise Lost.’ In philosophy Saunderson and Euler appear in the most conspicuous point of view ; the former lost his sight when only twelve months old, but was enabled by the strength of his comprehensive genius, to delineate the phenomena of the rainbow with all the variegated beauty of colors, and to clear up several dark and mysterious passages which appeared in Newton’s ‘Principia ;’ and although the latter did not lose his sight till he had arrived at the years of manhood, yet from that period he was able to astonish the world by his labours in the rich fields of science, where he earned those laurels which still continue to flourish in unfaded bloom. In mechanics the blind have gone to a considerable length, almost to surpass the bounds of probability, were the facts not supported by evidence of unquestionable authority. Here we find architects building bridges, drawing plans of new roads, and executing them to the satisfaction of the commissioners. These roads are still to be seen through the counties of York and Lancaster, where they have been carried through the most difficult parts of the county, once bogs and mountains. Indeed there are few branches of mechanics in which the blind have been excelled.”

It is a strange fact that the conductor of an Asylum for the Blind, and the principal of a Deaf and Dumb Asylum, having respectively written on this subject should both agree as to the superior advantages of the blind over the deaf. Dr. Guille, the director and physician of the institution for the blind at Paris, wrote as follows :—

“ Which are the most unhappy, the deaf-mutes or the blind? People ask us this every day. We shall resolve it to the advantage of the blind, because we think them in fact less unhappy. Strangers to all that passes around them, the deaf-mutes, who see everything, enjoy nothing. Like Tantalus, whom the fable represents to us as devoured by unextinguishable thirst in the midst of water, they are continually subjected to cruel privations. An insurmountable barrier separates them from the rest of men; they are alone in the midst of us, unless we know that artificial language which the talent and charity of their ingenious teacher have created for them. The custom which they have of reading the physiognomy is very often a subject of ever additional anxiety to them; they do not always divine aright; doubt and uncertainty increase their anxiety and suspicions; a serious cast, which resembles sadness, then invades their countenance, and proves that with us they are in their state of real privation. Obligated to concentrate themselves within themselves, the activity of their imagination is thus greatly augmented; and as attention and judgment follow necessarily the perception of ideas, they exhaust themselves immensely. Therefore one sees few deaf-mutes in the lists of longevity, because the frictions are too lively, and to use an expression common but exact, ‘ the sword wears away the scabbard.’

“ More favoured than these melancholy children of silence, the blind enjoy all the means of conversation with other men: no obstacle hinders them from hearing or being heard, since the ear, which has been so philosophically defined as the vestibule of the soul, is always open for them. The exchange is rapidly made, because they speak the vulgar language. It would be easy to prove that the blind have several other advantages over the deaf-mutes; but it would be exposing myself without much advantage to repeat what I have already said. Besides, would it not be idle to dwell too long upon a parallel between deafness and blindness, when it is not permitted us to choose between these two afflicted mutilations, which we can only alleviate as to their consequences where they do exist?”

Dr. Watson, the able manager of the Kent-road Asylum, fully coincides with the opinions we have placed before the reader, and to elucidate the matter more clearly he brings it to the test thus by actual comparison :—

“ Take, it may be said, a boy of nine or ten years of age, who has never seen the light, and you will find him conversable, and ready to give long narratives of past occurrences, &c. Place by his side a be

of the same age, who has had the misfortune to be born deaf, and observe the contrast. The latter is insensible to all you say: he smiles, perhaps, and his countenance is brightened by the beams of 'holy light'; he enjoys the face of nature, nay, reads with attention your features, and by sympathy reflects your smile or frown. But he remains mute: he gives no account of past experience or of future hope.—You attempt to draw something of this sort from him; he tries to understand, and to make himself understood; but he cannot. He becomes embarrassed—you feel for him, and turn away from a scene too trying, under the impression, that of these two children of misfortune, the comparison is greatly in favour of the blind, who appears by his language to enter into all your feelings and conceptions, while the unfortunate deaf-mute can hardly be regarded as a rational being. Yet he possesses all the advantages of visual information as direct sensation. All this is true. But the cause of this apparent superiority of intelligence in the blind is seldom properly understood. It is not that the blind possess a greater or anything like an equal stock of materials for mental operations, that is, sensations, as already described. No, but they possess an invaluable engine for forwarding these operations, however scanty the materials to operate upon—artificial language. Language we have defined to be the expression of thought; so it is, but it is moreover, when refined and methodised, the medium of thinking. Its value to a man is nearly equivalent to that of his reasoning faculties; without it he would hardly be rational."

Much as we have adduced (and infinitely more could be said) in proof of the privations which the deaf mute endures, and sad as is the condition of the blind, yet all fall far short of the intensity of suffering, and the fearful privations experienced by those who are unhappily deprived of the three senses. Cases of this description are, thank God, happily rare, and up to the present century, no instance of this awful calamity was recorded. Dr. Watson, writing in 1809, appears to be ignorant of the existence of such a combination of privations; but his book had hardly been printed when he became acquainted with one or two examples. James Mitchel, to whom we have before alluded, furnished a sad instance of so dire a misfortune. Dr. Kitto gives a letter which he received from Mr. (afterwards Sir) Astley Cooper; this letter describes so accurately, yet so concisely, the boy's state, that we subjoin it:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"The boy whom I mentioned to you as having been born deaf and blind from congenital cataracts, was brought to my house by Mr. Saunders, oculist. When he was led into my parlour he put his hand to the wall, and felt around the room until he met a chair, on which he placed himself. A key was given to him, with which he immediately began to strike his teeth, and from which he seemed to derive

great satisfaction. In lieu of the his hand ; he struck his teeth tw it from him with a whining noise of the body, expressive of uneasiness a key being again presented to apparent pleasure, and seemed to for a length of time.

"I wrote to Mr. Saunders for me the following particulars :—

"The lad's name is Mitchell, of Ardelach, Inverness. His age, 1 and apparently healthy. He was managed him very easily ; for afterwards would readily submit to their dirpishment of any ordinary purposes.

"As soon as he came into the every article of furniture. He had and of running his hands up and their stature. If anything pleased that organ had, in the course of pleasure, and he instinctively refused light. His principal amusement with some elastic substance, as checked by the substitution of vibration. When I attempted that friends lost their power of managing the restraint necessary on that occasion before, and seemed perfectly free however suffer me to approach him possibly distinguishing me by the

Dugald Stewart, the man mentioned on this phenomenon, read an account the year 1812, from which, as communicated by Doctors Wardrobb, the following details have been elicited on the 11th of November, 1811, aware of his blindness, by no means eyes to the light, or to any brightness was also soon made aware, as undisturbed him ; his deafness was sense of vision was not quite satisfied grown to distinguish colors, 1 were bright and dazzling, and were sure in holding between his bodies as he found capable of it and his chief amusement consisted

rays by means of a bit of glass or a transparent pebble, which he would occasionally break into whatever shape he pleased between his teeth. He adopted even stranger modes to gratify his fondness for light. He would retire to an outhouse or room, shut the doors and windows, and remain there for a considerable time, with his eyes fixed on some small chink or hole which admitted the sun's rays, and catch eagerly the gleam of light thus concentrated. He also on dark nights kindled a light for his amusement ; and it was strange to behold the intense happiness he seemed to experience in realizing thus some undefined though pleasurable sensation.

His perception of shining colors has been attributed to the efforts of an operation performed on him in the year 1810, by Mr. Wardrop, who, having fixed his head by machinery, operated on his right eye, with such manifest improvement as could scarcely be hoped for ; the death of his father during the next year unfortunately put an end to all further attempts for his relief. The result of Mr. Wardrop's operation however enabled him to discern surrounding objects if not very minute. With regard to colors, red seemed to attract him most, next came white, then yellow ; the flowers he gathered in the fields were uniformly of those colors.

He possessed in a peculiar degree the senses of touch and of smell. When a stranger arrived, his smell invariably informed him of the circumstance and attracted him towards the newcomer ; he then proceeded to *survey* him by the sense of touch ; and in order to form an accurate idea, the first thing he did was to examine his boots, if he wore any ; he next went to the lobby to feel his whip, and after that scrutiny proceeded to the stable, handling his horse with great care and apparent attention. If visitors arrived in a carriage he took particular pains in examining it ; in all this he was undoubtedly guided by smell and touch alone.

Mr. Wardrop, who watched this trait with peculiar interest, says, " When a stranger approached him, he eagerly began to touch some part of his body, commonly his sleeve, which he held near his nose, and after two or three strong inspirations through his nostrils, appeared decided in his opinion. If it happened to be unfavourable, he suddenly went to a distance with every appearance of disgust ; if favourable, he showed a disposition to become more intimate, and expressed by his countenance more or less satisfaction."

We have, in an earlier part habit he had acquired from impart a singular feeling of striking his teeth with a key sharp sound, and this he wot Gordon records, "that when he would select from amongst him most pleasingly;" this (now Lord) Brougham has brought him a musical snuff teeth. This, not only excite for him intense delight. When play, he held it tight between were concluded, continued to amining it closely with his intense curiosity.

This poor fellow, though tender and kindly nature, and was a young children he was partial with, or attempted to join in age. The feelings he evince in 1811, have been variously in the uniform strength of affection he loved, particularly his reliance to the testimony of the others. Mr. Macfarlane

"When the coffin which enclosed from the house and placed upon previous to the interment, I saw James Mitchell come from. He turned about rapidly, and hid himself by the smell. He directed most eagerly for several seconds lid on his face and embraceance exhibited marks of the moment him, and after a short time patting he rose and returned into the house the coffin being brought out, and lifted in order to be removed to on this subject has been disputed till I should have an opportunity Campbell, brother-in-law to Mr. funeral, and by whose direction with this gentleman. I took and observed any marks of sorrow and

his father's funeral. He replied that he observed the most unequivocal marks of grief in his countenance, and added a circumstance which escaped my notice, that when the coffin was about to be lifted in order to be conveyed to the churchyard, James Mitchell clung to it, endeavouring to prevent its being carried away, and he (Mr. Campbell) was obliged to remove him from it by force."

James was blessed with an excellent sister, who made her afflicted brother the sole object of her sisterly care, and her solicitude enabled her to devise various means of communication with him. Her approbation or displeasure were intimated by touch; this she did in several ways. For instance, when signifying her highest approbation, she patted him on the head, back, or hand, with great cordiality. This expression bestowed more sparingly, merely intimated assent; and she had only to refuse him those tokens, or repel him gently, to convey, in the most effectual manner, her sense of displeasure. On one occasion when his mother was from home, this kind and thoughtful sister endeavoured to allay his anxiety for her return, by intimating to him how long she would be absent; this she did, in the following simple but touching manner, by laying his head gently down upon a pillow, once for each night that his mother would be away, thus implying that he would sleep so many times before her return.

He proved his sense of the kindness bestowed on him by this devoted sister, in the unselfishness with which he resigned, in her favor, the care of a favorite aunt to whom he had become much attached during a severe illness in 1814. His sister having taken ill before he recovered, he insisted on his aunt leaving him to attend to her, though he felt her loss exceedingly, and never rested till he gained his point; this affection and consideration for others was not exemplified in this case alone; he evinced it to many for whom he did not feel the same amount of affection as for his much loved sister. An anecdote replete with this kind and thoughtful feeling for others is recorded of him. He at one time had a severe wound in his foot which confined him for a lengthened period; during his convalescence he had to keep his foot resting on a low stool. About a year afterwards a servant boy with whom he had been in the habit of playing, met a similar accident. James having noticed his remaining in the same attitude longer than was usual with him, examined him attentively, and perceiving by the bandages how matters stood, mounted at once to a garret where the little

foot-stool had been stowed from amongst other furniture the kitchen and laid the pool

James always possessed a was particularly fond of pr invariably threw him into ec jumping about in the most l was locking persons up as p had strange instinctive perce one occasion he met a per feeling the animal seemed mother. The rider, who ha previous from his mother, would do, and was much at the horse home, take off the fore him, and then lock the pocket.

With regard to his relig rect idea. It is true he acc behaved there decorously, ; but whether he was consci Being, or that these outwa the force of habit, we canno possessed a sound and ratiou prove ; his acts never indica know not what *might* have t tempts been made to impart ed we hope to treat in a future ing than James Mitchell, s attending her case, she has at in the blind and deaf might

Purposing in a future n Blind, we shall reserve Laur reasonably be classed among

Thus far we have written deaf and dumb, and we now

• Printing is an excellent t saw, last summer, in the town o establishment lately opened by l positors and pressmen to the nu have been educated at M. Helg ment they are now engaged in. large gold medal for this reclama

facts relating to the efforts made in Ireland, for the education, moral and physical, of those afflicted beings.

In May, 1816, "The National Association for the Education of Deaf and Dumb children of the Poor in Ireland," was opened at Claremont, near Glasnevin.

This was, and still is, a most excellent Institution ; but unfortunately for its usefulness, it was strictly, and exclusively Protestant ; and Catholic parents who sent their children for instruction to this establishment were fully aware that those children in gaining knowledge, abandoned faith. That is, the child should learn the Protestant religion, or leave the school. This system rendered Claremont unpopular, and it became as exclusively Protestant as the Blue-coat schools are, and as the Endowed schools were supposed to be.

At length the Catholics resolved that they would help themselves, and after many struggles they were enabled to open an Institution for deaf and dumb girls, under the care of the ladies of St. Mary's, at Cabra, in the year 1846. The eleventh of January in that year, Agnes Beedem, aged eight years, and Maryanne Dogherty, aged nine, were admitted.

The first annual meeting was held, May 3rd, 1847, the late Archbishop Murray in the chair ; Michael Staunton, then Lord Mayor, was the second chairman, and the honorary secretaries were the Rev. Thomas M'Namara, the Rev. S. A. Farrell, and the late W. Nugent Shelly.

From the *Report* read to this meeting we learn that when the Nuns at St. Mary's had consented to take the management of the school, it was resolved that two of the sisters should be sent to the Institution of Le Bon Sauveur, at Caen, in Normandy, to learn the system of instruction of the deaf and dumb there so successfully pursued. It was, after some further consideration, determined to send with the two sisters, two of the deaf mutes from Cabra, "that they might from the commencement, have an opportunity of reducing to practice the system of education which they themselves would receive."

Referring to these topics, the Rev. M. Furon, the chaplain of "Le Bon Sauveur," thus writes, and his letter is most interesting :—

"Caen, 31st December, 1845.

"DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

"I have deferred so long to write to you, because I was desirous to procure some precise information concerning the most approved-of books in England which relate to the instruction of deaf mutes.

M. Gruel has had the goodness at Paris, who has taught in acquainted with the best works on as this person has not as yet length put my hand to the pen t

"Our community await with Religious, whom they shall have tiate and to train in the good we with much consolation and succ of the idea suggested by M. G who are to come, two or three and who have not as yet receive be associated with our fifty deaf culty in accustoming themselves that our Superioress shall not the pension to be paid for the y shall be a very efficacious meart art of instruction, since they st from the very first day, the prin be eager to impart to them.

"If you know of any good E instruction of deaf mutes, we send them to us ; this would, in work which we undertake. It i these works are Protestant, it i them into the hands of the pupi for them, but *solely* for our o which we shall find worth takin have one of your *little catech* will understand, in fact, that it these small elementary treatises translate the French works of t be very *apropos* (as M. Gruel t Irish Priest were appointed as pose to establish in Dublin, as i alone to conduct an establishm children must have a confessor, made in writing, it is very impo fessor be initiated in the knowle tion of the deaf mutes, in order not as yet sufficiently instructed clear and correct. Moreover, a have not dispositions enough, or long at school, to be able to exp ther correct? But, it is *especta* to confess properly, that the kn and even necessary for the confi the deaf mutes, even though ver selves in a manner so as to be always necessary, for this very at the commencement, a confes struction.

"You need not occupy yourself, however, with this charge at present. The two Religious, whom you will send to us, shall be very well able, on their return to Dublin, to prepare a Priest for the direction of their instruction, by communicating to him that which they shall have seen and learned at 'Le Bon Sauveur.'

"I think that he could do the same for religious men, who would wish to charge themselves with the training and direction of the school of Boys. It would suffice for them to see the Religious employed, to become initiated in their method, in order to be able, together with the aid of their own thoughts, to qualify themselves in training their deaf mutes in the knowledge of those things that are of importance for them to know.

"I await with impatience the letter in which you have promised to communicate to us the precise period of the arrival of your two dear Sisters. You may be assured that everything shall be ready for their reception, and that the hearts of all the members of our numerous community shall be open to them, at the same time as the gates of the establishment of 'Le Bon Sauveur.'

"Receive, Sir and dear Brother, with my kind wishes for the new year, the assurance of my entire devotion.

(Signed),

"FURON."

The Report thus continues :—

It is further due to this admirable community to add, that nothing could exceed the personal attention and regard they rendered to our Irish nuns during their sojourn amongst them, admiring and encouraging the zeal which induced them, for the time, to become exiles from their sisterhood and their country, in order to qualify themselves for the enterprise of charity they had so zealously and meritoriously undertaken; and, on their return, the Rev. M. Furon, extending his kind services as far as possible, accompanied them and their two young pupils, till he saw them restored to the bosom of their own community.

Having thus provided for the instruction of one branch of this Institution, your committee had to deliberate upon the best mode of commencing the good work. Considering the amount of funds in hand, and looking to their prospects, clouded by all that was gloomy in the calamitous state of the country; finding also a difficulty in procuring a suitable establishment for the Institution, and, finally, thinking that they would be better consulting for good order, as well as the educational improvement of their pupils, by receiving a small number in the first instance, your committee deemed it more advisable to avail themselves of a provisional arrangement proposed by the community of St. Mary's, at Cabra, to accommodate, in connexion with their convent, a limited number of pupils, until a permanent establishment could be provided for the Institution.

By reference to the list of the children received by your committee, it will be observed, that they were admitted without any local preferences, your committee having solely in view the Catholic and national character they were so desirous to impart to the Institution.

Your Committee have, therefore, the great satisfaction of report-

ing that, through God's blessing been put in operation, and that f sad condition enlists universal training, under the happy auspi

Looking forward to the prosp mittee confidently trust that it v terest and support. There are land!! This simple announcem nation's sympathy. There are s tures living amongst us, who ar commerce with their fellow-men of enjoying them. But if their public commiseration, how muc count of their *spiritual* miseries destined for the same glorious adorable blood as we, they are darkness and the shadow of dea rity shall stretch forth the hand

But this infant Institution has form.—It has to combat a system these poor souls, a system, as un effective, extending its operation ploying every effort of terror ar dual deaf mute throughout the l mittee have collected their inf came under their own observati labours, and from undoubted re from various parts of the counti go to prove that the unhappy ch these proselytising endeavours, tions founded upon a misrepres than they are taught the princip pains are taken to infuse into th held sacred and venerable in Cs the love of God and of their fe soul-destroying effects of this ne been furnished with the followin remotest parts of Ireland:—

“We cannot avoid giving an i our remark regarding the Deaf established in Dublin. A pupil dence of her parents in Westpor her parents thought it proper to their dying child. On the arriv (by writing on a slate) who that ner), she said she knew it, for he forehead; and that he was Anti allow the Bible to be read, &c.”

The donations for the year to £1,298 9s.; the annual s

5s.; and the collections by cards came to the large sum of £95. 5s. 3d.; making the total receipts £1,509. 19s. 3d. The travelling expenses, of going to and returning from France, of the two nuns and two pupils, with the cost of support there, amounted to £92. 0s. 6d.; and the entire expenditure for the year, was, including this latter sum, £477 11s. 3d.; leaving a balance of £1,032 8s. 0d.

Fifteen girls were admitted from the 11th of January, 1846, to the 19th of April, 1847; of these the youngest was eight years old, the eldest eleven.

Well might the committee write, referring to the woful times in which they commenced their labors, and in the midst of which £1,509. 19s. 3d., were subscribed to save the faith and to improve the condition of the Catholic Deaf Mutes:—

“Your Committee deem it unnecessary to observe, that the difficulties which under ordinary circumstances should have encompassed so arduous an undertaking, have been vastly heightened and multiplied by the awful calamity with which it has pleased the Almighty to visit this country. Due regard, however, being had to this appalling visitation, and the consequent pressure upon all charitable resources in order to save from perishing, as far as it was possible, our famishing poor, your committee conceive there is much reason for congratulation on the progress they have been enabled to make.”

During all the years since its establishment this institution has made the most remarkable progress, and now the original idea of the founders is completed, by the establishment of a Male School, at St. Joseph's, Cabra, under the care of the Christian Brothers.

The twelfth annual meeting was held the 2nd of July, 1858, Sir John Bradstreet, Bart., in the chair; the Very Rev. Canon Grimley, acting as Secretary.

The *Report* read to the meeting is so very admirable, and so extremely interesting, that we shall, with some little condensation, place it before the reader:—

Let the friends of charity recollect that so late as twelve short years ago, so lamentable was the condition of our deaf mutes, that there was not an asylum in the British dominions in which they could be taught the Catholic faith; and now look for an instant at this noble building, this monument of the charity of our people, and surely they will acknowledge “the finger of God is here.” Since within twelve short years so much has been accomplished for the glory of God and the salvation of his destitute children, what, with

his divine aid, may we not expect years ago and we had neither hope nor knowledge of eternal life. Anxious that the supporters have an accurate idea of the state of each child, we enter into the details of St. Mary's.

Your Committee need not regret the singular privilege of being educated under the ever-watchful eyes of the Sisters. We are not surprised at progress in literature and science. Alluding to the unceasing labour of the Sisters, we say that words could not convey even a faint idea of the devotion which this Institution owes to the Mother Superior. To another world they look for their reward. We believe that brilliant indeed must be the lot of the Sisters of St. Mary's now numbered among the blessed. Eight nuns had the happiness of celebrating the most Holy Eucharist. There were twelve received Confirmation. We are happy to state that the most grateful of the children who have left the Institution to correspond with the nuns and the following letters are specimens of the letters which have left still entertain for the Sisters for the inestimable blessings of a religious life.

• The following is the regular day of St. Mary's.

- 6 Rising.—"Angelus Domini"
- 6½ Morning prayer
- 6½ Meditation
- 6½ Study
- 7½ Mass
- 8 Dormitory arrangements
- 8½ Breakfast
- 8½ Walking
- 9½ School
- 11 Visit to Chapel.—Walking
- 11½ Needlework
- 12 "Angelus Domini"
- 1 School
- 2 Writing
- 2½ Dinner
- 3 Recreation
- 4 Needlework
- 5 Study
- 6 "Angelus Domini"
- 6½ Supper
- 7 Recreation
- 8 Night Prayer.—Bed.

*"Yonkers, Westchester County, U.S.
May, 4th, 1858.*

"MY DEAR MRS. M——

"I received your kind letter, which gave me great pleasure. I was so glad to hear from you and all the nuns and pupils. You must excuse me for not writing before now, but mother was not very well. I wrote some time since to Maria Kieran. She did not answer me yet. I go to Confession and to Holy Communion every month. All the girls that go to school to the sisters of Charity (and I am one) received Holy Communion at Easter; we all had white veils and medals with blue ribbon. There are no deaf-mute girls at school with me. Father Lynch is very kind to me. My mother is sorry she did not leave me another year at Cabra; for there is no deaf-mute school in this State except a Protestant one, and she would not put me there. I help mother in the house, but she does not like to send me out for anything. It troubles her to think something would happen to me. I am most thankful for the very nice picture you sent me. My dear Mrs. M——, my sister Rose is married, and has got a baby son. I am sorry my sister Anne did not come here with me, and we would be altogether then. I like to live with my mother. I enclose a picture for Anne M'Closkey, and hope you will let her write to me. I send my fondest love to all the nuns and to all the deaf-mutes. How is Rev. Father Burke? I hope he is in good health. My mother and sister send their regards to you. Pray for me, your affectionate child,

"SARAH CAHILL.

"P.S.—Please write soon again."

"Kilkenny, June 8th, 1858.

"MY DEAR MRS. M——

"It is a very long time since you heard from me. I am very uneasy, because I have no pious person to instruct me in religion the same as you used to do. I am very much afraid. I have confidence in your prayers. I know you like to hear from me. I met a deaf mute named Helen Haly about a month ago. I was astonished to see her make the same signs as I make, and I thought she had learned at Cabragh, but it was Miss O'Sullivan who taught her. She spoke to me about Mary Hartnett, Anne M'Carthy, the nuns at Cabragh, &c. &c. I wish my sister Ellen had gone to Cabragh three years ago. I hope she is quite well. I will write to her in a month. Will you please tell me about Jerry and Ellen? My mother is uneasy about them. She is so fond of them. I will continue to pray for you and all the nuns. I am most unhappy now because I would like to remain in the convent for ever. I often think of God, and take great care in my prayers. You will ask Mary Mahony to study religion well, and teach me when she comes home to Cork. I love poor persons very much, because they are the same as our Lord Jesus Christ. I wish to imitate Him. I hope you will write to me soon, and tell me all the news about Cabragh. I remain, your affectionate

"HONORA MURPHY."

Since our last meeting, one of the mutes, who had been a pupil teacher, departed this life. Her companions wrote a sketch of her life, one specimen of which will be gratifying to the benefactors and friends of the Institution.

"A little Sketch of the Life of one of our dear companions, who died on the 4th of last May, in the 18th year of her age.

"I was not in the Institution when dear Anne Smyth came to it ; she was one of the first pupils ; but two or three of my companions, who were here, have told me she was a nice little girl, with blue eyes and auburn hair. She was born at Annamoe, in Wicklow, and lost her speech and hearing by scarlatina, at the age of three years. Father Clarke, then Parish Priest of Annamoe, took a great interest in her, and got her admitted into the Institution when she was eight years of age. She was then very wild, and often told many funny things she used to do at home. Her greatest amusement was to stand before a looking-glass and make signs, being quite sure her reflection was another little deaf and dumb child. When her mother brought her here, she thought this place was a prison, and that she would have to remain here for ever ; therefore, she fretted when her mother left her, but her sorrow was soon forgotten, and ever after she liked Cabra very much. She was greatly surprised to see that there were four other deaf mutes here, for she thought that herself and the little girl in the looking-glass were the only deaf mutes in the world. After one year and a half she was so steady, and knew her catechism so well, that she was permitted to make her first communion on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1848. Nothing could equal her joy on that happy day, when she received, for the first time, our Divine Lord in the Blessed Eucharist.

"In a few weeks after she was confirmed by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, and was invested in the blue scapular. About five years ago she was promoted to be a class teacher. She taught her pupils very well. We shall never forget how sweet-tempered, gay, and obliging dear Anne was, and how she used to make us laugh at recreation. She took great pleasure in assisting the nuns when she saw them busy. Last summer she became very delicate, and was sent home for some months, which time she spent most happily. On the feast of St. Kevin she went to Glendalough with her sisters, and amused herself on the beautiful mountains there. Her native air having made her much better, she returned here after vacation. Last January one of her sisters died ; Anne felt it greatly ; and though she bore it with great resignation to the Divine will, I remarked that from that time she began to look very delicate, and was no longer as active and cheerful as before. She was obliged to give up teaching her class in February. On the 18th of March she went home with her father. The day she left us we cried much, and she too was very sad ; she said she thought she would not live long, and asked the nun who has care of us to teach her some aspirations to say, when she would be receiving Extreme Unction, and said she would not forget to have the indulgenced cross and blessed candle in her hand when dying. Her health did not improve at home, and she shortly after received the last sacrament, and was invested in the

scapular of Mount Carmel. Her sister wrote an account to the nuns of her death, and said that she suffered very much for about a week before she died, but was most patient, and never complained; and when asked was she able to pray, she said—'Yes; I am praying; I am making acts of the love of God, of contrition, and of resignation.' Her sister used sometimes say to her—'Are you resigned to die?' She would answer—'I am resigned to whatever God pleases.' Rev. Mr. Coleman, her Parish Priest, was most attentive to her during her illness. She presented to him a large statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which she had bought previous to her leaving Cabra. Her death was a most happy one. It had been her constant prayer that she might die in the month of Mary;—her request was granted. Our dear Immaculate Mother took her to herself on the evening of the 4th of May. In a composition which she wrote on heaven, a few months before she left the Convent, she said—'The first thing I will do when I enter heaven will be to prostrate myself at the feet of the B. V. Mary. I trust she is there now listening to the sweet voice of our Blessed Lady, and praying for each of us. We will all try to imitate our dear companion, who was so pious, docile, and gentle; we will not complain that we are more afflicted than others, and deprived of many enjoyments in this world, because we know that the most afflicted of God's children here will be the nearest to Him and to the Comfortress of the Afflicted in heaven.'

"CHARLOTTE MARY KELLY."

* This last paragraph reminds us of the very exquisite lines by Mrs. Sigourney, entitled *Alice, in Heaven, to her Family, left on Earth*. The poem was composed on the death of a highly interesting deaf and dumb young lady, of rare intellectual endowments. Her attachment to her father was remarkably ardent. Immediately after his death, she said, in her own strong language of gesture, "her heart had so grown to his that they could not be separated." In a few days she was suddenly called to follow him. She is here represented as having arrived at the mansions of bliss, and, meeting her father, thus apostrophises those fond objects of her affection, whom she had left on earth :—

I.

Sisters! there's music here!

From countless harps it flows,

Throughout this bright celestial sphere,

Nor pause nor discord knows:

The seal is melted from my ear

By love divine,

And what thro' life I pined to hear,

Is mine! is mine!

The warbling of an ever-tuneful choir,

And the full deep response of David's sacred lyre.

Did kind earth hide from me

Her broken harmony,

That thus the melodies of Heaven might roll,

And whelm in deeper tides of bliss, my rapt, my wondering soul?

In the Male School there
care, as already stated, of th
following valuable *Report* :-

S

GENTLEMEN—At the close o

Joy! I am m
My sad an
With all thei
Sweet Sisi
Listen, at hush of eve-
List, at the hour of pr
Untaught, u
As light fr
Praising his
Whose ble
And still it swells that high

Brother!—n
Belov'd fr
With whom,
I wander'd,
To gather
I cannot
Though '
Upon thy
Thy sym
'Tis be

No disappoir
The ange
Our knowled
Our pleas
The fearful v
Are never
Heaven hath
Call me r

Oh Moth
To wh
That whe
Stretched
I fain n
His smile my inf
His image in r
And o'er my yot
With gratitud
But yet, till these refulgent
I knew not half th' unmeasur

which we have conducted our afflicted but highly interesting charge, in compliance with your wishes, and according to the usual custom, we submit the following *resumé* of the proceedings of the past year for your consideration.

The very limited experience which we have had in Deaf and Dumb education, since the commencement of our connection with the Male Department in May, 1857, induces us to hope, with the Divine assistance, for the satisfactory accomplishment of the difficult undertaking in which we are now engaged.

Convinced that an acquaintance with the system pursued in the management of the several departments, educational and domestic, of both branches of the Institution, was necessary, and demanded our special attention, we commenced an attendance at Prospect and at St. Mary's, which extended over a period of six months, and afforded ample time for a good preliminary training.

To the good community of St. Mary's we are deeply indebted for the handsome manner in which they placed every facility at our disposal for acquiring a knowledge of all that related to the Deaf and Dumb which their excellent establishment afforded.

Our thanks are also, in a special manner, due to the Rev. J. B. Burke, of the Vincentian Fathers, for his efficient aid, which he was so well qualified to impart from his long experience of the Deaf and Dumb.

The absence of a systematic course of instruction, as well as the many other disadvantages which the pupils of the Male Institution laboured under, must have rendered their education an extreme difficulty; and the gifted conductors of the Female Department, having acquired their knowledge of the system in France, will account for the similar want of a suitable educational series for the Deaf and Dumb, which they too regretted. But few works of British Institutions, were available, and, of these, none could be procured of a sufficiently elementary character to render them generally useful. In French, indeed, no such want could be said to exist; for the very excellent works of Sicard, Bebian, Jamet, and others, afford a great variety from which to select; but without incurring the expense of producing translations of these, or similar publications, in this country, no graduated course of instruction for Catholic deaf mutes could be procured.

Judging of the system pursued in the New York Institution, as

VI.

Ask ye, if still his heart returns its ardent glow ?

Ask ye, if filial love

Embodied spirits prove ?

Look ! 'tis a little space, ere thou shalt rise to know :

I bend to soothe thy woes,

"How near," thou canst not see ;

I watch thy lone repose—

ALICE doth comfort thee ;

To welcome thee I wait—blest Mother, come to me !

exemplified in its "Course of Instruction," we have no hesitation in allowing its superiority as an elementary course, to any other in our own language which we have become acquainted with, though some objections are to be found to adopting it generally in our Institution. The expense of such adoption might also deserve consideration, as, for about an equal amount, a similar "Course of Instruction," specially adapted to all our wants, could probably be produced in this country. The production of such a work, should it meet your approbation, could only be accomplished after such mature preparation, as would enable us to hope that in incurring the attendant responsibility, you were securing to us an object worthy of the considerable outlay which it would demand.

Of the very many interesting French publications for the Deaf and Dumb, as well as those published in connection with the Doncaster Institution, we have temporarily availed ourselves, though only to a limited extent; but should the initiatory system of the latter Institution approach in completeness its more advanced course, a knowledge of it would be desirable.

As in other similar institutions, the instruction of the pupils in all that is implied in affording them as great a facility in the use of written language as they can attain to, forms the leading object of our efforts; and this facility once attained, the other branches of ordinary education are open to them.

While occupying your attention with what concerns the condition of the Deaf and Dumb, we may be permitted, for the gratification of those who feel so particular an interest in the subject, to introduce the following observations of the President of an advanced existing Institution.

"The natural desire of parents and relatives to restore a deaf child to hearing and speech, certainly the best, and regarded by uninformed people as almost the only means of social intercourse and moral and religious cultivation, has ever been a fruitful source of quackery. It may be safely affirmed that there is no child deaf by disease or accident, or whose deafness is hoped to be curable, on whom twenty different remedies have not been tried, most of them absurd, some very painful, and some even dangerous. But the success has been far below the average in cases of empiricism. You all know that multitudes of cures, due solely to the recuberative powers of nature, have been ascribed to the last quack remedies that happened to be employed; but in cases of deafness, so marked as to occasion dumbness, recovery, spontaneous or otherwise, hardly happens once in ten thousand times."

"Nor hardly has better success attended the efforts of the profoundest science and the most enlarged experience. Obstructions in the auditory passages may be cleared away; the tone of the nerves and of the system generally may be improved; and by these and other means partial deafness is often relieved. But as the internal parts of the ear lie beyond the ken of the physician, attempts to remedy the diseases or malstructure of those parts must be made very much in the dark, and the result, in a great number of instances reported, has been one case here and there more or less relieved, to some hundreds in which useless suffering was inflicted."

"I believe post-mortem examinations, to ascertain the immediate causes of deafness, have been rare in this country (America), and comparatively few such are recorded in Europe. Dr. Itard, the late able and most distinguished physician of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb of Paris, who, perhaps, made more such examinations than any other man, believed that in most cases of profound deafness, the cause was paralysis of the auditory nerve. In other words, in most deaf mutes, the nerves of hearing are *dead*, and MEDICAL MEANS HAVE NO EFFECT ON THE DEAD."

"Still, there are generally to be found men who have full faith in the mysterious operation of certain remedies of their own, which, like a charmed gun, shooting in the dark, shall hit the mark; and there are still seldomer wanting men who have a much juster confidence in human credulity. Between these two classes the anxious parent will never want remedies, and flattering promises of cure to his deaf child, till the most tenacious hope and patience being at length wearied out by constant failures, he at last returns to the point, which, for the good of the child, should have been attended to long before, the means of alleviating its misfortune by education."

After warning the parents and friends of deaf mutes against empiricism, the writer goes on to say, that "they ought to pay more attention than they have yet done, to the far more important and infinitely surer means of remedying the misfortune of the deaf and dumb, by making their other senses, and especially that of sight, supply the probably irremediable loss of the hearing."

The adoption in this country of the course intimated in the following paragraph, would deserve your consideration.

"It is most true that the early education and training of deaf mute children, before they reach the proper age of entering the Institution, is too much neglected. Efforts have been made to remedy, in some degree, this evil, by publishing and widely circulating brief and plain directions to parents and friends of deaf mute children, for their early management, and for the first steps in their instruction. The advice, moreover, has been repeatedly given, and I would here again repeat it, that where the parents have not the leisure or ability to begin the deaf and dumb child's education at home, it should be sent along with its brothers and sisters who hear, to the district or primary school, where it may at least easily acquire the habit of order, the ability to imitate letters correctly with a pen, and the names of many common objects, which can be explained by pictures, or by merely pointing to them."

Our morning exercises, commencing with prayer, include lessons in written language, Christian doctrine, and arithmetic. Resuming studies at half-past nine, till twelve A.M., object lessons, written language, grammatical and geographical exercises, with simple outlines of globes and astronomy, occupy the time. A few are occasionally exercised in simple algebraic propositions. Dictation by signs is occasionally introduced, and original composition is specially attended to.

The Afternoon Exercises, commencing at half-past twelve P.M., and ending at three P.M., are devoted to explanations of Christian

doctrine, arithmetic, &c., and a continuation of initiatory lessons, and lessons in written language. The Evening studies are chiefly a preparation for the business of the following day.

The literary exercises of the day commence and conclude with prayer, in the language of signs. Prayers are also signed at other stated hours.

Only a few alterations were necessary to adapt the ordinary distribution of time to our present routine; according to which the pupils at

6 A. M.	Rise and wash	
6½	"	Morning prayer
7	"	Studies till 8 A. M.
8	"	Breakfast, <i>ad libitum</i> , till 9½ A. M.
9½	"	Studies resumed " 12 "
12	"	Angelus—lunch and play " 12½ "
12½ P.M.	Studies	" 3 "
3	"	Dinner and recreation " 5 "
5	"	Evening studies " 7 "
7	"	Supper and play " 7½ "
7½	"	Night prayer, and
8	"	Bed.

Wednesdays and Saturdays, being half days, a walk is substituted for the afternoon exercises of the former day; the latter is allotted to domestic arrangements.

On Sundays and Holydays the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered in the domestic Chapel, and every facility is afforded the pupils for approaching the holy sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist.

Immediately after Mass, religious instruction is imparted in the Chapel by a Brother, in the language of signs. Religious instruction is again resumed on these days from 10 to 11 A.M., in the School; after which, lunch and a walk fill up the time until 3 P.M. Evening studies and devotions are resumed from 5½ to 6½ P.M.

Daily visits to the Library are also allowed, where the pupils are encouraged to make every effort to overcome those difficulties of language which usually deprive the deaf and dumb of all the pleasure to be derived from reading. For this purpose illustrated works are most suitable; and when arrangements are completed for procuring, at short intervals, such interesting publications as would be likely to excite the curiosity of the young, much will be accomplished towards rendering this department the great aid which it ought to become in the education of our mutes.

Cricket, football, two ball courts, a large play ground, and the gardens, afford ample opportunities for that physical development which is so justly a prominent consideration in the training of youth.

For recreative walking excursions we are left nothing to desire. The healthful advantages of the Phoenix Park are within a few minutes' walk; and the freedom of access to the Zoological Gardens, so kindly allowed to Institutions, has been repeatedly availed of. The other environs of the city, as well as the beautiful country surrounding the Institution, afford everything that could make such excursions gratifying.

As an encouragement to merit, on a recent festival, twenty-five of the most deserving boys were indulged in a short railway trip. They proceeded to Kingstown, and after enjoying all the beauties of that favored locality during the day, returned in the evening deeply grateful for the enjoyment which had been procured them.

On a recent occasion, the following expression of thanks was conveyed to the Very Rev. Mgr. Yore, by a pupil in the school of the Institution :—

St. Joseph's, Cabra.

VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,

We return you thanks for the very nice altars which you have given us. You are always very kind to us. We will often pray that God may grant you many graces, and that our Blessed Lady may also take care of you.

Asking your blessing and share in your prayers,

We remain, Very Rev. dear Sir, most gratefully,

Your obedient servants,

THE DEAF MUTES OF ST. JOSEPH'S.

During the past year the following pupils made their first Communion :—J. Carlan, Wm. O'Shaughnessy, Edwd. Tighe, Jn. Hornsby, Jas. Doherty, Pk. Kenney, Chr. Fitzpatrick. And of these, the following received Confirmation at the hands of his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen :—John Hornsby, Edward Tighe, Chr. Fitzpatrick, Wm. O'Shaughnessy, George Lacey and Bern. Loughran, having completed their education, left our Institution within the year.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, while gratefully acknowledging your considerate attention to all our suggestions, we have great pleasure in being able to state that the happiest evidences of physical, as well as mental and moral improvement, have already manifested themselves in our Mutes ; a small earnest of the total reform which we hope to see effected in them, when the remaining desirable facilities in the management of the literary and domestic details of the Institution, which a more extended experience will enable us to introduce, shall have been completed.

We remain, Gentlemen, respectfully, &c.,

THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

The following letters are specimens of the boys' compositions :—

" St Joseph's, Cabra, June 22nd, 1858.

" MY DEAREST FATHER—On the 4th of January, the Very Rev. Canon Grimley, the Rev. Mr. Burke, Mr. Manning, Christian Brother, and the three boys, left the terminus of the Galway railway. The morning, though dark, was fine. We left at seven o'clock, and were glad to go in the train. We travelled very quickly, but as it was very dark we could not see anything until we were some miles from Dublin. The train stopped at Maynooth, where the great Catholic College is situated. We arrived at Mullingar at nine o'clock,

where we stayed for a short time. Mullingar is remarkable for being an excellent wool market. At eleven o'clock we arrived at Athlone, where we saw the Shannon flowing through the town. Athlone is called the centre of Ireland. I saw my native town of Ballinasloe, in the County Galway. About twelve o'clock we arrived at Galway, and attended the examinations shortly after. We had the pleasure of seeing the Right Rev. Dr. McEvilly, the Catholic Bishop of Galway, at the examination. We were examined in a great many things; in Christian doctrine, geography, grammar, arithmetic, &c. All persons present were much surprised at the manner in which we answered. We remained one night in Galway, and returned to Dublin by the train on the following day. We were much pleased at seeing Galway, its railway hotel, and its fine bay, but were surprised to see all the stones that were in the country about Galway.

"I remain, my dearest Father,

"Your affectionate Son,

"PETER PAUL QUINN."

"*St. Joseph's, Cabra, June 23rd, 1858.*

"MY DEAR FATHER—The boys rise every morning at 6 o'clock, and assemble in school for morning prayer at 6½ o'clock! At 8 o'clock all breakfast, and after breakfast the boys go to the playground until 9½ o'clock. At 9½ o'clock we all assemble in school and remain there until 12 A. M. We learn a great many things; grammar, composition, geography, globes, astronomy, &c. At 12 o'clock we sign the Angelus Domini and get lunch, and are allowed to play till 1½ o'clock. School begins again at 1½ o'clock, and lasts until 3 o'clock. We dine at 3 o'clock, and visit the library or play until 5 o'clock. Evening studies commence at 5 o'clock, and end at 7 o'clock, when we get supper and have play until 7½ o'clock. We then sign evening prayer and go to bed. We are allowed to walk on Wednesdays and Sundays. We often see the Phoenix Park and the Zoological Gardens. We can see the city, Howth, and the bay and mountains of Dublin, and we often see many ships and steamers coming in the bay. The railway passes very near to the Institution, and we often walk along the Royal Canal. The country about St. Joseph's is very beautiful, and the boys are very happy in having such a fine Institution.

"I remain, my dear Father,

"Your affectionate Son,

"JOHN WHELAN."

In concluding their Report, the Committee thus refer to the late lamented John O'Connell:—

"Your Committee, while submitting to the dispensations of Divine Providence, beg to express the great loss sustained by this Institution, in the death of one, who, as Hon. Secretary, assisted us by his advice, and cheered us on by his example in labouring for the amelioration of the deplorable condition of the poor deaf mute children of Ireland. In the annals of our

Institution the name of John O'Connell must always appear among its best benefactors.

"It is our consolation to hope that his Christian and edifying life has merited for him the crown of justice; and that in heaven his happiness will be consummated in seeing around him our poor deaf and dumb, for whose salvation he laboured so assiduously."

The charge, as pension, for each Mute is £10 per annum, but the total average cost of each is £18 per annum. The youngest girl is 8 years old, the eldest 16 years: the youngest boy is 8, the eldest 15 years of age.

We have already given the tables showing the employment of time in each Institution; the following are the Dietary, and abstract statement of accounts for both schools:—

DIETARY.

Dietary on	Breakfast.	Lunch.	Dinner.	Supper.
SUNDAY ...	Bread and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Meat, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
MONDAY ...	Bread and Milk	Bread	Bread and Broth	Bread and Milk.
TUESDAY ...	Stirabout and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Meat, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
WEDNESDAY	Bread and Milk	Bread	Bread and Broth	Bread and Milk.
THURSDAY	Stirabout and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Meat, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
FRIDAY ...	Bread and Milk	Bread	{ Bread, Butter, } { Fish or Eggs, } { and Vegetable }	Bread and Milk.
SATURDAY	Bread and Milk	Bread	Bread and Broth	Bread and Milk.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from Cr. June, 1857, ...				557	2	6
„ Bequests received during the year,				156	7	0
„ Donations,				710	18	5

Ordinary Revenue of the year :—

„ Annual subscriptions,	767	4	8			
„ Pensions, &c., &c.	1262	19	7			
„ Card Collections,	121	15	5			
„ Interest on Government Stock, ...	77	10	6			
				<u>2220</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>
				<u>£3653</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By paid Maintenance of Children, ...				1797	13	2
„ Salaries to Masters,				180	0	0
„ Do. to Chaplain and Secretaries,				160	0	0
„ Do. to Collectors' Commission,						
and Travelling Expenses, &c.,				153	14	6
„ Newspaper Advertisements; ...	71	10	6			
„ Printing and Engraving	56	3	3			
„ Furniture for New Institution,	345	5	5			
„ Rent of Institution, Auxiliary						
House and Committee Rooms,	100	0	0			
„ Law Expenses,	32	8	2			
„ Expenses of Missions,	31	6	0			
„ Do. attending the breaking up of						
former Institution,	135	0	0			
„ Officers' requisites, Postage, Fuel, &c.	89	17	7			
				<u>861</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
Balance,				500	19	6
				<u>£3653</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>

What these Institutions may yet become, time alone can show, but judging of the future by the experiences of the past twelve years, we may reasonably expect that managed as they are, they will become world-known and approved as are the great Schools of the Christian Brothers. Already the advantages offered are fully appreciated in the United States, and in the British possessions on the American Coast; and we understand that young children are sent hither from Canada for instruction. The male school at Cabra is one of the architectural sights of Dublin: but even whilst admiring its beauties, even whilst applauding the efforts hitherto made, and marked by so glorious a success, we should not forget that there are 4000 Deaf-mutes in Ireland, and that hundreds, anxious for admission to St. Joseph's and St. Mary's, are sent away desponding and disappointed; there are no funds to support a larger number than that already accommodated.

With these considerations, and with the facts above stated before him, we beg the earnest attention of the Catholic reader to the following, which is a copy of the circular just issued by the Committee:—

CATHOLIC INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB.

"Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful."

LUKE vi. 36.

The Catholics of Ireland are respectfully informed that there are 4000 Deaf Mutes in Ireland; that without an education, suited to their wants, those poor children of affliction must live and die without knowing that a God exists. There are 200 poor children in the Institution, educated, supported, clothed, &c., &c. There are hundreds seeking admission, who, alas, must be excluded for no other reason than want of means to educate them. Will we permit those hundreds to live as heathens in the midst of us? Who will refuse to contribute to enable the Catholic Deaf Mutes to attain a knowledge of salvation? The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered up every month, for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Subscribers to this most useful Institution. Also, the Holy Sacrifice is offered up every month for the repose of the souls of deceased Benefactors. On the first Sunday of each month, the Mutes

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who approach the Sacraments, offer up their holy Communion for the above intentions. Each morning and evening the Deaf Mutes pray fervently for their Benefactors.

Mr. JOHN COGHLAN has been appointed to call on Subscribers and receive their contributions.

THOMAS GRIMLEY, CANON,
SECRETARY.

*Committee Rooms, 7, Wellington-quay,
Dublin, 1st November, 1858.*

ART. VII.—POETICAL BOOKS.

1. *The O'Donoghue of the Lakes, and other Poems.* By Nicholas J. Gannon. London : Bosworth and Harrison. 1858.
2. *The Traveller's Dream, and other Poems.* By Henrietta, Authoress of "Poetical Pieces on Religion and Nature." Dublin : John Robertson ; London : Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1858.
3. *Poetical Pieces on Religion and Nature.* By Henrietta. Dublin : Samuel B. Oldham. 1856.

Genius is the standard of the human intellect, and by which alone the operations of the mind can be accurately determined. The productions of genius are the only criteria whence they can be properly judged : there they are discovered in their excellence and consummation to the enquiry of the philosopher. It follows, then, that in reasoning of the powers and the faculties of the mind of man, genius and its works constitute the legitimate head and spring of demonstration and argument. But perhaps genius itself is only competent to the task. Be it so. Were this sentiment, however, to be adopted in its full extent, as it would be extreme vanity in any individual to assume to himself the given qualification and character, no matter of great moment would be undertaken, and the sublime efforts of mind must be fatally discouraged. Singularity would be the height of presumption, and no one could pretend to be original ; and by this the world would infallibly lose much. Many a discovery, many an invention, is indebted to a good guess. Singular opinions, if they do nothing more, produce scintillations of original thought, which by any other collision had never been emitted ;—and this is something ; not a matter of the most indifferent importance, but an object worthy of prosecution and regard. 'Tis a step to knowledge ; and "Fancy, ever the mother of deep Truth," may nurture her well even at the breast of Fiction.

But some will deny the possibility of an original idea. To them the mere assumption will be ridiculous. Locke affirms, that "all those sublime thoughts which tower above the clouds, and reach as high as heaven itself, in all that

great extent wherein the mind wanders in those remote speculations it may seem to be elevated with, it stirs not one jot beyond those ideas which sense or reflection have offered for its contemplation." We shall, nevertheless, contend for the *creative* faculty of genius in its literal signification, and assert its power of creation in the most extended sense; not only in the combination of ideas, but ideas themselves, primarily and underived, as its own absolute and independent production. "Ideas are things," says Berkeley. But we profess not metaphysics. If we did, and his position be correct, the creation we claim for genius is absolute indeed.

What is genius? Dr. Johnson defines it thus; "A mind of large general powers, accidentally determined by some particular direction." This position has been well combated by D'Israeli in his *Literary Character*. Seneca says, and, after him, Montaigne, that equality is the soul of equity; and it is so. We are all the same in the first principles of our conformation; but circumstance, "that inspiritual God," whose tyranny commences even before our birth, enlarges and contracts, develops and destroys. Education does much, and habit more. So far, and no farther, nature vindicates, without justifying, her universal justice in every diversity of body and of mind. As one body is weak, and another strong, so it is with different minds; there are gradations and characters in each. There is an idiosyncrasy of mind as well as of body; and as D'Israeli well observes, "If Locke or Newton had attempted, and persisted in the attempt, as some have, unluckily for themselves, to prevail in poetry, we should have lost two great philosophers, and obtained two supernumerary Poets."

Genius is an abstract term, and formed, as all abstract terms have been, from individual appellations. Certain individuals discover a genius or aptitude for certain particular attainments, and which in many instances, develops itself to a predominant character of intellectual power. Hence the term genius was adopted to express this aptitude in general, always implying the successful and predominant development. Dr. Johnson forgot the process by which we arrive at general terms, when he constructed his definition. Had he recollected this process, he would not have confounded the terms "mind" and "genius," and would have re-

versed the definition thus—"a determination in some particular direction, accidentally developed by a mind of large general powers." But how the mind of Johnson dilated and expanded, when, in the *Life of Pope* he describes the power of genius, and swells once more into that Ionian freedom and nobility of speech which marches to such sublime music, in that magnificent passage where, forsaking for a moment his jealous prejudices, he walks abroad in his soul's strength, to grasp the master mind of Gray, and point out to the world the pre-disposition and secret propensity of his ambitious genius! In the *Life of Pope* he describes "genius as that power which constitutes a poet, that quality without which judgment is cold, and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates." Common sense would say, that genius is what a man is born with; and perhaps, after all, we shall not improve the definition by explaining and amplifying it. We shall, however, define it thus: "That germ of native aptitude, born with, and borne in, the constitutional disposition of the human mind, which develops itself to a predominant character of intellectual power, breaks forth in the temper, moulds the habit, and is connatural and connate with the individual." This gift of Heaven—this incommunicable faculty—this preternatural conformation, indeed of the faculties of the soul, has ingenious and presumptuous sophistry endeavoured to create by accident, and originate by education,—influences that partake in its development, and are themselves the creatures of the mind of man. It has appropriated to itself all the gifts of Heaven, and claimed the power of exerting whatever talent it *elects* to acquire. The *phenomena* of genius it has resolved into mere outward circumstance, forgetting that circumstance, though it may contract or enlarge, can never produce; and with Promethean audacity, deemed, by adopting the same means, to create the same aptitude; but its professors soon feel that they still want the spark of animation—that divine energy which pervades and exalts the inert materials of art, and gives life to its slumbering elements; and which, if they attempt to possess by dishonest violence, the vulture and the rock are but feeble emblems of their vexation and dismay! The same sophistry which would thus deprive genius of its original, and undervived existence, would also deny to it its power of

creation. Nothing is more common than to speak of its creative power. Appeal to Philosophy, and she denies the fact, and metaphysicians define it all away into sensation and reflection, perception and combination. With them, the sentient is all—the spiritual nature of man, nothing. They profess to treat of his mind, and they confound it with the corporeal; they cannot conceive it abstracted from matter, and removed from sense. With them, all ideas are derived, and fancy and imagination phlegmatic imitators, or, at best, but quick collectors and appropriators of the good of others, the treasures of antiquity, the knowledge of the world; they communicate nothing, but derive all. According to them, the sublime and eloquent Barry mistook the operations of his own mind and the nature of art, when he vehemently broke forth, “Go home from the academy, light up your lamps, and exercise yourselves in the *creative* part of your art, with Homer, with Livy, and all the great characters, ancient and modern, for your companions and counsellors!”

Akenside exclaims,—

“Mind—mind alone! bear witness,
Heaven and Earth!
The living fountain in itself contains
Of beauteous and sublime!”

And so the mind does contain all these wonders in itself, and is truly the “vital spark of heavenly flame.” but every mind is not a poetic one, that is, poetic in the creative faculty. An age which, like the present, has produced several great poets, must be full of the spirit of poetry. Byron, Wordsworth, Scott, Southey, Coleridge, Campbell, and Moore, are above all this era, only by an excess of that power, in which many thousands participate. They are not beautiful and solitary flowers breathing in the desert, but are only conspicuous amongst other products of the soil by their richer bloom, and their finer fragrance. The whole of our worthy literature is more pregnant with imagination and passion. There seems to be at present a mingling and interfusing of the thoughts, sentiments, and opinions of men, of all kinds and degrees of power, that perhaps never existed before in this, or in any other country. Poets walk not in the light of their own imagination alone—but in the light shed around them, by the imagination of their brethren. Peculiar as was the genius of each of those poets we have named above,—peculiar as is the genius of our living poets, to him-

self, and opposite to each other their several theories of the art, yet may we observe frequent gleams and flashes of the one in the pages of the other, as they unconsciously lend or borrow splendour : however various their creed and professions of faith, yet they are all priests of one religion.

This stir and communion of thought, feeling and passion, is observable throughout that part of our literature which in former times was uninteresting and contemptible—we mean that poetry which is created by minds not in the first rank of poetical power. Our merest versifiers, now a days, may be set on an equality with men whom a former age considered true sons of Apollo, while we have among us not a few poetical writers, who, without aspiring to the very highest honors of the art, exhibit a familiar and profound knowledge of much of its subject matter, and are permitted, at times, to behold glimpses of the glory revealed in full only to the mightier prophets. To this interesting class of poets belong Mr. Gannon and the fair authoress of *The Traveller's Dream*.

We can fancy Mr. Gannon before us now, stepping out from a good breakfast at the *Lake*, upon that emerald lawn sloping down to the glorious sheet of water whence the hotel has its name. We can fancy him, with four oars, Kerry O'Leary for guide, and Mat Foley for bugler, not "doing," but actually studying the Lake. We can hear his shouts of laughter at Kerry's jovial stories of the "Killarney wake" and "the Quaker's hunt for a dinner in the Famine year;" and then we can fancy him sitting down to write the Legend of the O'Donoghue, not the member for Tipperary, but his great ancestor of the Lakes, and personifying those pretty chamber maids who dance such rattling jigs in the smoking-room, as descendants of the old chieftain's Eva, of whom he tells us,—

"The hue of the raven her dark ringlets show,
The blue violet sleeps in her eye;
The snow's softest tint, and the peach's pink glow,
Have pilfer'd her cheek for their dye."

"Henrietta" has a pretty name, a pretty fancy, and is, we are sure, a good, honest-hearted Irish girl. She has written two very charming poems in the larger volume before us; and in her little book, entitled *Poetical Pieces*, particularly in her poem on "The Death of John the Baptist,"—

but from which we shall not extract, as it should be read entire to be appreciated as it deserves—she has given us a specimen of her poetic ability most creditable and promising. In each and all of these she shows how fully her mind is imbued with the noble epigraph which she selects from Wordsworth,—

“In every part,
Spirit Divine through forms of human art.”

We would ask Mr. Gannon why he selected for his longer poem the metre of *The Lady of the Lake*? But, let us take things as they come, and, thanking the gods for what we get, wait, like *Mr. Macauber*, for something to “turn up.”

The first thing turning up worthy of special note, in Mr. Gannon's *O' Donoghue*, is the first meeting of the Chieftain and Eva:—

Her anxious sire, while yet the maid
In childhood's simple garb had played,
Deem'd her coy ways and bearing shy,
The proof of native modesty.
But when maturing years had shed
Their crowning roses on her head,
With radiant bloom her cheek had grac'd,
And on her lip their vermeil trac'd,
He thought through pleasure's magic thrall
To tempt the girl in festive hall.
Then did he spread the banquet gay,
Then flocking came in rich array,
The youthful nobles of the plain,
With warrior vassals in their train.
Full many a chief the maiden woo'd,
Full many in fast'ring accents sued
To win her hand; and gems and gold
Before her father's eyes unroll'd.
But useless all their wily art
To gain the lovely Eva's heart;
And when her sire in suppliant voice
Besought his child to make a choice,
Of all her suitors rich and proud,
She turn'd her head and wept aloud!
The holy nuns who oft had seen
Fair Eva, and had mark'd her mien,
When now they heard the wondrous tale,
How wealth and rank could not prevail
To win her heart, would gravely say,
“The well is her's no distant day!”
But those more shrewd had watch'd the care
With which she bound her raven hair,
Had caught the blaze of smould'ring green,
The gems and diamonds glitt'ring sheen,
Whose brilliance well might grace a queen,
And wov'd no veil that face would hide,
Save such as decks the sparkling bride!
Her maidens wond'ring much the while,
Were wont to shake their heads and smile,
As though they wish'd that each should know,
They would not treat their lovers so.

But Una, she whose locks of jet
Like Eva's, down her shoulders met,
Her chosen friend, companion dear,
In all her mystic wand'rings near,
With solemn brow, and silent tongue,
The livelier maidens sat among.
Sometimes fair Eva and her maid,
Would walk adown the flow'ry glade,
Or in a gold-embroider'd barge,
Skim o'er the broad lake's mimic surge.
The awe-inspired fishermen,
When Eva's boat had met their ken,
Flying the dripping oar, would leave
The maids alone their dreams to weave;
Then when o'er hill and lake, and plain,
The night commenc'd its drowsy reign,
Along the silv'ry path where shines
The moon's calm light in twinkling lines,
Una would row the bark, and there
The maids would sing some plaintive air,
Or meditate till early day
Appear'd above the mountains grey.
One eve as flickle April's sun,
His latest course had well-nigh run,
Tinging with beams of crimson hue
The quiet lake's translucent blue,
Eva, in accents soft and clear,
Pour'd these grave words in Una's ear:
“Belov'd friend, let hasty sleep,
To-night your grateful senses steep,
Let wing'd dreams your mind delight,
With glowing scenes, with visions bright,
That in the arms of rapture borne,
Your soul may feast on joys till morn.
For when to-night the wolf will howl,
And o'er the lake shall whoop the owl,
When the wild fox shall roam the dell,
I mean to work a wondrous spell!
My potent charm will seek to make
The glorious spirit of the lake
From out its breast his form unfold,
And converse with a mortal hold!”

Fill'd with surprise and secret dread,
The trembling Una nothing said;
But when the evening reach'd its close,
She press'd her couch and sought repose.
The fluttering at her anxious breast
Deterr'd the coy approach of rest;
And wild fears coursing through her brain,
Made every hope of slumber vain.
With noiseless footstep Una glides
From out her couch, and down the sides
Of Glenna, speeds her quick pursuit,
Till she had reach'd the mountain's foot;
When there arriv'd and crouching low,
Beneath a broad Arbatus bough,
She saw fair Eva on the strand,
Waving aloft a starry wand.
Eftsoons a noise came thund'ring on,
Like mountain waves, when tempests strong
Sweep the blue surface of the sea,
And lash it in their savage glee!
Nearer and nearer came the sound
Which made the mountain cliffs rebound,
When lo! a scene unearthly bright,
Burst on astonish'd Una's sight!

First o'er the tide from crystal bowers,
The lake-Sylphs came seawreath'd with
flowers,
Then mountain Sprites with crowns of
heather,
Came tripping o'er the waves together,
And then a band of Elves arrive,
As thick as swarms around a hive,
And Phœbe's wild, and gloomy Ghouls,
Filling the air with hideous howls,
And sprightly Fays from rathe and dells,
From wooded slopes and mountain cells.
But last a noble Knight there came
With brow of pride, and lip of flame,
More radiant than the light which shone
Upon the fam'd Hyperion!
His armour lac'd with flashing gems,
Brighter than monarch's diadems,
Seen through the pale moon's silv'ry haze,
In quenchless splendor seem'd to blaze.
His plumes were whiter than the speck
Of foam upon his charger's neck,
Or e'en than that which on the lake,
In breezes fresh the wavelets make.
A sable steed the knight bestrode,
With nostrils spread, and eye so proud,
As conscious of its princely load:
A flood of varied lustre pour'd
From the rich gems that deck'd his lord,
And all around the trappings wide,
Stream'd in a broad and brilliant tide,
Till Una deem'd, so mix'd the glow,
The knight's brave steed was Iris' bow!
When the procession glitter'd nigh,
Glad sounds of festive melody,
From fairy harps, fill'd all the air
With softest strains and hymnings rare,
Till e'en the dusky brow of night,
Relax'd its frown in grim delight.
Arriv'd upon the tawny strand,
The graceful leaders of the band,
With figures bow'd in regal state,
A passage for the knight create;
Who, as his bounding charger stood
At the white margin of the flood,
Leap'd to the earth, and o'er his mane,
Flinging the richly jewell'd rein,

Left the steed panting by the tide,
And sprang to lovely Eva's side!
At the first impress of his tread
Old Glenna a mountain bowed its head!
And to their prince in homage low,
Each tree bent down on Glenna's brow!

'Twas now that Una's eye survey'd
The pure ennobling fire that played
O'er that tall knight's majestic face,
And marked his lofty, martial grace,
His manly form, his bearing high,
The speaking language of his eye,
Which own'd the power to kill with fear,
Or draw the sympathetic tear,
To shine a star when battle calls,
Or melt to love in festive halls,
To burn with matchless eloquence,
To beam a grand intelligence,
To flash in scorn, or passion wild,
And gaze as mildly as a child!
Such was the knight that Una viewed,
With all a man can boast endued,
A type of those whom long since gone,
Poor Erin mourns so sad and lone!
Of princely mien, of giant size,
In battle brave, in counsel wise,
Ardent in love, though quick to feel,
And draw in hate th' avenging steel,
But swift to quench fell rancor's brand,
And give the foeman friendship's hand!
Frank in each feature, warm in heart,
Possessing that untutor'd art,
Which made him first among the free
For generous hospitality.
His faith, his country's joy sublime,
An Irish chief of olden time!

First Eva gazed upon the knight
With wonder mingled with affright,
As though her strange, and mystic course
Had stung her heart with late remorse;
But soon her groundless fears had flown,
So soft his looks, so mild his tone.
Una, conceal'd not far above,
Could catch the words which told his love,
Could hear sweet Eva's charms obtain
The knight's high praise in meekest strain,
And listen to the pledge he made,
As forth he drew his polish'd blade,
And calling hill, and lake, and shore,
To hear the solemn oath he swore,
That, "If for seven successive years,
On each May morn this maid appears
To meet me here, and loves but me,
She, on the seventh, my bride shall be!"
What anguish fills poor Una's heart,
What gives the girl that sudden start?
What mean those tears, that drooping head?
Eva has given the promise dread!
And Una weeps to think that earth,
Which gave this lovely creature birth,
Must one day to the waters blue,
Consign that form, that heart so true!
Eva in answer scarce did speak,
When on her beauteous, dimpled cheek,
The knight impress'd a kiss, then flew
To where his charger stood in view,
And as he vaulted to his seat,
The Sylphs and Elves their master meet,
And all that strange, unearthly train
Resumes its former ranks again.

Now o'er the wide lake's snowy foam
Its glowing monarch seeks his home,
Then rose from myriad tiny throats,

In swelling strain, aerial notes,
And as his steed careers along,
The banded spirits chaunt this song.

The following description of Killarney is a very admirable word-painted panorama of a very glorious landscape:—

What dreamer borne on airy wings,
In all his wild imaginings
Amid the starry realms of space,
Did ever in his wand'ring trace
Such picturings of loveliness,
Such matchless gorgeousness of dress;
Or ever shew'd each wond'ring sense
Such blending of the light intense,
With all the mellow hues which grace
The lines of beauty's sparkling face,
As he on Mangerton who stands,
Viewing the vale below, commands?
The musing eye should gaze upon
These scenes when up the sky the sun
Reaching its noon, hath pour'd a blaze,
Which glitt'ring in a golden haze,
Paints with a bright, transparent glow
The isles, and lakes, and plains below.
Then can the keen observing eye
Enchantment's wizard charms descry,
And revel in the harmony,
That with a brilliant brush imprints
Its form o'er all in deathless tints,
Till spreading wide its drowsy links,
In sleep the soften'd landscape sinks.
What sombre, silent shadows creep
Along the lake-defending steep!
What lazy mists are rising o'er
The pebbly margin of the shore!
Now doth the isles which gem the tide,
Adown the waters seem to glide,
And on their breasts the tufted grove
Resembles these dark clouds above,
Which with their edge of silver dye,
Are floating o'er the azure sky;
And farther on see ocean waves
The rock-bound coast with angry waves,
Crowning each crag, and summit grey
With garlands of its snowy spray;
And stretching far its myriad arms,
In wild diversity of forms,
Till melting dimly from the view
It mingles with the heaven's blue!

Upon a more entrancing scene
No mortal ever gaz'd I ween,
Whether he roved 'mid Norway's pines,
Or where the Alpine torrent abides,
Or by the Rhine's fair banks had stray'd,
And e'en Italia's plains survey'd;
The rosy colour'd streak that glows
At set of sun on Jura's snows,
The crystal glacier's dazzling light,
Seen on some star-resplendent night,
The dread Niagara's mad foam,
The crater rending the earth's womb,
The sunrise in a southern clime,
All that the earth contains sublime,
Hath never struck the rapturous chord,
Which swells the bosom of the bard,
With mightier force, or sense more keen,
Than would these hills and lakes serene!
A land where shine such scenes as these
Is not a land alone to please,
Nor was it meant by nature's God
That its bold shores and emerald sod,

In trance sleep should ever lie,
To feast the passing stranger's eye.
'Tis one with love's undying heat,
To make her son's strong hearts to beat,
To fill their breasts with proud desire,
And kindle there each noble fire,
To rouse their minds to active good,
And make the quickly-bounding blood
Assail the energetic soul
To reach prosperity's fair goal,
And with a strong, determin'd power,
Unheeding all the clouds that loar,
To show the isle that gave them birth,
They do not shame their native earth!
On lofty Glenna's tufted head,
The summer's crimson blooms are shed,
And all the mountain's purple plumes,
The gorgeous summer sun illumines;
Now flowers the yellow daffodil,
And od'rous honeysuckles fill
The air with perfume, hollyhocks
Are glitt'ring on their sturdy stalks,
The ever climbing jessamine,
Its tendrils with the rose intwine,
And out upon the dizzy crag,
The poppy lifts its blood-red flag.
The woods re-echo to the notes
Of music, from ten thousand throats,
On ashen branch, or apple's spray,
The speckled thrush outpours her lay;
From out some thorn the blackbird's song,
In mellow flood is borne along,
The robin on the hazel sits,
Or nimbly o'er its branches flits,
While sailing placidly on high,
The eagle cleaves the liquid sky.

Amid these scenes with cheek more fair
Than all the flowers that scent the air,
Sat Eva in a pensive mood,
Gazing upon the lake's bright flood.
The solemn shadow on her brow
Assum'd a darker colour now,
And even the mystic air she wore,
Seem'd to have deepen'd more and more.
At times a bright, though transient flash
Of wild unearthly joy would rush
Her features o'er, and light her eye
With a quick flash of ecstasy;
Then fly, and leave behind no trace
Upon her calm and pensive face!
 Oft-times, as though in gloomy sleep,
Her looks were fasten'd on the deep;
Then suddenly the eyeballs roll'd,
And her pure soul would seem to hold
Converse with those bright forms that glide,
And have their home beneath the tide.
Her harp again the maid would take,
And all the neighbouring echoes wake,
Then while the strings her fingers swept,
And on the air sweet music crept,
Lifting her voice in silvery sound,
These strange, wild words went floating
round.

The next extract is the bridal of the Chieftain and Eva, and is one of the best and most fanciful in the poem :—

The evening sun has long gone down,
Behind the Toonies' mountain brown,
And midway up the starry sky
The night's dark coursers swiftly fly.
Within the chief of Glona's tower
The bell's loud peal proclaims the hour
When mirth, and song, and harmless jest,
Shall fill with joy each happy guest.
And in the halls what lustre beams !
What pleasure in each vial's beams !
What gorgeous flags are floating o'er
The grained arch above the door !
What pomp of spears, and helm, and shield,
Along the walls becomes reveal'd !
But who could count the viands rare
That lay in princely order there ?
Name all the fishes of the lakes,
Or all the birds that haunt the brakes,
And beast, and fen, that met the sight,
Put'd on the chieftain's board that night ?
Who could describe the nobleness
Which stamp'd each guest, or paint their
dress ?
Whose splendor mock'd the rays that pour
From famed Golconda's glittering ore !

High in the midst of that gay crowd,
Among her suitors rich and proud,
Sat Eva, robb'd in bright attire,
Beside her joy o'erpower'd sire :
And never since her natal day
Did beauty's fascinating ray
Illumine more that countenance,
Or add such sparkles to her glance,
As did it then in blending hues,
Over those features rare diffuse !
But 'twas not now that Eva shone
In matchless loveliness alone ;
There was a spiritual air,
Which, stamp'd upon her forehead fair,
Convey'd a sense of mystery
To every wonder-gazing eye,
And made each puzzled mind o'erfraught
With undefin'd and airy thought :
'Twas passing hard to reconcile
The cheerful looks and playful smile
Which wreath'd the maiden's lips, with all
That gloomy shade, which like a pall
At times (though rare) would shroud her
face,
And every brilliant hue erase !
Una alone the reason guess'd,
And much it rack'd her trembling breast.
When wine and joy-inspiring song,
Had fill'd with glee that noble throng,
And when his claims to win the maid,
Each chief before her aptly laid ;
The hoary host, while not a sound
Was heard the dazling board around,
To Eva gives his stern command,
To name the chief who owns her hand !
Now had arriv'd that mystic time,
Ere yet the morn was in its prime ;
When stars begin to fade on high,
And clouds are scatt'ring in the sky.
The aged Chieftain scarcely spoke,
When all the mountain echoes woke,
And thunder on the distant hills
Th' affrighted air with mutterings fills :

Now dying slowly on the ear,
Now swelling loud, then trav'ling near,
Till all the castle seem'd to shake,
And e'en the earth itself to quake !
Strick'n with sore dismay and dread,
Each guest uprais'd his wond'ring head,
And chiefs who blanch'd not in the field,
The hue of pallid fear reveal'd !
The gold-hair'd morning's earliest streak,
Began to light each tow'ring peak,
Nor did the torture of suspense,
Long captive hold each palsied sense.
For on the lake, and near at hand,
Appear'd a glorious glittering band,
Whose radiance like the noon-day sun,
No eye could bear to gaze upon !
Each foremost Nymph had silver wand,
Which twinkl'd in her snowy hand ;
And o'er her drooping shoulders flung
A gold-embroider'd mantle hung,
Which just allow'd the eye to see,
A belt of figur'd ivory,
Inlaid with gem and precious stone,
Which form'd a star-resembling zone.
Next burst upon the view a troop
Of Maidens, in a graceful group,
Of beauty rare, with airy forms,
Bearing bright harps upon their arms ;
Which, ever as soft fingers sweep,
Delicious music gently crept
Above, below, afar, around,
Breathing Enchantment in its sound !
Behind, the dazl'd eye survey'd
Myriads of Sprites in rank array'd ;
Attir'd in motley colour'd dress,
The light form'd Fairies onward press,
And the gay Sylphs who live in caves
Far, far below the glassy waves.
Some wore as wreaths upon the brow,
The verdurous Arbutus bough,
While other Fays their temples dress'd
With spray that tips the waves' white crest ;
And every beauteous hue that glows,
And every bloom the summer knows,
To deck this train brought all their aid,
And heighten'd the charms it display'd !
Now on a steed as black as jet,
A noble Knight the vision met,
His aspect brighten'd by a gleam
Of kingly dignity supreme,
Whose blazing armor flash'd afar,
Like some intensely shining star !
Beside him tripping o'er the wave,
Whose crystal top her ankles lave,
Bearing a crown of sparkling sheen,
A lovely water Nymph was seen ;
Who, as across the tide she flew,
Brush'd from the crown the morning dew.
When Eva's eager glancing eye
Did in the throng the knight descry,
She rose from off her seat, and stood
In a majestic attitude !
Then, pointing to the waters clear,
Where check'd the band its swift career,
While glistening tears begemm'd her cheek,
Thus to her sire did Eva speak.
" Father ! obeying thy command
To tell thee who shall own my hand,
I answer, yonder chieftain brave,
Whose fiery steed disdains the wave,

Claims me as bride, his joys to share,
 And reign within his palace fair!"
 Thus ceasing, while each guest amaz'
 In silence on the maiden rais'd
 His eyes which (like that bird's whose
 From off the serpent never strays),
 Fasten'd upon one object stay,
 Owning no power to turn away;
 Eva remov'd the gems which shone
 Upon her white neck, one by one;
 And calling Una, bid her take
 And wear the jewels for her sake.
 Giving her friend a fond embrace,
 As bitter grief convuls'd her face,
 She kiss'd her senseless father's brow
 Whose head was bent in speechless woe
 Then on her head a lily wreath,
 More fragrant than the morning's breath
 She plac'd, whose cups like silver shone
 Whose threads in yellow lustre glow'd
 And now her swift journey wending,
 By the spiral stairs descending,
 While still gaz'd on that wondrous sight
 The lovely Eva rushed along!
 More lightly nimble than the fawn
 Does Eva bound across the lawn,
 And soon the maiden's matchless charms
 Are sparkling in her lover's arms!

The shorter poems in perusal; we specially commend *The Fairy Well*. These thorough Irishman, and our national legends.

The Court of Apollo, are bright and fanciful. They make up the greater part to all our readers.

Henrietta tells us, in her

"In submitting this little Authoress desires to state, that been to shew the relative in Poetry. In the first tale, the sonification of Music, she has introduced the Tyrol in the time of Napoleon of the conduct of the war, she has taken the authority of Europe. In the third tale of Christians under the Roman yoke with Gibbon, and also with The Authoress fears that he is out, and, for the sake of the narrative, could wish that the

Into more experienced hands have fallen, but time, I strengthen Henrietta's wish

droops, yet she never comes down too suddenly, and when she does reach the ground, she rises gracefully again; so, we say—courage, Henrietta—"Il monde è, di chi ha pazienza."

Religion without cant, that is God, a God of Love, is the actuating spring of all our poetess' inspiration; and she dwells with especial pleasure, both to herself and to the reader, on all those portions of the Redeemer's life, in which her own sex were actors. The following, which is almost the entire of a poem entitled *The Women at the Cross*, furnishes a very fair specimen of her powers:—

'Twas night in Salem's glowing land;
The rose her dress had folded up;
And zephyrs, with devoted hand,
Had shut the lily's incense-cup;

When lo, there burst upon the scene
A night-flower of resplendent dye,
Of purer and more noble mien
Than all those dreaming blossoms nigh.

Alas! alas! that sunbeams fair
Might never bless that tender form,
Which stood alone, with bosom bare,
Ready to front the fiercest storm.

Yet freely did that stainless breast
The soft, nectarious dew imbale;
And every breeze that was its guest
Bore fragrances of perfume down the vale.

Yes, such was Mary's holy Child,
That now at starlight's noon was born,
A night-flower, meek and undel'd,
Whom pleasure's sun might ne'er adorn.

Though lovelier than the sons of earth,
He stood exposed to grief and shame;
Yet o'er him—even from his birth—
The Spirit's genial fulness came.

His love some precious gift bestow'd
On all who sought it at his hand;
Who, while their hearts with praise o'er-
flowed,
Display'd that treasure through the land.

O Mary! as thou standest there—
His cross of agony in view,
Thyself a lone one, bow'd with care—
Say, have old Simeon's words come true?

For has not sorrow's icy steel
Pierced to thy bosom's shrinking core?
Doth not each severing heart-string feel
That misery's cup is foaming o'er?

Yet cannot He, whose holy spell
Came o'er thee in thy virgin spring,
Now gently whisper, "all is well,"
And suck the poison from the sting?

Can he not say, "Thy glory's price,
A rock to curb death's endless flood,
The great, long-promised sacrifice,—
Thy Pity with a veil of blood?"

But now, O gentle Mercy! canst thou tell
What form is that thou seem'st to love so
well,

That form o'er which thy soft, unshadowing
wing,

With bright, seraphic joy, is fluttering?
Thou, fairest child of Heav'n! and thou
alone,

Canst rightly make that drooping weeper
known.

Hark! in what dulcet accents she replies,
"O 'tis a long-lost daughter whom I prize!
A jewel found on sin's dark, desert strand,
Now polishing for yon celestial land;

'Tis one who late was cloth'd in burning
shame,

O woman! blush not when thou hear'st
her name;

'Tis one receiv'd by God, though spurn'd
by men,—

Angels rejoice! 'tis Mary Magdalen."

O Mary! have thy scorners ever read
The star of fame that hangs above thy
head?

Now brief the time till that inspired star
Shall have its melting light diffused afar;
For 'twas thy pardoning Master's bold
command

To tell thy touching tale in every land;
O yes! where'er his dauntless champions
tell

Of Heav'n and holiness, of sin and hell;
Whether 'mid hoary mountains whose long-
drawn youth

Was woo'd not by the manly voice of Truth,
But who, ev'n now in this their aged time,
Leap and rejoice to hear that noble chime;
Or valleys, surfeited with sweets intense,
And flowering out in wild magnificence,
With fields all hallow'd to the Rose's reign,
And shades that cradle plants of choicer
stain;

Or mid those rainbow spots that softly rest,
Like bridal gems, on ocean's throbbing
breast,

Those coral isles where savage chieftains
dwell,

And Superstition digs her lampless cell;
Or where the desert breeze is wand'ring free
Along the rosy sands of Araby;

Where the wild forest shouts an awful hymn
O'er red men, couch'd amid its cloisters
dim;

Beside sweet fountains, lov'd by Greek romance;
Or on the lake's cerulean expanse;
Yea, whether in the bright and palmy East,
Where Nature freely spreads her daintiest feast;
Or 'mid the youthful glories of the West,
Whose giant pow'rs still slumber in her breast;
Or where the Southern zephyr's genial wing
With a voice like pleasant dreams is murmuring,
That wing whose sweet carcases oft delay
Ev'n warrior Death upon his gloomy way;
Or where, all cowering 'neath his load of snows,
The North his flaring borealls shows;
O Mary! even there they'll speak of thee,
Thy penitence, thy love, thy constancy.

Behold! far off in some benighted land,
A little group of dark-brow'd list'ners stand,
While, with surprise, they hear thy blessed tale;
But mark! yon aged warrior's cheek is pale;
Oh! there's a frozen fountain in his breast,
That now is waking from its chilly rest;
Thy burning love has thaw'd its stubborn ice,
And soon 'tis clear as streams in Paradise;
While o'er his heart its healthful waters bound,
Refreshing all that thirsty desert ground;
Till, flowing o'er, it bursts upon the sight
In one resistless show'r of teardrops bright;
For the fountain, thus unseal'd by Heaven's decree!
Is that of tenderness and sympathy.

But now another scene absorbs our eye;
Lo! 'tis a Christian temple, fair and high;
Many are there whose heart-gush'd tones ascend;
Many are there whose voices idly blend;
Yet soon on one alone is turned our gaze;
She calmly listens to the song of praise;
Yet not with feelings of entranced despair,
Like some doom'd captive, when the morning air
Brings to his cell the early cuckoo's call,
Or the clear gush of mountain waterfall;
For oh! his boyhood loved such music free,
And bitter is that sigh, "tis nought to me:"
But her deluded mind endures no pain
At its own discordance with the saintly strain;
Her careless ear finds not its swelling soul,—
Just like some empty sound it seems to roll.
'Tis over now; and hark! the gracious call
Of the glad gospel seeks the hearts of all;
The preacher's voice is soft, expressive clear,
Its touching thrill alone might start a tear;
But what rich words are those that gently flow,
'Mid the strange hush? why rose that fervent glow,
That deep, warm flush of feeling which we see
Diffusing o'er his brow so tremblingly?
O list! he speaks of one who meekly crept
Unto her Master's feet, and softly wept;

Whose tears, combin'd with streams of fragrant spice,
Flow'd o'er those feet, a pleasing sacrifice,
Because they savour'd of that sweeter love
Which in her breast was fluttering like a dove;
He tells of how she wiped each drop away
Ev'n with the rich dark locks that round her lay;
Tells how her lips bestow'd their tender kiss,—
But leaves the heart itself to paint her bliss
When all her heavy load of sin fell down,
And Christ receiv'd it gladly as a crown;
And told the child of faith she was forgiven,
Bade her depart in peace, and hope for Heaven.
But then his voice grows softer, deeper still,
And sinks into the heart with fuller thrill,
As he repeats the Saviour's firm decree,
(Which had been just fulfill'd so solemnly)
That o'er the world, where'er himself was taught,
There, too, those deeds of love which she had wrought
Should be reveal'd, and handed down to fame;
A sweet memorial of her lowly name.
The tale is done; he shuts the precious Book,
And gazes on the crowd with earnest look;
With strong, persuasive ardour doth implore
Entreat, invite, each soul to come and pour
Its sins, its sorrows, on that gentle Lord,—
O yes! to come this night with glad accord;
To lean upon his strength, and fear no frown,
Arm'd with the cross, to battle toward the crown;
He speaks of angel welcomes, endless peace;
How tenderly he lingereth still to cease!
He is a stranger in that varied scene,
His own loved flock are fed 'mid valleys green;
Yet his quick eye discerns the outcast's form,
And silent prayer sends up its heaving warmth.
Few moments more, and then the parting hymn
Is softly soaring through the twilight dim;
But still for her that music lives in vain,
Still, as before, she scarcely heeds its strain;
Yet not, as then, with idle, passive breast,
For a strange pow'r hath broken on her rest,
She thinks, she feels; O Magdalen! like thee,
She lets her heart yield up its vanity;
And now, that bandage gone, it learns its need.
For the dark wounds glare out, and freely bleed,
Ah! that harsh covering had no balm to shed,
But poison was inwove with ev'ry thread;
With horror she reviews her former way;
She shrinks, yet hopes, and almost tries to pray;
She thinks if that sweet Saviour could be found,
Far off, or near, if but on earthly ground,

She'd fly, and, at his footstool bending low,
 Love him, like that blest Mary long ago;
 But he's not here, his face she cannot see,
 How then ensure his love's reality?
 Perchance on her he would refuse to smile,—
 Might not that penitent have been less vile?
 So speaks the wildering voice of unbelief,
 And still keeps back the sinner from relief,
 Forbids the infant Faith to lift her eye,
 And see that same Redeemer thrond on high.
 Ready to welcome, pity, pardon all
 Who raise their hearts to him with humble call.
 But He who wakes a slumb'ring soul is strong;
 And, ere another Sabbath brings its song,
 O Mary! she has come with trust sincere—
 Thy tale has won for thee a sister dear.
 Then calm those weepings o'er thy bitter loss;
 Salvation's palmy wreath becrowns that Cross;

And thou, who hast the pow'r of evil known,
 Who feel'st almost as if thyself alone
 Was guilty of the loved one's wondrous woe,
 Canst thou not joy at Satan's overthrow?
 Oh! hast thou no faint vision of the morn
 When he shall burst the boasting grave
 with scorn;
 And thou, devoted one, shalt hasten there,
 While yet the dew-drops chill the drowsy air.
 And, gazing in, two sun-like angels see,
 Sitting in pure, exultant majesty?
 Has hope no prophet whisper of the voice
 That then shall bid thy faithful soul rejoice,
 When, like sweet honey dropping on thy heart,
 A fond, familiar "Mary" makes thee start,
 And turn thy weeping eyes with swift accord,—
 Then cry "Rabboni" to thy risen Lord?

The following lines from *Rose and Eugenie*, the first tale in *The Traveller's Dream*, refer to the blindness of the heroine:—

In early childhood's ruddy hours
 No veil was o'er her pleasant eyes;
 And merr'y nursed a dream of flowers,
 And rich, star-dimpled azure skies.

But nought could e'er convince the maid
 That such fair scenes to earth were given;
 She said her infant soul had strayed
 Back to its tempting home in heav'n.

Again, we have an allusion to a well known custom among the Alpine shepherds:—

"Praise ye the Lord," shout the Alpine hills,
 As the evening echoes go;
 'Twas the shepherds that sit by the lofty rills,
 Who gave the word, and downward it thrills
 To their mates in the mead below.

All's still; but hark! from the verdant height
 That voice comes pealing again;
 "Goodnight, goodnight, till our fields are bright,
 Till God doth send us His golden light;
 Brothers, amen, amen!"
 And Echo takes flight with her wings of might,
 And repeats "goodnight, amen."

The following is a description of the Tyrolese army, when marching to battle:—

It is not the morn with her delicate hum
 That wakes to the heart each rustling valley,
 But the feet of the brave, as they come,
 they come,
 As from north and south they swiftly rally.
 By the Eisach, black with its passionate race,
 There passeth a nobler and mightier stream;
 In the valley of Inn they are marching apace,
 Where the shaded gold of the maize doth gleam;
 And the ardent sons of Adige
 With banners of beauty pursue their course;
 Till soon, all form one shining display,
 As they meet their Kaiser's veteran force;

Then away, in glory and strength they go,
 And war's wild march is heard 'mid the mountains,
 Now thrillingly loud,—now mellow and low,
 Or coming from far with a concert of fountains;
 Hark! hark! its magnificent melody seems
 Like Liberty cheering her champions' array;
 And hearts bound up to the region of dreams,
 As trumpet and drum go rolling away,
 And the chiming treble rings over the streams,
 Like a host of tinkling faeries at play.
 Sweet tides of blessings and praises pour
 From the throngs that stand at each cottage door;

"Look, look, 'tis my son, how noble
 gay!"
 Cries she with the locks so slender
 grey;
 "O father! what brave new stories for
 When again at eve I sit on thy knee;"
 "God carry thee back to my lonely side
 Is the pray'r of the young and year
 bride.
 But the throb of sorrow is now no more
 Than an infant's song 'mid an or
 roar,—
 Not hush'd, not quench'd, but smother'd

Again, we have the scene
 the tale where the stranger
 over her dead brother.
 offers her his home and peace

Thou art not friendless, drooping Rose
 Time, change and ease may soothe thy
 I offer thee a beauteous bow'r,
 Made fragrant by thy namesake flow'r
 Where still the voice of streams shall
 The mountain's warbling shepherdess
 A father's love, a father's care,
 I ask thy stricken youth to share;
 But hearken, and I'll tell thee all,
 Ev'n though 'twill force me to recall
 Feelings that once were sunshine's cure
 But now, deform'd by darksome wo
 Are worn volcanoes, bellowing up
 A fitful blast of fiery throes,
 Whose quivering ashes wither o'er
 All that the sunshine cheer'd before.
 Yes, I've been buoyant, bright and young
 And fond, fresh thoughts on mine have hung
 And mellow bridal bells have rung;
 For our hearts were woven in that tie
 Which years and sorrow may not sever
 But the pale-horsed victor pass'd us by
 And our gordian knot was cut for e
 Ay, the sweet wife forsook my side,
 Murmur'd a low farewell, and died,
 She whose deep love could brave all vic
 And, through each chance that life
 bring,
 Still more refin'd and clear should grow
 Just like her own pure golden ring
 She left me, but her moveless arms
 Clasp'd a live babe of fairy charms;
 Yet searchingly I view'd its face,
 It seemed to lack some common grace
 The shock burst out—it could not see
 Afflicted girl! 'twas blind like thee."
 The father pauses, clasps his head,
 While heavy tears course down his cheek
 Like fire-wrung drops of molten lead
 And then all brokenly he speaks:
 "Those smileless lips—that passive brow
 All dead as some still, lovely night;
 Child of my soul—Eugenie! thou
 Wast a cold burden on my sight,
 Just as a sad, forsaken maid
 Heeds not the gliding of the case
 Where her dead lover's heart is laid!
 Ev'n so the gems, the flowers, the g

Then, putting her sim
 unbelief, he says:—

But thou, but thou, bright Alpine Rose !
Like some clear lake in meek repose,
Thy faith receives God's light—and glows.

The next passage we quote is that describing the fall of the avalanche on the French and Bavarian troops. The authoress, in her notes, gives an historical account of this circumstance :—

It was ordain'd that once again
Hope should illumine the Alpine glen ;
There, where the gentle chamois stirs
'Mid lofty labyrinths of firs,
The mountains' rough-trained guardians

lie,
With gasping breath and straining eye ;
While boldly march the boastful foe
Down in the thread-like pass below ;
Proud casques show forth the daylight's

streams,
Clear as the bright young soldier's dreams
Show tides of glories to be won,
Ere yet life's sparkling course is run ;
O'er blades, that seem like waving light,
The living sunrays flash their flight,
Embracing them in quiv'ring play,
As if those swords were pure as they.
Like orient sunset's glist'ning train,
When zephyrs breathe a quick'ning strain,
That pageant sweeps its stately smile
Through the lone mountains' high defile ;
While martial symphonies are bounding,
And battle's tinkling trappings sound ;
And many a laughing word of jest
Springs up from the light and careless

breast—
But hark ! the massive woods o'erhead
Are rent by sounds of mighty rushing ;
Down, down, with hot, impetuous tread—

Like new-born cataracts outgubing
From craggy wombs of darkness old,—
The mountains' daring legions leap,
And, with flush'd brows and bosoms bold,
Plunge into combat's deathful deep ;
Yet ere the struggle waxes warm,
That mount which volley'd down the

storm—
As if inspir'd with furious zeal,
As if its granite heart could feel
A yearning for those champion bands,
Batting below with fervent hands ;
As if asham'd to stand serene
'Mid such a fierce, combusive scene—
First gives a rumbling heave which thrills
To the still depths of distant hills ;

Then, girding her huge loins with thun-
der,

And challenging eternal wonder,
The hoary mother with delight
Follows her children to the fight ;—

Lo ! 'tis the awful avalanche !

Away, away, with shivering knell,

As though a host of planets fell,

It reels into the quaking dell,

Crown'd with destruction terrible,

Making the very sunbeams blanche ;

And grasping in its ravenous grave

Two nations' blossom of their brave.

A grim, wild calm, a pulseless hush

Succeeds the nervous tragedy ;

Clear sounds the Elsiech's gloomy gush,

On, on careering to the sea ;

An emblem of that solemn rush

Of life into eternity.

In sullen glory at their deed,

Like Amazons the mountains stand ;

" Man ! touch us not, or meet your meed,"

Seems trac'd in frowns along their band.

Prostrate within that fated pass

Lie youth, age, valour, love and joy ;

Crush'd small in one unheaving mass

The veteran clasps his dreamy boy ;

The pictur'd girl's unconscious smile

(The only smile that lingers here)

Sinks in that opening heart the while,

With fearful faithfulness ; just near

There shines a little braid of gold ;

Torn from the lover's bleeding arm,

And round those stones, so rough and

cold,

Forced to entwine its silken charm.

O France ! within thy fields and bowers,

Bavaria ! on thy far-spread plains,

Your daughters' eyes shall give ye show-
ers ;

And love shall rue the Tyrol's chains.

When pomp's vain vapour melts away,

When bursts the day-king's bubble gem,

O God ! may none be heard to pray

The mountain still to cover them.

The subjoined verses are sung by the blind daughter of the Tyrol when leaving her mountain home :—

Then wildly glorious mountain breeze,
That ridest past my head !
So rich with rushing melodies
From the raving rapid's bed,
I blend with thee my last farewell,
A playmate's fond farewell.

My old, soft-rustling evergreen,
I leave a charge with you ;
When flowers once more perfume the
scene,
O tell them I was true !
That, though they slept, I said farewell.
Give them my lone farewell.

Perchance my nurdling violets
Hear it beneath their clay,
And oft, when dew each bosom wets,
With pensive breath shall say
They had a dream of sad farewell,
Their Mountain Lark's farewell.

Sweet was thy shade, my lowly home,
So largely blest of God ;
Ah ! he was never wont to roam,
Who preases the soldier's sod ;
To thee, and many a friend, farewell,
Earth's homes must bear farewell.

And few whose hearts have warmly beat,
But know that sound, farewell ;
With memory's household words 'tis set,
And hath a life-long spell ;
Ye tender friends ! I weep farewell,
My heart bleeds out farewell.

My own, my noble fatherland !
Bold mountains of the brave,
Crowned by a tragic glory's hand ;

Scene of my brother's grave !
I linger yet to say farewell,
I cannot feel farewell.

Oh ! when on Heaven's aerial tide
I'm borne, with vision free,
I'll wave each wondering world aside
Till I've gazed down on thee ;
But list ! *he* comes, now, now, farewell !
Echo thy child's farewell.

The following images occur in the description of her journey :—

There was a ghost-like loveliness
Abroad upon the hills below ;
Like to a sleeping angel's dress
Appeared the glorious moon-rapt snow ;
Or if that fair, ethereal scene,
So softly cold, so brightly pale,
So meek in majesty serene,
Might have its like in earthly tale,

'Twould be a young and queenly bride
Who, in her love's delightful hour,
By some mysterious stroke had died,
And lay within her illy bower,—
Lay there in still and touching state,
With all her marriage garments on,
While death with tender reverence sat
On such a chaste and beauteous one.

Rose, having by the power of her wild music succeeded in arousing the dormant soul of *Eugenie*, returns to her beloved land to die. In speaking of the glories which she hopes to have revealed to her in Heaven, she thus mentions the sea :—

Put the sea, that mystery so dear,
That raver whose dreams I've longed to
hear,
Ah ! it hath many a pass of death,
Can Heaven smile on its rolling breadth ?

Must its glory be lost to me ? alas !
Yet no ! by Thy Throne is a sea of glass,
And I'll catch the heave of a crystal wave,
Lo ! there it is,—and with *not one* grain.

The Picture is the title of the second story in *The Traveller's Dream*. We give the passage which describes the meeting of two hostile ships at night, and the death of Lucelle :—

The roar of a great majesty
Is lifted up, as the full sea,
Run wild with power, rears flies on files
Of towering, glassy, ebony piles,
All pinnacled with curling snow.
Then, breathing thunder, lays them low.
Strong hearts lie captive in their quakings,
These boards have caught the aspen's
shakings ;
With what rude raptures flies the blast ;
But the worst hour is gaining fast ;
It comes, for with the next fierce wind
The meeting crash is not behind ;
Both echo off with chorused sweep,
While blood's red stars drop on the deep ;
The gales, like rapt spectators round,
Now shout, now wail despair's drear
sound,
Till, frenzied by the fevered flush
Of strong impatience, in they rush,
And do a deadlier work than all ;
For hark ! why comes that piteous call
Of utter loss, that reeling shock ?
Ah ! the keel splinters on a rock,—
A leak is sprung, and with hoarse din
The black destroyer gurgles in ;
Babels of winds, words, waters swell ;
O where the artist ? where Lucelle ?

She's standing at the very bow,
And the loosed life-boat is below ;
Her half grey locks all stream astray,
Her garb is dripping with the spray ;
One leap would bear her safe away.

As one that in a nightmare dreaming
Runs from some pressing shadow foe,
To a safe height or depth's clear seeming,
Yet past the foreground cannot go ;
So stands she there, transfixed and numb,
Absorbed in terror's mute excess ;
The storm is hushed down to a hum,
Like the low lay of tenderness
Sung by a wandering idiot girl,
When sorrowing for days gone by,
And unrequited love's lost pearl
Still seeking with that lonely sigh ;
Who, with a look of eager pleading,
Stops short at every garden gate,
And begs one bough of Love-lies-bleeding
For tassels to her cap of state.
But there Lucelle, with glaring eye,
And shut hands fastened to her sides,
Still puts not forth one nerve to fly,—
And now, away the life-boat glides ;
Once more the clanging gust doth sound,
And with a worried panther's bound
Snaps her up from the trembling ground ;

O hapless woman! she is lost;
 Down with a wheeling fling she's tost
 Into a satiated cave;
 And the great billow seals her grave.
 But ere she's gone, lo! on her eyes,
 What lightning shifted scenes arise?
 A forest cottage—and a mother;
 And then the face is of another,
 'Tis night like now;—next comes the
 main,
 With dull remorse and troublous pain;

But lastly, all dissolve away
 Into one softly rosy ray,
 Which glides up, bow-like, round her
 form,
 Widening in many a colour warm;
 Aye, she had felt some shade of rest,
 For lately hope within her breast
 Had wove one fair, though secret fold
 From threads of truth the artist told.

The following lines are from the *Roman Bridal* :—

The morn of pomp was come;
 Yet tarried thy bark, young bride!
 There were those that watched, with
 wondering hum,
 By the beautiful Euxine tide;
 It had gladdened the heart of Byzantium
 But to look on the slaves at thy side.

Ah! what could thy ailing be?
 That wave, which thou camest not o'er,
 Seemed casting in wreaths of diamonds
 for thee,
 As it sunnily broke on the shore;
 And on yonder gleaming board thou
 might'st see
 A superb and bountiful store.

For the costly feast was made;
 The Falernian wine was brimming,
 In the graceful cups of Greece displayed,

And with orient roses swimming;
 While the couch of luxury was laid,
 All rich with its golden trimming.

Were there not virgins fair
 Well fitted to follow thy tread?
 Had they not chosen out garments rare,
 And tastefully tired the head;
 They fluttered and sighed—they had fain
 repair
 For to see the bright stranger wed.

Glad children had been in the field,
 And returned half faint and oppressed,
 With roses as soft as Italia could yield,
 For the bed of thy mid-day rest;
 O where could thy wonted pride be con-
 cealed?
 For here might its dreams be caressed.

One more specimen, from the *Miscellaneous Poems*, and we have done with this volume. This pretty, graceful little poem is called *The Wreath of the Hamlet* :—

On a beautiful bank where the bird had
 mirth,
 And the zephyr its sweetest sigh,
 Where the sunshine of buttercups rose
 from the earth,
 And welcomed the beams that from
 heaven had birth,
 There were some who would say good-
 bye.

The morn still peeped from her cradle of
 gold,
 With its curtains so rosily dy'd;
 But the friends—the Wreath of the Ham-
 let's wold—
 Should close to each other ere flowers do
 fold,
 Should each have the dreams of a bride.

They sought for a rose, and with playful
 grief
 'Twas laid in the locks of her
 Who was going forth with a bright young
 chief;
 It was red as his flag, when in high relief
 It glowed on the martial stir.

They pull'd up a lily of melting blue
 From the breast of the lucid lake,
 As a gift for her who had vow'd to view,
 Through life, the skies' and the billows'
 hue,
 For her roving mariner's sake;

For one, whose flower of the wave she'd
 be,
 And whose eye was a mystic star
 That coldly looked on the field and tree,
 But smiled in glory over the sea,
 And down to the rocks afar.

They took down a spray of the hawthorn
 sweet,
 Now bright on its branches blowing,
 As a gift for the maiden whose lightsome
 feet,
 Led on by the love of a bridegroom
 meet,
 To a life as wild was going ;—

Was going away to the woodman's tent,
 Where blossoms there none but the free;
 Where vainly the emigrant's ear is bent
 For aught but a song from the wigwam
 sent,
 Or the dirge of the hoary tree.

From a quiet lustre of dew-tipp'd blades
 They drew forth a violet fair,
 For that girlish brow with the golden
 braids—
 For the youngest of all, who in home's
 dear shades
 Would still have her pleasure or care.

For the heart of a playmate had crept
unseen
And silently into her own ;
As the shoot of a plant, when its germs
are green,
Will bend to its fellow, and mingle their
shoots,
None heading till thus they are grown.
And her life, like that velvet flower she
wore,
Should be veiled from the winds of
earth ;
While the gentle sorrows that came to
her door
Like the blessed dew and the rain should
pour,
And from Heaven alone have birth.

But what intended these parting maids
By their gifts of a diverse bloom,
Called from the bower and the wilding
glades,
From the sparkling lake and the simple
shades ;
And yet all with a clear perfume ?

'Twas to tell that though varied the paths
they'd wend,
And the feelings and forms which were
given,
Yet each flower of the Hamlet's Wreath
would attend
That the sweets of virtue and faith should
ascend
Unfalteringly upward to Heaven.

We shall conclude with the following beautifully simple
lines from the *Poetical Pieces*, entitled *The Buttercup* :—

Say, fairy-like queen of the meadow,
Who bids thy young being unfold ?
Who gives thee that emerald palace.
And that raiment of glistening gold ?

Who makes thy twin-sister, the Daisy,
So fondly to dwell by thy side ;
And sends thee supplies of sweet honey,
For the bees that around thee abide ?

Who gives thee to Spring as a jewel,—
As a crown for her virgin brow ?
So that all the dark remnants of Winter
May own her dominion and bow.

Who makes thee inspire such rapture
In the heart of the sportive child ?
And in him who has flown from the city,
To see one so lovely and wild.

Thy breast as it gazes on heaven,
Seems moistened with gratitude's dew—
Seems oft to our question replying,
" 'Tis the goodness of God unto you."

O yes, little eloquent wilding,
In whatever region thou art,
As a golden star of His goodness,
Dost thou gladden the Christian's heart.

Far more than thy exquisite sisters,
Who are born of the cultured sod,
Thou teachest the beautiful lesson
Of trusting dependence on God.

Sunny Buttercup, who does not love thee,
And rejoice when he sees thee expand,
Like a smile glowing over the meadow—
Like a message from God to our land ?

One of the dangers attendant upon the cultivation of a taste for the composition of what is called Religious Poetry, arises from the fact, that every body who can read a Bible thinks he can write poetry upon Bible subjects ; and he is encouraged in this error by the vast number of hymns which he has read, or heard sung. Now, it is inconsistent with the history of literature, that any of its branches should be detached from the service of religion. The oldest literature which we have is in the Bible. "The human heart," it is said, "will always ask some higher expression for its feelings and imaginations, than the common language of life." Literature is this same higher expression ; but of all the branches of literature, the poetical is the highest expression of the feelings and the imagination. The oldest poetry which we have is in the Bible. Poetry is the most ancient form of literature, and religion is the most ancient form of poetry. For what is the sublimest poetry, says a foreign reviewer, but religion, the truths of which, in all ages and

countries, it has been its office to represent and embody in expressive symbols? And religion itself, though infinitely higher than poetry, by reason of its purity, and still more differenced from philosophy, as being itself the very principle of life, can only be suitably exhibited in those magnificent forms, by which it is the business of imagination to express, however mythically, the otherwise incommunicable ideas indelibly impressed on the human mind, by the hand of its omnipotent Creator.

“‘Twas God himself that first tuned every tongue,
And gratefully of him alone they sung.”

Hence the earliest poetry of which we have any record treats of theology and cosmogony—the generation of the gods and the creation of heaven and earth, furnish the sublime arguments of the earliest bards. And it is remarkable, that wherever literature has been revived after a long period of seeming death, its revival has been owing to an under current of religious reformation, which was seeking for its appropriate expression.

The examples of Virgil, of Tasso, and of Milton, sufficiently demonstrate the advantages of the connexion between learning and poetry; but of all poetry, to religious poetry is learning most necessary. A criticaster may probably think that it presents only fatal facilities. A certain class of religious poetry may possess such facilities, which are fatal enough both to author and reader. The class to which they appertain is that to which learning is not necessary, that which claims uneducated originality and inspiration, though maudlin, which is underived. It is that class of pseudo-poetry which is produced by ignorance, addressed to ignorance, and applauded by ignorance—Poetry originating in a state of factitious enthusiasm, or in a spirit of interested hypocrisy and sectarian cant—in fine, such poetry as Robert Montgomery's *The Omnipresence of the Deity* contains—a work composed wholly of centos from evangelical writers, and the ravings of religious bedlamites, unrelieved by the least suggestion of philosophy, and unredeemed by any manifestation of piety or truth.

Such is the religious poetry which presents the tempting facilities so strongly urged, and such as the poetry, such is the religion of which it is the expression. The sects that affect

this style of sentimental devotion, despise learning in their spiritual teachers, and prefer the unintelligible ravings of ignorant enthusiasm. With such the profoundest ignorance is the mother of the truest devotion. This is a very common idea with those who have never felt the influence, nor attained that perfection of which the human understanding is rendered capable by education. Religion, they think, is entirely independent of any acquirements of science, and incapable of receiving either elucidation or aggrandisement from any of its speculative refinements.

When reason was clouded by prejudice, and the understanding darkened by ignorance, the exertion of the divine power in miracles, or immediate fulfilment of familiar and long expected prophecies, could alone be sufficient to establish the divine authority of the Christian religion. But when education and science have matured the understanding, and reason has discovered and felt the strength of its powers, it then wanders forth secure, in the labyrinths of enquiry—can trace the nature and attributes of the Deity in the perfection of his works, from observing its own freedom to will and do what is good, can discover its own deficiency in the purity of his sight, and, from the principles of natural justice, infer the punishment which such a defection from duty deserves, the need of expiatory services, and the inefficiency of human endeavours to effect them. From these and similar modes of reasoning, and an inability to arrive at any certainty, it at length perceives the want of some supernatural communication; and when, by means of the same faculties, it shall have investigated and approved of the dispensation offered, and been satisfied of its authenticity its purity, and perfection, from such internal and convincing proofs of reason, the soul becomes enabled to render to God the acceptable homage of faith in his promises, and the merits of his Son; of faith, not merely assenting, but quick and lively; productive of all that benevolence and good will to mankind, for which the advent of the Saviour was proclaimed to the world.

Religious poetry in this age of the world, should take this high point of philosophical endeavour. If learning be so necessary to the religionist, more especially is it necessary to the religious poet; for every poet is an enthusiast. The ignorant enthusiast acts from the dictates of internal conviction, and his internal convictions proceed (at

least according to his own ideas) from the knowledge of truth; but here he stops; he enquires no further, either how he came by them, or how far they are consistent with, or contrary to the great laws of natural reason and justice; his convictions, therefore, arise from no certain authority, nor are they confirmed by the decisions of cool and dispassionate judgment; by what motives his conduct may be directed is left to the doubtful operations of prejudice or passion, and by what arguments defended, to the blind and partial system of *inward feeling*—like the madman, who reasons right from wrong principles, he also takes for granted the truth of certain principles, of which his mind, neither enlightened by science, nor strengthened by learning, is unable to detect the error, or, if detected, remove; and on these he acts with all the impetuosity, and often real fortitude, which the occasion may demand. The poor man who fancies himself a king, and acts with the dignity which he is conscious should be attached to such a station, calls forth, indeed, more pity, but excites far less apprehension. To preserve the religious poet from this madness, and to prevent him from making others mad also, learning and science are indispensably necessary.

"Henrietta" has led us, through her genuinely sacred productions, into this disquisition upon "pious poetry." We hope soon again to meet her and Mr. Gannon on new ground; but let each remember a wise saying of Bulwer Lytton's—*THE THOUGHT IS THE MUSE, THE VERSIFICATION IS ONLY THE DRESS!*

As we write of religious poetry, the following very exquisite lines may be here introduced as a specimen of what the writer of such poetry, when not of the highest class, may arrive at. The lines are extremely beautiful and thoughtful, and teach the grand moral, that although every man can know the sins committed, God alone sees the temptations surmounted. We may add, that the lines are by the writer of the new novel, *Hills and Hollows*, reviewed in our present Number:—

THE POOR FALLEN ONES.

1.

Have *we* then no tears to shed?
Are our hearts seared or dead?

Humankind,
Womankind,
Saved from the snare?
Shall *we* crush the fallen reed,
Sisters—withal their need,
Hideously,
Piteously,
Crazed with despair.

2.

Alas! they're a shameless set,
But are *ye* blameless yet?
Blighting them,
Slighting them,
Cank'ring their youth.
Forget not—who spurn them now—
Many's the burning vow
Winningly,
Sinningly,
Stole them from Truth.

3.

A deeply degraded lot,
Abject and aided not,
Weary hearts,
Dreary hearts,
Lost to fair fame.
Unpitied ills harden them—
Bless God, and pardon them,
Healthy folks,
Wealthy folks,
Spotless in *name*!

4.

Ignoble and low 'tis true,
Blotting our social view,
Paining us,
Staining us,
E'en with their sight.
But think ye displacing them
Serves for effacing them—
Hiving them,
Driving them,
Far from *the light*.

5.

Oh ! what's to become of them ?
 Try to save some of them,
 Healingly,
 Feelingly.
 Shaping their days.
 Afford them a biding place,
 Home—not a hiding place—
 Readily,
 Steadily,
 Teaching God's ways !

6.

'Tis blindly debasing them,
 Houselessly chasing them,
 Rushingly,
 Crushingly,
 Crowded in sin.
 Beware ! 'tis a crying curse
 When the Bad fly to worse ;
 Are they all
 Past recall ?
 Who sees within ?

7.

Woe's me ! there are glaring ones,
 Frenzied and daring ones,
 Tearlessly,
 Fearlessly,
 Reckless of Hate.
 But more are forlorn ones,
 Famished and torn ones,
 Whiningly,
 Piningly,
 Mourning their fate.

8.

Did each her dark wrongs unfold,
 Well might our blood run cold !
 Love believed,
 Love deceived,
 Anguish and Wrath.
 Sad mothers bemoaning them,
 Brothers disowning them,
 Cast away
 Fast they stray
 Down by sin's path.

9.

Not harshly abusing them,
No, nor ill using them,
 (Maddening some,
 Saddening some)
Makes them amend.
Instruct them to pray instead,
Earning pure daily bread,
 Bear with them,
 Share with them,
He will befriend.

10.

Poor Outcasts—for Peace they sigh,
Sure 'twere release to die!
 Who shall say
 Such as they
 Mercy ne'er found.
'Twere hard all their woes to tell,
Christ alone knows it well;
 Judge no more,
 Once before
He wrote on the ground.

ART. VIII.—WARDS OF COURT AND THEIR RELIGION.

In the matter of The O'Malleys, Minors.

Important Judgment in Chancery,

(Extracted from The Daily Express, November 22nd, 1858.)

As a diseased state of the blood through the effects of time, good air, and wholesome diet, is restored to a healthful condition, so the acrid humors of sectaries in the body politic are gradually dispersed by time, converse with those of other sects, and the softening influence of an enlarged and liberal system of education. In this country religious differences which have so long blazed high and fiercely almost to the ruin of the country's best interests, are dying out, and although the smouldering fire is occasionally fanned into a flame by some religious topic, which brings the two great creeds of the country into antagonism, yet the materials for a conflagration are now sadly wanting, or to speak in plain English and not in figures, fanatics have become rare and are becoming rarer. When the educated men of the first quarter of the present century, might be classed at fifty per cent of bigots, the second quarter has not produced more than ten; and we have reasons to hope that the next quarter will diminish the number to the lowest average to which education can reduce bigotry—five per cent, an average below which as long as there are sects, and fools and knaves, we can hardly expect to find bigotry reduced. That the bitter blood of sectarianism is becoming gradually sweetened, is testified by the reasonable or nearly reasonable observations of the press, on the decision of the Chancellor in the case of the O'Malleys minors. There was not on one side a howl of indignation and abuse, and on the other one of triumph and recrimination, but party papers, albeit with more or less of the tone of self-righteousness, have approximated to the language and reasoning of ordinary educated men. It is in this spirit we approach the consideration of that case, and do not fear but that the soundness of the Chancellor's judgment may be questioned without accusing him of incompetency or bigotry, without using a disrespectful word or making a single injurious insinuation. We would deal with this case as the legal publications of the day might deal with decisions of the different Courts of Law and Equity, as they frequently do, and without importing more of the religious

element than if the question were one of Real Property Law. Such a mode of dealing with this case is not likely to find favor with the non-professional reader, but we trust that from the interest which such a question as this, must excite in the mind of every individual in the community, not utterly destitute of family ties, albeit writing dry law, as we are, we shall make ourselves understood by every man of ordinary intelligence.

The main facts of the case, although we cannot admit that they lead to the inferences drawn by the Lord Chancellor, we shall give in the brief and lucid statement of His Lordship in pronouncing judgment in the case.

"It appears from these affidavits that Ellen O'Malley, the mother of the minors, was the eldest daughter of William Jameson, formerly a sergeant in the Constabulary Force. She had been strictly and carefully educated by her parents in the Reformed faith as a Protestant. She married John O'Malley, a constable of the force, but he was a Roman Catholic. They had eight children, five sons and three daughters. William, the eldest child, is twelve years of age; the three daughters are of the ages of ten, eight, and seven respectively; the others are of the ages of five years and two years; and the youngest is under two years. The elder portion of the family were regularly sent to school in the several places in which John O'Malley was stationed. In the National school of one of these places they were taught and treated as Protestant children, and were returned as such to the National Board by the master, who was himself a Roman Catholic. In the schools at the other places they were instructed, as well as registered, as Protestant children. They attended Divine service in the Protestant Church, and also the catechetical instruction on each Saturday, when the Protestant children of the church were instructed by the rector in the Church Catechism. The eldest boy attended the Sunday school in connexion with the church, and was sent to church by his father at a time when Ellen O'Malley was absent from home, a patient in the Galway infirmary. The family were visited by the Protestant clergymen, and the children were occasionally taught by their father at home out of the Holy Scriptures, and from the Catechism of the United Church. It does not appear that in any one instance their father ever had taken any of them to a Roman Catholic service, and with the exception of having all but the youngest baptized according to

the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, he never in any respect treated any of them otherwise than as a Protestant parent ought to treat his child. It therefore seems to me, that it is satisfactorily made out, as a matter of fact, that in the church, the family, and the school, these children were, with the full consent of both their parents carefully trained up as Protestant children. The father died in March, 1857. After his death, their mother continued the same course of instruction as had been followed in the father's lifetime. She died in June, 1858, a pauper in the workhouse at Tuam, and whilst the children remained in the workhouse, until the 18th of August, 1858, they were visited taught, and treated as Protestant children. To this no objection appears to have been made, before the 11th of August, when the aunt, Jane Robinson, applied to the guardians to get the children out of the workhouse."

The rules which govern cases of this kind, are not many or involved, and by throwing aside much evidence that really does not bear on the question on which the Chancellor decided, and by eliminating those rules without wading through all the numerous decisions in which they are recognized, and acted on, we trust to be able to express our views on this question within reasonable compass, and by our mode of treating it to leave it in the power of non-professional as well as professional readers to form an opinion on the subject.

Our desire is to simplify the consideration of this case, the surest mode of arriving at a just opinion of it. Going through a number of cases somewhat similar, which in some respects resemble the case for consideration, and in other perhaps essential elements differ from it, is the way in which the case has been for the most part treated in discussion—a mode perhaps not so objectionable when only lawyers are dealing with it, but in our opinion not the most satisfactory way either for professional or non-professional hearers. In justice to the gentlemen of the long robe, however, it must be admitted that it is not frequently possible otherwise to deal with a question, so involved are authorities and so irreconcilable with fixed or defined rules. This question however of the religious custody of wards is fortunately not so over laid by conflicting authorities. When so much utterly irrelevant, has been dragged into the case, so much evidence objectionable in point of admissibility and materiality, the most satisfactory way of dealing with it seems to be, to state the rules which govern a Court of Equity in

dealing with such cases, to establish the accuracy with which these rules are stated, and then to enter upon their bearing on the facts of this case.

The wishes of the father on the subject of his children's religion override the authority of all other persons with exceptions we shall presently state. Where the father dies without any express direction on the subject, children are to be brought up in the religion of their father, because the court assumes such to be the father's wish. When the father dies in a state of transition, when his religious opinions cannot be well known, and gives a direction as to the religion in which his children are to be educated, that direction is to be carried out. Both these rules are subject to two exceptions, one settled by a number of authorities, the other by *Talbot v. Lord Shrewsbury*—That if from any cause the children have been brought up in a faith different from their father's or different from that in which he directed that they should be educated, and it should appear that they have attained such an age and received such an amount of religious or rather sectarian instruction, that they could not, without danger of becoming destitute of all religion, receive new impressions, the court considering a disregard of its own rule and of the father's wish preferable to destroying all religious principles in the minor, will not interfere, but allow the child to continue in the faith in which it has been instructed. The other that the minor will be entrusted to the charge of persons differing from the father's creed, and in which it is to be reared where the health or the preservation of the child renders it necessary.

With the exceptions above stated the rule is universal,—the religion of the father, or that in which he has directed the children to be educated, is to be that in which the child shall according to the rules of a Court of Equity be brought up.

Objecting as we do to the decision of the Chancellor, perhaps no course more satisfactory to those disposed to differ from us can be taken, than to confine ourselves to the cases referred to in the judgment, as from these as well as many others the rules which we have stated as those under which a Court of Equity acts in such cases will sufficiently appear. The first of these, *Lyons v. Blenkin*, Jacob's Reports, page 245, was a case in which the religious question was not raised, but the rights of a father to the custody of his children during his life-time were dis-

cussed. This case can hardly be considered a direct authority on the point, and we should not have referred to it but that for the purpose of satisfying our readers that we give the case the fullest and fairest consideration, we have determined to refer to every authority cited by the Chancellor in his judgment. In that case the mother of the children had been dead for some time; their maternal grandmother had bequeathed them a considerable property, and dealing with them as if they were her own children had given them in charge to an aunt, one of her own daughters; to this disposition the father of the children assented, and for several years they remained with the aunt. The father married a second time, and (as it would appear) from vexatious motives insisted on the children being given up to him when they had reached the respective ages of nineteen, fourteen and twelve, and for this purpose filed his petition. The father was a man of limited means, and the children had been educated and reared by their aunt in a mode of life superior to that in which the father could afford to maintain them, and it was in giving judgment in that case refusing the prayer of the father's petition that the Lord Chancellor made use of those expressions quoted by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the case of the O'Malleys. "It appears to me that the father has so far given his consent to this course of education as to preclude him from saying that he shall now be permitted to break in and introduce a new system of education which cannot be consistent with the system to which they have been habituated." In this case the court went farther than ever it has gone before or since in interfering with the right of the father to the possession of his children. It can hardly be said to touch the O'Malleys' case at all, and as far as it does, it merely goes to shew that the rule recognising the father's rights is modified as we have stated it.

The next case (*Witty v. Marshall*, 1st Young and Collyer, C.C., 68,) referred to and quoted from by the Chancellor is directly in point as laying down and illustrating both the rule and the exception as we have stated it. In *Witty v. Marshall*, both father and mother had been Protestants. A short time before his death the father began to give evidence of approval of the tenets and practices of the church of Rome, and perhaps the most accurate way of describing his condition of mind would be to say he was in a state of transition. In his will, he speaks of himself as being a Roman Catholic, and

desires that his son should be educated in the same religion, and appointed his wife and certain other persons guardians of his child. The mother after her husband's death became a Roman Catholic. (The Chancellor by mistake speaks of her as a Protestant, but the fact is quite unimportant.) When the case came before the court, the child was fifteen years of age, and had, it appeared, been brought up principally by Protestant relatives. The mother sought to get the child from her Protestant relatives for the purpose of rearing him according to the father's directions, in the Roman Catholic Church. The minor had, it appears, received what are called Protestant impressions, and the Lord Chancellor quotes the following passages from Vice Chancellor Knight Bruce's judgment in the case:—"With every respect therefore to what may be allowed to the feelings and wishes of the father on so important a subject, it is impossible not to see that great danger to the spiritual welfare and to the moral character of the infant may arise (I do not say will arise) from a change of religious education. On this ground and *this ground alone*, it is the duty of the Court to pause." He then says, "the proper course is to direct a reference to the Master. Rarely can the Court with propriety, withdraw such questions from the Master."

"On this ground only," says V. C. Knight Bruce, "can we interfere with the wishes of the father." We will take the liberty of adding some extracts from his judgment which will more explicitly state the rule.

"Upon the other part of the case the course which has been taken is unfortunate. It appears that the father of the infant, his lawful father, was a Roman Catholic; not only so, but by his will he has left strict injunctions that his son should be educated in his own religion. *It appears to me therefore that it was the duty of all who had the care of the infant to cause him to be brought up in his father's faith.* I am of opinion therefore, that however well intentioned the party might be, the non-compliance with the father's injunctions was a breach of duty both towards the father and the infant himself;" *again* : "I see no reason to think that they were not actuated by the best of motives; but the relatives of the mother did not keep faith with the dead: they might have brought up the infant in the religion of his father consistently with kind care and attention, and consistently with his residence in a Protestant family. This however has not been done, and it is alleged that the infant has been allowed to arrive at an important period of his life under Protestant impressions."

"But," says the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, "the recent case of *Stourton v. Stourton*, which in the year 1857 came before the Lords Justices of Appeal in Chancery in England, puts the question beyond controversy in this Court." We will not stop here to consider what is meant by "the question;" there are several in the case, and according to his Lordship's own opinion, the children are to be divided into two classes; namely, those who have received "Protestant impressions," and those who are incapable from their youth of having received religious impressions of any kind, each class to be separately considered and disposed of by a different class of cases. Neither shall we stop here to consider how far it "put the question beyond controversy," but proceed as we have proposed to ourselves by stating the cases and the manner in which they were decided, and giving such extracts as will show the mode in which each case is disposed of. In *Stourton v. Stourton* both parents of the ward were Roman Catholics. The child was baptized in the religion of his parents at the instance of his uncle Lord Stourton, his father having died a week before the child was born. The mother became a Protestant, and educated the child entirely in the Protestant religion. In October, 1856, when the child was nine years old, Lord Stourton presented a petition to have him made a ward of court, and prayed that he or some of the child's Roman Catholic relatives should be appointed guardians for the purpose of bringing him up in the religion of his father and family. The Master of the Rolls decided in favour of Mrs. Stourton's claim to the custody of the child to have him brought up a Protestant, and from this decision Lord Stourton appealed. After the arguments of Counsel had concluded, their Lordships, Sir J. L. Knight Bruce and Sir G. J. Turner, desired to have a private interview with the minor; and afterwards delivered their judgment in favour of the mother's demand that the child should be educated a Protestant. In the report of the judgment of Lord Justice Sir Knight Bruce, 3 Jurist, new series, page 529, we find the following passages. "The Master of the Rolls had substantially decided for the latter; (the Anglican church) but he did not appear to have seen the plaintiff, who was a boy of delicate constitution, born on the 30th May, 1847, and was the posthumous son of Mr. Stourton a younger son of the late Lord Stourton *and there being no proof that Mr. Stourton intended his son to be brought up otherwise, than as a Ro-*

man Catholic he ought to have been brought up a Roman Catholic." He then goes on to observe on the remissness of Lord Stourton in having so long lain by and allowed Mrs. Stourton to educate the boy as she thought proper. "*In his Lordship's judgment, there had been a failure in duty, towards the late Mr. Stourton. An application might have been made to the Court before the mind of the child had been religiously biassed, in which case his education in the principles of his father would no doubt have been ordered.*"

His Lordship then observes, that on examination the child appeared of more than ordinary intelligence, and that he understood more minutely than boys of his age generally did, the different points in controversy, between the two Churches—as transubstantiation, the attributes of the Virgin, the invocation of Saints, and the authority of the Pope, and then observes:—"The Protestant seed which had been sown, appeared to have taken such a hold on his mind, that the tares, if tares they were, could not be rooted up without danger to the wheat. The child's tranquillity, health, happiness, and spiritual welfare, were too likely to suffer from an attempt to efface his Protestant impressions for such a course to be attempted." In Sir George Turner's judgment we find the following passages—"The principles by which the Court was governed in those cases, when no testamentary guardian had been appointed, were not open to doubt. When an infant became a ward of Court, the duty of the Court was to consult the welfare of the infant, and in so doing the Court recognized no religious distinctions. If consistently with the duty of the Court, the wishes of the father could be attended to, the Court paid attention to those wishes; but if they could not be carried into effect without sacrificing what the Court considered to be for the benefit of the child, they could not be attended to. *The father here had died without expressing any wish; and if the application had been made at once, it would have been much of course that the child should have been brought up in his father's religion:* but when the application as here had been delayed, and the child had been suffered to receive other religious impressions, more serious considerations arose. The father's wishes might be in conflict with the safety and welfare of the child, and it was necessary to see what religious impressions had already been made on the child's mind."

Having shown from the cases referred to by the Lord Chancellor, and without even going beyond those cases, that we have

stated the rules of the Court in such cases correctly, let us now see how far the Chancellor has acted in conformity with these rules. We shall, for this purpose—even although, we might on the evidence, quarrel with the classification of the children, which places four of them as capable of, and having actually received Protestant impressions—admit that there was enough of evidence to lead the Court to suppose some impressions had been made on the children.

Let us take these rules, even strained to the extent that they have been by the Lords Justices in *Stourton v Stourton*, in which their Lordships went so far as to hold that a boy of nine years old had received such religious impressions, that they could not be modified or interfered with, without danger of destroying all religious opinions; and in which Lord Justice Knight Bruce seemed to be considerably influenced in his opinion by a Pascalite horror of the Jesuits' College of Stoneyhurst, which was suggested as the place of instruction for the minor; taking we say these rules in the view most favourable to the Chancellor's decision, let us see how should these children have been disposed of. We need not scramble through the weak and uncertain evidence about religious education, perhaps the vaguest that ever was offered in a Court of Justice; but assume that there was a reasonable amount of evidence to shew that the children were capable of instruction, and had received religious instructions which would have opened the question as to whether they had received Protestant impressions. Was it not the duty of the Court either to have examined these children as had been done by the Lords Justices in *Stourton v. Stourton*, or refer it to the Master as in *Witty v. Marshall*, to ascertain whether or not these children had received Protestant impressions? If the Chancellor, or the Master of the Court to whom the matter should be referred, could conscientiously say that four of these children had received such Protestant impressions, that there was a likelihood of rooting up all religion, in the effort to root out the peculiar tenets of the Protestant religion, we should have bowed to the decision which gave these elder children to Protestant guardians as being in accordance with the rules of the court, albeit, somewhat dissatisfied as to the metaphysical test, especially when applied by an earnest sectary.

As to the younger children, however, beyond a possibility of doubt or question, they should have been handed over to the petitioner, William O'Malley, to be educated as Roman Catho-

lica. In their case there could not be a pretence for saying that religious impressions had been made on them; there was evidence strongly corroborated, conclusive, that their father wished his children to be reared Roman Catholics, that he was himself a Roman Catholic, an unquestioned fact in the case, and one amply sufficient without an expression of wish or direction, one way or the other, for the Court to deduce that his wish was that his children should be reared in his own faith. As regards the elder children it may be said we are quarrelling about straws, as our only objection is that the minor detail of inquiry from the children themselves was not entered on, and that we concede the propositions insisted on by the Chancellor. We do so, because without quarrelling with the deductions his Lordship has drawn from the evidence in the case as we might do, it is sufficient for our purpose, and a much more satisfactory mode of dealing with the case, to take the lowest possible ground for ourselves, and conceding the most favourable to those who differ from us, to take his Lordship's statements of the facts, as the facts of the case, to take from his case, and his only, our law, and show, even with the materials he furnishes us, that he has not dealt with these children as according to the well settled rules of the court, they should have been disposed of.

In dealing with the elder children, the Lord Chancellor referred to a certain class of cases which showed that when Protestant impressions were made the children so impressed should under all circumstances be reared Protestants. Why should not the rule recognised in all those cases as the unquestioned and unquestionable rule, a rule whose strict application can be escaped from only by the most imminent danger to the child's entire religious belief—why we repeat should not that rule be acted on and applied to the younger children? In dealing with the younger children, the Chancellor goes to a different class of cases ignoring the rule which runs through those already referred to which are the most recent. In applying himself to the disposal of the younger children his lordship refers to three cases, one, a common law case, the other two, equity decisions—and after stating these cases goes anew into the evidence, for the purpose of bringing the younger children within those cases. The first case referred to is that of the Queen v. Clarke, 7 Ellis and Blackburn, 201. Now with regard to that and every other law case, we will venture on the sweeping proposition, that they can have no bearing, and can throw no light on

the rule of a Court of Equity in such cases. We shall go shortly into the facts of that case to show that Courts of Law, on writs of habeas corpus, as in every other branch of their common law or statutable jurisdiction, can regard only legal rights. They have not the same machinery for acting as Courts of Equity, they cannot stand in loco parentis to the child of a deceased father, as the Chancellor representing the Sovereign stands. A Court of Law recognizes the right of a mother as nurture guardian, or the right of a guardian appointed duly by the will of the father, because by statute, fathers are enabled to appoint persons whose legal title to the custody of the children a Court of Law is bound to give effect to until the infant attain an age at which he can judge for himself. The accuracy of what we have stated will sufficiently appear on a reference to the case itself. The infant, Alicia Race, was brought up on a writ of habeas corpus ad subjiciendum, obtained at the instance of her mother, addressed to Maria Clark, under whose care the child had been placed by the commissioners of the Royal Patriotic Fund, and with whom she was willing to remain. Affidavits were used on both sides, and from these it appeared that the father who was dead had been a Protestant, and the mother who sought to have her child handed over to her was a Roman Catholic; the children (there were two) had been baptized, and during the father's lifetime had gone to church as members of the Church of England. By his will he appointed his wife executrix, feeling confident that she would do justice to his two children. There was a conflict of evidence as to what were the wishes of the father, and it could hardly be doubted but that if the wishes of the child were consulted she would remain with Mrs. Clarke, assigning as a reason that although she loved her mother she would not go to a school where she would be taught idolatrous worship of the Virgin and Saints. Lord Campbell, in a very long and able judgment, reviewing the cases, assigns his reason for holding that the child should be delivered over to her mother, her guardian by nurture, refusing to examine the child as to what her wishes were on the subject, and holding that the mother was *legally* entitled to the custody of the child, as it was not shown that she was not morally unfit to be trusted with the guardianship of the child, and that it was for no sinister or illegal purpose she obtained the writ.

At page 201 Lord Campbell observes, "indeed by marrying

a Roman Catholic and by permitting the children in his lifetime to join in the Roman Catholic prayers, he does not seem to have had the horror of Popery felt by many pious Protestants. Still if the proposition laid down can be supported, that it was her duty as guardian for nurture from the simple fact of the father having been a Protestant to educate the children as Protestants she would be contemplating what the law forbid by wishing to remove the children from a Protestant to a Roman Catholic School. But no sufficient authority has been cited in support of this proposition; and the mother becoming guardian by nurture on the death of the father no provision to the contrary being made by will, she appears to us to have in all respects the same parental authority which might have been exercised by the father had he survived the mother. . . . The authority relied upon to show that the ward must invariably be educated in the religion of the father, is *In Re Arabella Frances North* before Vice Chancellor Knight Bruce. That case, arising jointly on a return to a habeas corpus and on a petition for the appointment of a guardian to children as wards of court of Chancery, *it is difficult to distinguish what was done or said by the Vice-Chancellor as a common law and as an equity judge.* He cannot be alleged to have decided anything upon this point, and he had only to consider it with a view of determining whether the children for a few days, till a guardian was appointed, should be in the custody of a Roman Catholic or of a Protestant nurse. . . . Lord Campbell then observes on the inference which was drawn by the Vice-Chancellor from the father having been of a particular religion, and thus continuing:—" *But this doctrine, if well founded, would only apply to the education of wards of the Court of Chancery, respecting whom an equity judge represents the Queen, as Parens Patriæ has a very large discretion, and may give directions beyond the scope of the duty of a guardian for nurture under the Common law;*" and again at page 193, where his Lordship points out the mode in and the extent to which the Court can and does exercise its powers on writs of habeas corpus; "accordingly from the case to be found in the Year Book to the present time, it has ever been considered that the father, or whoever else on his death may be the guardian by nurture, has by law a right to the custody of the child, and shall maintain an action of trespass against a stranger who takes the child. See the authorities Comyn's Digest (Guardians) D.

The question then arises whether a habeas corpus be the proper remedy for the guardian to recover the custody of the child of which he has been improperly deprived. Certainly the great use of this writ, the boast of English jurisprudence, is to set at liberty any of the Queen's subjects unlawfully in prison, and when an adult is brought up under a habeas corpus and found to be unlawfully imprisoned, he is to have his unfettered choice to go where he pleases. But with respect to a child under guardianship for nurture, the child is supposed to be unlawfully imprisoned when unlawfully detained from the custody of the Guardians; and when delivered to him the child is supposed to be set at liberty." Here we see every consideration disregarded as to the father's wishes, as to the religious impressions of the child, and all those other elements taken into account by a court of Equity in appointing guardians. Lord Campbell sat in a Court of Law, and could recognise no person other than the guardian for nurture, the mother, or a testamentary guardian to whom legal powers could be given by the father pursuant to the provisions of the 12 Car. II. So much for the bearing of the *Queen v. Clarke*, and of the observations quoted by the Lord Chancellor from Lord Campbell's judgment on the disposal of the *O'Malley* case in a Court of Equity on a petition for the appointment of guardians. Neither must we lose sight of the important fact that even if the *Queen v. Clarke* were a decision of a Court of Equity, it could not apply in any way to the *O'Malleys*, as their mother the guardian for nurture was dead, and no person had been appointed by either parent to take charge of the children. Overlooking this vital distinction between decisions of a Court of Law on returns to writs of habeas corpus, and decisions of Courts of Equity on petition for the appointment of guardians, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, after quoting from Lord Campbell's judgment in the *Queen v. Clarke* as to the right of the mother to the custody of the children, observes:—

"This view of the right of the mother surviving when no testamentary guardian has been appointed by the father has a sanction in the judgment of Lord Hardwick in *Villareal v. Mellish* (2 Swanston 536 and 535) and in the case of *Storke v. Storke* (3 P. W. 52)."

These observations, whatever they may be, his Lordship does not give, but continues in the next sentence, passing away entirely from the rights of the mother, "I think however that it must

be taken to be the accredited rule of this court that in whatever way the wishes of the father can be clearly ascertained, the court will respect them to the utmost, that is consistent with the welfare of the child, and this without any reference to religious distinctions." Under these circumstances we should be justified in passing over these cases, as his Lordship gives neither the substance of their decision or the dicta of the judges who disposed of them. We have said however that we should go through every case referred to by the Chancellor, and further that we should be content not to go beyond the cases referred to by his Lordship to establish the accuracy of our statements as to the rules under which the court acts. We need hardly go beyond the marginal notes of these cases for a statement of their effect. In *Villareal v. Mellish*, which is most imperfectly reported, the marginal note is, "V. the daughter and widow of a Jew having agreed with her father that he should have the care of the person and estates of her two infant children, and in the event of their death during minority should receive a moiety of their property, and having abjured Judaism and married a Christian, on the petition of the children the court ordered that they should be delivered to their mother, guardianship not being assignable, and the agreement not purporting to be an assignment and the right of the mother to be guardian continuing notwithstanding her second marriage. The only passage in the report touching this point is the following, and we will give the Lord Chancellor the benefit of it. "It has been said that the father of the children was a Jew. I see nothing to prevent the father from devising; but the father being dead, and not having disposed of the guardianship, the father's right devolves to the mother, and she is now of the religion of the country, and therefore there is no reason to take the right from her." In *Storke v. Storke*, a presbyterian who had three infant daughters, the eldest past sixteen years of age at the time of her father's death, appointed three of his brothers who were Presbyterians, and the Rev. Mr. Andrews, a clergyman of the Church of England, guardians. Previous to his death he had sent the eldest daughter to her uncle, one of her guardians, to be educated. The two others were taken by the clergyman, and placed at a school where they were being educated in the Church of England. On bills being filed, which brought all the parties before the court, Mr. Andrews insisted that the eldest daughter should be educated in the tenets of the Church of

England, while the three other guardians sought to have the two younger girls handed over to them to be brought up as Presbyterians. The decision of the Chancellor was that parol evidence of directions by the father as to the religion in which his children should be reared should not be attended to, and he decided on leaving the children as they were. The eldest, in the words of the reporter, being above the age of sixteen years, it was ordered that she should be sent for immediately, into court, which being accordingly done, and she being there asked where she desired to be; on her expressing a desire to continue with her uncle Samuel Storke, his Lordship declared she should continue there if she pleased.

Now with regard to these two cases it appears that the religious question was only incidentally raised. The decision in the first was that guardianship was not assignable, and in the second that a parol declaration of the father's wishes could not be received in evidence. The passage we have given from the judgment of the Chancellor in *Villareal v. Mellish*, if accurately reported is to the effect that no matter what the religion of the children might be the mother was entitled to rear the children in whatever religion she thought proper. With regard to this we can only say that it is not the doctrine of a Court of Equity, and that the decision or rather dictum of Lord Hardwicke, who heard this case so far back as 1737, has been overruled by every other case reported on the subject, and by the most eminent Equity Judges in England. To prove that we are correct in stating this, it is only necessary to refer to the passages we have given from the judgments in the *Queen v. Clarke*, in *Witty v. Marshall*, and in *Stourton v. Stourton*. To the same effect is the judgment of Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce, in *re North*, 11 Jurist, page 10. When his Honor says, "*The rule of the court I apprehend is, that when the father has not left nor expressed any direction or instruction as to the religion in which his children are to be educated, it is to be presumed that his wishes were that they should be educated in his own religion; and that I am of opinion upon the evidence before me as it now stands, and for the present purposes must be the presumption in this case.*" So well established is this rule now that we should not feel justified in accumulating authorities to establish it.

But even if these cases correctly stated the rules of a Court of Equity, they could be no assistance to the Chancellor in his decision. The case of *Storke v. Storke* decided nothing except

that a parol declaration of the father's wish could not be attended to, a doctrine for which no lawyer at the present day would venture to contend. *Villareal v. Mellish* which set up a right in the mother to the care and education of the child, no matter what its father's religion might have been, is not in point. Mrs. O'Malley is dead, and the very brief notice of these decisions by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (we have given all he said about them) shews that he placed no great reliance on their assisting his views of the case.

To what extent the Lord Chancellor was disposed to rely on these cases it is difficult to ascertain, as after referring to them briefly, for the purpose of showing that after the father's death, the mother may dispose of the children as she pleases, his Lordship, instead of applying such a rule to the facts of the case, addresses himself to the affidavits for the purpose of showing that the father's wish was that the children should be reared Protestants. Now it is worthy of remark, that his Lordship shrank from putting the case of the elder children on this ground. It would have been quite sufficient if the evidence satisfactorily led to that conclusion, to have rested the case on these grounds without resorting to the allegation, that Protestant impressions were made. The fact that the father lived and died a Roman Catholic, renders it, as will be seen from the cases we have cited, a matter of course that his children should be reared in that faith; the Court always assuming, in the absence of express directions, that such is the father's wish; and taking it at best for the case of *Ellen Robinson*, or rather of the *Hon. Miss Plunket*, the evidence of a direction is doubtful. But if it were necessary for the Roman Catholic uncle to have made out a case of direction in favor of his creed, which it was not, let us see what the evidence upon the subject was. The only direct evidence on the subject, was that of *Mary Burns*,* the servant of the Bishop of Tuam's (Lord Plunket) coachman.

As for the statement of the wretched mother to third persons of what her husband said, every attorney's clerk knows, that they are not evidence, and we must say that it excites our astonishment to find the Chancellor referring to a statement by Mrs. O'Malley, made a few days after her husband's death in a letter to her sister, when, as stated in His Lordship's judgment, she speaks of "how the priest and two nuns thought

* This witness is described and spoken of indifferently as *Byrne* and *Burns*.

to come round me in presence of my poor dying husband, but I balked them completely. John did not blame me for what I told them, for after they went away he desired me to bring up the children in the way I always brought them up." What will be thought of the value of this kind of evidence, if it were to be for one moment taken into account, if we bear in mind that this despicable mother sought to gain favor at one time, with Rev. Mr. Seymour and her Protestant relatives, at another with her husband's Roman Catholic friends, by suiting her conversation to her hearers for the time. At folio 5 of the first affidavit, made by the Rev. Mr. Coyne, the Roman Catholic clergyman, who attended the father, we find the following passage—"That about six weeks before the death of Mrs. O'Malley, she called upon this deponent for the purpose of inducing him to employ an attorney to bring an action against a member of the Rev. Mr. Seymour's family, for libelling her character, and further saith, that upon that occasion Mrs. O'Malley stated that if anything could be done for the children, *she would give them up to the Roman Catholic Faith according to the wish of her husband*; saith he peremptorily refused to interfere in the matter between the Rev. Mr. Seymour and herself, and stated he could make no terms by way of inducement to her, to give up the children, but if they were given up according to the wishes of her husband they would be taken care of;" and again in the affidavit of Mary Burns, otherwise Vesey, a woman with whom she remained four days before going into the Workhouse, folio 2 and 3, "Saith that Ellen O'Malley complained in strong terms of the treatment received by her, from her sister Mrs. Jane Robinson, and that she refused taking any of the children, except one—Deponent saith, from the total want of means of the said Ellen O'Malley, she was obliged to seek relief in the Workhouse, and left this deponent's house for that purpose. Saith that during the time the said Ellen O'Malley was in the Workhouse deponent visited her several times; deponent saith that the said Ellen O'Malley, after she entered the house, requested of this deponent to provide for her some writing paper, for the purpose of writing to the brother of her husband, John O'Malley, to come to Tuam, for the purpose of placing the children under his care, as she mentioned to this deponent. Saith, she procured the paper accordingly, and gave it to the said Ellen O'Malley; deponent saith she believes the said Ellen O'Malley, in consequence of her immediate illness, never wrote

said letter." This is the parties, the Chancellor has to rely and comment on. the wisdom of our rule of admitted, the affidavits in we have the Lord Chancellor pleased to speak of as a which it could be legal evidence that it is not enough to make another very short, but perhaps taken to render it valuable His Lordship proceeds thus in his affidavit—That at the O'Malley, a few days previously denied the truth of the facts brought up in the Roman of her reasons, that her husband should be brought up in and that her husband frequently the same desire. Here then "the dying mother's account the dying father; a double death, and sealed with all Now we object to the admission in the shape of a dying declaration or practised in Criminal Courts frequently offered, and discuss such a statement admissible the person making it, is at the time, and is aware of the fact professional men to require and perhaps for non-professional reasons the words of Mr. Taylor, though in his book on Evidence, pass to the admissibility of these when they were made, the danger of death; secondly apprehension of his danger ensued. All these facts then fact of the judge before

Now where is there one woman was *in extremis* at

the Rev. Mr. Seymour, or that she knew she was in a dying state. As far as we can judge from the evidence the contrary is the fact. The woman was ill of fever ; we all know what a change twenty-four hours can and does make in such cases, and as the Rev. Mr. Seymour tells us, it was "a few days previous to her death." The evidence of Burns, the coachman's servant, contradicted as it is by so many witnesses, is out of the case. Indeed his Lordship never once alluded to it, although if it could be believed, it would have established as a fact that the father directed his children to be reared as Protestants. We have then a cardinal fact, the only fact in the case which would justify the Chancellor in giving those younger children to Protestant guardians, resting on two statements made by Ellen O'Malley, not admissible in any Court of Justice in these countries as evidence, not worth one straw if they were admissible, inconsistent as they are with other statements made by Ellen O'Malley, contradicted as they are by the direct evidence of the Rev. Eugene Coyne, and Anne Tiernan, the nurse-tender who was present when the father expressed his wishes that the children should be reared in the Roman Catholic religion, and opposed as they are to the deduction which the court always draws, that whatever may be the religion of the father, in that religion does he wish his children to be educated. We were wrong however in saying that the Lord Chancellor put the evidence of Burns, the coachman's servant, out of the case. To a very limited extent he introduces the name of this witness, who, if she is to be believed, would have proved the entire case for the Honourable Miss Plunkett. After commenting on the absence of affidavits from the Sisters of Mercy who had attended on John O'Malley, and who may or may not have been able to give any evidence on the matter if their evidence were needed, his Lordship observes—"but Mary Byrne has in her affidavit given a very remarkable account of what took place immediately after Mr. Coyne had left the house. If the proposal was to give up the children, nothing can be more natural or more probable in its substance than the account given by Mary Byrne of what she saw and heard." Nothing more natural truly, if a single word that Mary Byrne swore to could be believed, and if she were not contradicted by the evidence of three witnesses on most material points. It is with regret that we feel ourselves forced to go to the affidavit of this woman, whom we plainly accuse of wilful and deliberate

perjury. We have not made one imputation on the veracity of any of the parties who have made affidavits in this case ; we have not made a single harsh observation on anything said or done by the Protestant clergymen who have been so active in this case ; we have not said, nor shall we say one word condemnatory of either their conduct or evidence, although they may furnish food for comment, and it is only because it is of the essence of the case that the character of Mary Byrne's evidence should be shown that we go into it. We repeat that from beginning to end of her affidavit not one word can be believed. Without going through the entire of her affidavit we shall refer to such parts as have met with a flat contradiction. In the commencement of her affidavit (folio 1, 2), she swears "that she frequently visited him (O'Malley), especially during his last illness in which she was in almost constant attendance on him up to his death ; that she even dressed him when dead, and that the widow, Mrs. O'Malley, gave her, deponent, her keys, &c.," and the regulation of everything connected with the funeral, and that she remained in the house till after the funeral had left. Saith that on the day before that on which he died, she saw the Rev. Eugene Coyne leaving John O'Malley's house, and she went in immediately to see him ; when she entered she heard Mrs. O'Malley crying convulsively, and knew that something unusual had taken place, so she asked one of the nursetenders, Anne Tiernan, "what is all this about?" the nursetender answered, "there is murder here, the priest wants the children and she would not give them." Deponent replied, "would she not give them?" and Anne Tiernan answered, "no she would not." Deponent then went down to the room where the sick man was, and found his wife lying across him in the bed ; when Mrs. O'Malley saw her, deponent, she said, "my God, look at the way I am annoyed by these priests wanting what my own husband does not want me to do." And then turning towards her dying husband she said, "John dear, are you angry with me for what I have said?" he replied, "no, I am not;" she then asked, "do you wish me to keep them?" (the children) he answered, "I do, you have a great deal to contend with, but bring them up with yourself as they have always gone." She then goes on to swear that two or three hours before his decease, she was present at another conversation between O'Malley and his wife, in which precisely the same conversation took place—"John dear, are you angry with me?" in fact word for

word a répétition of the previous statement, with some slight additions, and "after this deponent never heard him speak, and was then informed by the nurse-tender, Catherine O'Dea, who was with him to the last, that he never spoke more."

Now in almost every word of her statement, except when Mary Burns lays the scene between herself and the deceased husband and wife, she is flatly and specifically contradicted. In Anne Tiernan's affidavit, folio 3, 4, she swears, "that the said John O'Malley was washed and laid out by defendant and Catherine O'Dea, and by them alone, and saith that said Mary Byrne was not even present when this deponent and said Catherine O'Dea washed and laid out the said John O'Malley, and that the said Mary Byrne left the house of the said John O'Malley about 11 o'clock the night previous to his death, and did not return until after the said John O'Malley was washed and laid out on the following morning. . . . Deponent saith he frequently spoke, and up to within a few minutes of his death, which occurred at day-break about 6 o'clock in the morning; folio 5, saith that it is untrue as stated in the affidavit of the said Mary Byrne, that after the Rev. Mr. Coyne left the house of the said John O'Malley, that said Mary Byrne came in and found when she entered the house Mrs. O'Malley convulsively crying, and knew that something unusual had taken place, and that she asked this deponent what it was all about, and that she, this deponent, answered there is murder here, the priest wants the children and she would not give them, and saith that no such occurrence or conversation took place between this deponent and the said Mary Byrne, and that this deponent made use of no such words to the said Mary Byrne, and that she the said Mrs. O'Malley was not crying convulsively or otherwise, and that there was nothing unusual, as stated by the said Mary Byrne, or no noise in the house after the Rev. Mr. Coyne had left."

Catherine O'Dea, the other nurse-tender, has also given her evidence, and swears that no such conversation as that stated by Mary Byrne took place, "and that this deponent remained in the room by the directions of the said John O'Malley during the time that the said Mary Byrne was there," folio 7. In every other particular, Mary O'Dea corroborates the other nurse-tender as to the "convulsive crying," "the washing the body," the hour at which Mary Byrne left, and the hour at which John O'Malley died. At folios 9, 10, we find

the following passages:—"Deponent saith it is utterly untrue, as stated in the affidavit of Mary Byrne, that this deponent informed her that the said John O'Malley had not spoken after the said Mary Byrne left the house up to his death; on the contrary, the said John O'Malley spoke frequently during the night, and almost always of his children, expressing his anxious wish that they should be reared Roman Catholics. . . .

"Deponent saith that she having seen some Protestant clergymen come to the house of the said John O'Malley, she asked him, the said John O'Malley, why they were coming, whereupon, the said John O'Malley replied, it was not to him the Protestant Clergymen were coming, but to his wife, who was ill, and that he had no wish that they should visit him, and deponent said that during the time of the said John O'Malley's illness and up to the time of his death, this deponent heard the said John O'Malley pray after the manner of Roman Catholics, and that he used the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary after the manner of Roman Catholics."

But it may be said we cannot implicitly believe the two nurses, any more than we may believe Mary Byrne, and there is a conflict of evidence between people of the same class in life, upon which it would require a jury after oral examination of the witnesses to pronounce. Be it so—but will any person venture to make the same observation upon the moderate statement of an educated gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Coyne, who appears all through this troublesome case to have behaved with singular prudence? In his second affidavit he tells us:—"Saith deponent *was sent for* to attend said John O'Malley at or about the hour of one o'clock on the day previous to the death of said John O'Malley. Deponent saith he was so called in by Daniel Coughlan, a policeman, wholly unsolicited by deponent, who had never previously spoken to said John O'Malley or known of his illness, folio 3. Saith it is wholly untrue, that upon the occasion of deponent's said visit to attend said John O'Malley, that there was any murder or altercation or crying whatsoever, as to the religion in which the said children were to be brought up, or that deponent used any importunities, whatsoever, with said John O'Malley, as to the religion of said minors, or that upon the said occasion the said Mrs. O'Malley made any objection to the desire of her husband expressed upon said occasion, that his children were to be brought up Roman Catholics." This brings us naturally to the statement of what

did take place between the Rev. Mr. Coyne and John O'Malley on the occasion on which he directed his children to be reared Roman Catholics. In that affidavit, folios 1, 2, 3, Mr. Coyne tells us "that he attended the late John O'Malley, the father of the minors, previous to his death, and administered to him the last rites of the church. Saith that upon that occasion John O'Malley, in the presence of his wife and two policemen, namely, Daniel Coughlan and Patrick Mulligan, expressed a wish and desire that his children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic Religion, the religion professed by himself. Saith that the said John O'Malley's wife upon hearing this injunction said to him, 'John, you were always a kind and affectionate husband, I would wish to carry out your intentions, but what means have you left me for that?' whereupon, this deponent said that matters should be left in the hands of Providence."

The evidence of these two policemen, if it were thought necessary to corroborate or explain Mr. Coyne's evidence, might have been obtained. It was not Mr. Coyne's fault that their evidence was not produced, as he swears that he applied to them "to make affidavit of their recollection of what occurred, and of the direction given by the said John O'Malley," but the policemen could not give their evidence without their officers' leave, and their officer when applied to referred Mr. Coyne to the County Inspector, and there was not time to have got this leave before the case came on.

In a judgment so carefully prepared as that of the Lord Chancellor, we are not to suppose his Lordship would omit anything which would support the opinion he formed of the case. We have gone through these affidavits at length, and the only bit of direct evidence bearing on it not alluded to by his Lordship, we should not feel justified in keeping back. It is in the affidavit of the Rev. Mr. Fowler, and let those who would wish to make out that John O'Malley desired to have his children reared Protestants have the full benefit of it. At folio 10 that Reverend gentleman tells us that he "attended the late John O'Malley in his last illness, and spoke to him and prayed with him, that the said John O'Malley gladly received the visit of deponent, that he deponent, spoke to the said John O'Malley of such portions of the Holy Scriptures as involved the rejection as erroneous of the destructive doctrines of the Church of Rome, and saith, defendant spoke to him of

faith in Jesus Christ as the only way of salvation, of faith in the blood of Christ as the only way of taking away sin, and that the late John O'Malley expressed his belief in those doctrines, and the consequent rejection of the teaching of the Church of Rome." We cast no imputations on the veracity of the Rev. Mr. Fowler. His evidence, whatever may be its value, goes not to prove a direction or wish on the part of John O'Malley, but to shew that he, if not a Protestant, had Protestant tendencies. We should have thought it more becoming if the reverend gentleman had forborne introducing into an affidavit subtle theological disquisitions. He had neither authority nor justification for swearing that the assent, such as it may have been, of the sick man to certain religious propositions, involved the rejection as erroneous of what the reverend gentleman is pleased to swear, are "the destructive doctrines of the Church of Rome." This is a subject and a class of evidence into which we must decline following the Rev. Mr. Fowler, but whether or not John O'Malley assented to doctrines involving the rejection of the tenets of the Church of Rome, if we call to mind that of his own motion, O'Malley requested the presence at his death-bed of a clergyman of that church in which he had lived, and received these sacraments which no man who believed in Protestant teaching could look upon in any other light than as impostures, we shall assign to the Rev. Mr. Fowler's evidence its true worth.

The Lord Chancellor in his judgment, in seeking, not to throw discredit on Mr. Coyne's evidence, but to weaken its effect, observes that from a dying man by importunities a languid assent might be obtained. How much more applicable would this be to Mr. Fowler's evidence; what we rely upon, however, is the cardinal fact which can neither be explained away, nor controverted, that John O'Malley desired to receive the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, and did receive them, and we care not whether he directed that his children should be reared as Roman Catholics or not, the rule of the court is too well established to admit of question, that the religion in which he lived and died is to be assumed to be that in which he wished his children to be reared. We cannot pass from this part of the case without expressing our deep regret that the Protestant clergymen did not shew the same good taste and moderation as was exhibited by Mr. Coyne. They may have thought it their duty to force their attentions on the dying man, coming as described by one of the witnesses to visit his wife.

Holding to the strong points presented by the indisputable facts of this case, and the well settled rules of the court, we will not distract attention, and fritter away the strength of the Roman Catholic uncle's claim to these children by entering into the bye battles between Ellen Robinson and her hearsay evidence, and the opinions of a theological police sergeant that John O'Malley was not a sound Catholic on the one hand, and the religious impressions of nurse-tenders on the other. We cannot but feel that we have tasked considerably the attention and patience of our readers. Unless we are to disbelieve the three witnesses, the Rev. Mr. Coyne and the two nurse-tenders who are (Mary Byrne being out of the case) the only persons who give any evidence on the subject of the dying wish of the father, it was the wish of the father that his children should be reared Roman Catholics. The wish however could be dispensed with, as it was beyond controversy that the man himself lived and died a Roman Catholic. The fact that he allowed his children to attend Protestant schools has been explained by evidence which as it has been introduced so much into the case, we may allude to, namely, the explanation given to Mr. Martin Owens, who swears that in conversations he had with John O'Malley, "Saith he also complained of her interfering in the religion he wished his children to be brought up in, namely, the Roman Catholic religion, that he would put an end to such interference, but he feared to make a noise about the matter, as it might be injurious to him as a policeman."

After going at such length as we have done into this case, we should hardly be justified in going into the evidence to shew how exceedingly slight grounds were shown for even raising the question as to Protestant impressions having been made. We have as far as possible kept to the admitted facts of the case to shew that the Chancellor has not dealt with these children according to the recognised and well settled rules of a Court of Equity. That rule which treats the father as the head and governor of his family, possessing the absolute power of disposal of his family, as well as of his property, unless when some great necessity of state or of social policy requires the infringement of such a rule, it is not for us now to discuss; we believe it to be a sound rule of social policy as it is a well settled rule of our jurisprudence; be that as it may, wise or unwise, it is less objectionable, than leaving every case as it arises to be disposed of according to the Chan-

cellor's will, without any rule to guide or bind him. It has been well said by an eminent lawyer, "that the discretion of judges is the law of tyrants," and for this reason we do most earnestly and respectfully protest against the course taken by the Lord Chancellor in dealing with these O'Malley children. His lordship has put very ably and eloquently at the end of his judgment, a case similar to that before him, transposing the religion of the parties.—"Had John O'Malley been a facile Protestant, and his wife a devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church, had he allowed his children from their earliest years to learn the language of its ancient ritual and impressive invocations; had he left his widow to fight the hard battle of life with a numerous and helpless offspring; if she had kept them together to the last until she had nothing to share but her prayers and her tears; and if she had left them in the Church, which hallowed the earliest lessons of their infancy, and if a board of guardians could be found who would consign them to a custody where Protestantism would be let loose upon them, and the interference of this Court should be sought for their deliverance, on the application of some humble but honest Roman Catholic relation, aided by any generous stranger; could I then shrink from a duty so sacred and so palpable? God forbid." His Lordship after putting this fanciful sketch asks the question, and to it we answer—Yes, a thousand times yes.

This is mere declamation, and declamation entirely beside the facts of the case. In what way does it appear to be a sacred and palpable duty to have those children reared Protestants? What sympathies are involved in the case? It was contrary to his duty as a lawyer to have so directed. Were the mother alive there might have been some colour for introducing sympathies into the case, and speaking of the pain of taking the children from their mother to be reared in a faith different from hers. His Lordship in such a case might have sympathies to appeal to, although he could not refer to authority to sustain him. It seems neither lawyer-like nor logical to speak of a sacred and palpable duty to have those children handed over to Protestant guardians as springing from the case put by his Lordship. Again we must repeat that we entertain the highest respect for the character, integrity, and great legal acquirements of the Lord Chancellor; in this case, he has unconsciously allowed his feelings of horror towards the Church of Rome, to

affect his judgment ; it would be worse than weak, it would be criminal, to shrink from questioning the acts of a public man affecting public interests, especially when that man is presiding in a Court of Justice ; if we think the Lord Chancellor came to a wrong conclusion upon the case, and departed from the rules of a Court of Equity, we should deserve and earn the contempt of every thinking man in the community, if we allowed the high character or position of the judge to deter us from considering the soundness of his judgment. We do trust that this case will be taken to the House of Lords. It involves much more serious interests than the disposal of these children, than those of Protestant, or Roman Catholic, or Presbyterian sects ; it places on record a judgment which while it stands leaves every question of this kind at large, without rule or authority to guide us. It leaves every similar case to the uncontrolled discretion of the judge, a standard which Lord Camden thus justly defines—“ It is always unknown, it is different in different men, it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion ; in the best it is oftentimes caprice, in the worst it is every vice, folly, and passion to which human nature is liable.”

Anxious to be free even from the imputation of selecting the weak points of the Lord Chancellor's judgement and presenting a partial view of it, we give it in *extenso*, taken from the *Daily Express*.

IMPORTANT JUDGMENT IN CHANCERY.

IN THE MATTER OF THE O'MALLEYS, MINORS.

(Extracted from the *Daily Express*, Nov. 22, 1858.)

The Lord Chancellor delivered judgment in this matter, which was discussed in the early part of the week, and which has excited considerable interest. There was a large attendance of the members of the Bar and the general public.

His Lordship having disposed of some petitions under the fifteenth section, proceeded to deliver the judgment as follows :—

“ In this case of the O'Malleys, minors, an order was made on the 23rd of September last, on the petition of Jane Robinson. Her petition, which was supported by her affidavit, stated in substance, that the minors, being eight in number, were the children of the late John O'Malley, and of Ellen O'Malley, his wife, sister of Jane Robinson. That the eldest child was twelve years of age, the youngest of the age of one year. That so far as they had been capable of receiving instruction, they had been educated in the Protestant religion, with the consent and approval of both their parents. That their father died in March, 1857, leaving his wife, Ellen O'Malley, surviving. That

in June, 1858, Ellen O'Malley was obliged to go into the workhouse of Tuam, with her eight children, and that all were entered as Protestants in the registry of the workhouse, where the mother died, leaving behind her the eight orphan children. That on the 11th of August the petitioner, Jane Robinson, applied to the guardians of the Tuam union to have the children given up to her, stating that she had made provision for their support, and that the consideration of this was postponed by the guardians until the 18th of August. That on this latter day the guardians, disregarding a direction from the Poor Law Commissioners, refused to give her the children, but gave them up their paternal uncle, the said William O'Malley, a Roman Catholic, who expressed his intention to bring them up in his own faith, and that she was unable to obtain the custody of the children. The petition further stated that she had means at her disposal for the maintenance, support, and education of the orphans, and that she was willing to undertake the office of their guardian, and also that she was prepared to invest a suitable sum for their benefit, that it was necessary they should be made wards of court, and that delay in making the order required might render it impossible to carry it into effect. It seemed to me that the guardians had done indirectly what they could not have done directly. It was not lawful for them to treat those children as of a religious faith different from that in which their names were entered in the workhouse registry, which the guardians were not at liberty to alter. I thought they committed a plain violation of their duty when they proceeded to hand over these orphan children to their uncle, William O'Malley, for the purpose of having them brought up as Roman Catholics, and that it was my duty to interpose for their protection, so as to secure to them the full benefit of the rights which the Constitution of this free country confers on every infant, without distinction of class or creed. The petitioner, Jane Robinson, is the maternal aunt of the minors, of the religious faith in which they had been brought up, and in which they were registered according to law. It therefore seemed proper to appoint her to be the guardian of the persons of the minors, for the purpose of retaking them out of the custody to which the board of guardians had unlawfully transferred them, and that I should make them wards of this court. I was thereby to have their rights settled by law, upon a reference directed to the Master, "to state in what manner it is proposed that they should be maintained and educated, and with whom they should reside." This was the substance of the order which William O'Malley now seeks to have set aside. It asserted in effect that the religious education of the children and the religious profession in they had been registered on the 18th of August, ought not to have been changed by the resolution of the majority of a board of guardians. It did not exclude William or any other party, from having the important question of right, as to the education of the children, decided by the proper tribunal; on the contrary, I do not see how such a decision could be had so beneficially as under an order such as I have made. But it is now contended, on behalf of William O'Malley, that upon the facts which have been disclosed in this matter to the court, on the affidavits which

have been made and filed since the 23rd September, he has a lawful right to retain the custody of the minors, and to have them educated in the Roman Catholic faith. It appears from these affidavits, that Ellen O'Malley, the mother of the minors, was the eldest daughter of William Jameson, formerly a sergeant in the Constabulary Force. She had been strictly and carefully educated by her parents in the Reformed faith as a Protestant. She married John O'Malley, a constable of the force, but he was a Roman Catholic. They had eight children, five sons and three daughters. William, the eldest child, is twelve years of age, the three daughters are of the ages of ten, eight, and seven respectively, the others of the ages of five years and two years, and the youngest is under two years. The elder portion of the family were regularly sent to school, in the several places in which John O'Malley was stationed. In the National school of one of those places they were taught and treated as Protestant children, and were returned as such to the National Board by the master, who was himself a Roman Catholic. In the schools at the other places they were instructed, as well as registered, as Protestant children. They attended Divine service in the Protestant Church, and also the catechetical instruction on each Saturday, when the Protestant children of the church were instructed by the rector in the Church Catechism. The eldest boy attended the Sunday school in connexion with the church, and was sent to church by his father at a time when Ellen O'Malley was absent from home, a patient in the Galway infirmary. The family were visited by the Protestant clergymen, and the children were occasionally taught by their father at home, out of the Holy Scriptures, and from the Catechism of the United Church. It does not appear that in any one instance their father ever had taken any of them to a Roman Catholic service, and with the exception of having all but the youngest, baptized according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, he never, in any respect, treated any of them otherwise than as a Protestant parent ought to treat his child. It therefore seems to me that it is satisfactorily made out, as a matter of fact, that in the church, the family, and the school, these children were, with the full consent of both their parents, carefully trained up as Protestant children. The father died in March, 1857. After his death, their mother continued the same course of instruction as had been followed in the father's lifetime. She died in June, 1858, a pauper in the workhouse at Tuam, and whilst the children remained in the workhouse, until the 18th of August, 1858, they were visited, taught, and treated as Protestant children. To this no objection appears to have been made, before the 11th of August, when the aunt, Jane Robinson, applied to the guardians to get the children out of the workhouse. The learned and able counsel for William O'Malley insist that, inasmuch as it appears that his brother John was himself a Roman Catholic, and that his children, except the youngest, were baptized according to the Roman Catholic rite, and as they maintain that it appears on the affidavits, that John O'Malley, on his death bed, expressed a wish and directed that his children should be brought up as Roman Catholics, and that the consent of John O'Malley, during his life, to the bringing them

up as Protestants must be considered as having been given from worldly and unworthy motives, and not from a proper sense of responsibility as a parent, it is now the duty of this court to disregard all that has already taken place, and to have the children hereafter educated in the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. In *Lyons v. Blenlein* (Jacob's Reports, p. 263), where a father had allowed his children to be brought up by an aunt, and afterwards sought to withdraw them, and to change their course of education, Lord Eldon says:—"It appears to me that the father has so far given his consent to this course of education as to preclude him from saying that he shall now be permitted to break in and introduce a new system of education, which cannot be consistent with the system to which they had been habituated." In *Witty v. Marshall* (1 Y. coll. ch. Cas. 68.), the father, in his will, inserted the following words:—"I am desirous that my said son should be educated in the Roman Catholic faith, in which I live, and which I believe to be the true faith." He then appointed his wife and certain other persons guardians of his children, and enjoined them to cause his son to be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. The mother was a Protestant, and when the case came before the court, it appeared that the minors had received what the Vice-Chancellor called 'Protestant impressions.' Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce says:—"With every respect, therefore, for what may be allowed to the feelings and wishes of the father on so important a subject, it is impossible not to see that great danger to the spiritual welfare and to the moral character of the infant may arise (I do not say will arise) from a change of religious education. On this ground, and this ground alone, it is the duty of the court to pause." He then says, 'the proper course is to direct a reference to the Master. Rarely can the court, with propriety, withdraw such questions from the Master.'"

But the recent case of *Stourton v. Stourton*, which, in the year 1857, came before the Lords Justices of Appeal in Chancery in England, puts the question beyond controversy in this court. The minor was the only child of the Hon John Stourton (deceased) and of Caroline Emma, his wife, both of whom were Roman Catholics. He died on the 23rd May, 1847. On the 30th May, 1847, the minor was born. He was baptised as a Roman Catholic. His uncle Lord Stourton, was his godfather. Mrs. Stourton, some time after her husband's death, became a member of the Church of England, and educated her son accordingly. All his relations, except the mother, were Roman Catholics. On the 16th November, 1856, the Master of the Rolls made an order appointing the mother to be the guardian of the minor. Against this the appeal was taken. Lord Justice Knight Bruce, says:—"No doubt the boy might have been brought up a Roman Catholic had his father's relations interposed sooner, and not permitted the mother to take the course she has taken. He said 'permitted,' because no concealment or deceit was proved, or even alleged against her." Again he says:—"The child's tranquillity, health, happiness, and spiritual welfare were too likely to suffer from an attempt to efface his Protestant impressions for such a course to be attempted." This course was to have the paternal uncle made a guardian, and the

child educated as a Roman Catholic. Lord Justice Turner, after adverting to the settled rule of the court, and to the fact that the child had been allowed to receive Protestant instruction, says:—"The father's wishes might be in conflict with the safety and welfare of the child, and it was necessary to see what religious impressions had already been made on the child's mind." Having then stated that, from an interview with the child, the court was satisfied that impressions had been made adverse to the faith of the father, and having pointed out the danger of disturbing these impressions, he adds:—"Whether the consequences would or would not be such, the danger was one to which he durst not expose a child." The order of the Master of the Rolls was affirmed. This child was but nine years of age. He had been baptised a Roman Catholic; his father and his uncle, and all his relations were Roman Catholics, until his mother, after his birth, had become a Protestant; and Lord Stourton, the uncle and godfather, was not allowed to be a guardian of the child, nor to change the religious education which he had, in fact, received under his mother. And why? Simply because, as a matter of fact, Protestant impressions had been made by a course of religious teaching which had been permitted without remonstrance, and which it might be dangerous to unsettle. The law recognises what all experience attests, that the earliest lessons of childhood, which are impressed upon the young and tender heart, are the latest to be forgotten. The law intrusts the father with the care and education of his children, because for natural affection he is considered as the proper person to discharge that duty. It is not a power, but a trust; and he who is bound to lay the foundation in the heart of his child is empowered by statute to select a guardian to whom he may confide the continuance and execution of the trust. In the several cases on the subject the impressibility of children of tender years is prominently noticed, and as the interference of this court is "for the benefit of the child, without reference to religious distinctions," the important question must be whether in fact such impressions have been made that it might be perilous to disturb? Such are not to be treated like the characters traced upon the sand, which the returning tide effaces, but they are to be cherished with tenderness and care as a right vested in the child, which the law regards as sacred and inviolable. With reference, therefore, to the eldest son and the three daughters, it seems to me that upon the facts, which are beyond dispute, and by law, which I am bound to follow in this court, the order of the 23rd September ought not to be disturbed. I come next to the case of the younger children, and although no distinction has been taken in the course of the argument on either side, I think it is proper for me to deal with the two sets of children distinctively. In the *Queen v. Clarke* (7 Ell. Blackb., 201), Lord Campbell, in a very elaborate judgment, states the view of a court of law, where the father has died without having appointed a testamentary guardian. "The husband," he says, "certainly was a Protestant; his children had been baptized in the Anglican Church, and he probably expected that they would be brought up as Protestants." After stating that nothing was to be found in the husband's will on

the subject, and that he seemed to have confided in his wife, who was a Roman Catholic, the Lord Chief Justice says:—"Indeed, by marrying a Roman Catholic, and by permitting the children in his lifetime to join in Roman Catholic prayers, he does not seem to have had the horror of Popery felt by many pious Protestants. The mother becoming guardian by nurture on the death of the father, no provision to the contrary being made by will, she appears to us to have in all respects the same parental authority which might have been exercised by the father had he survived the mother." "The question," he adds, "must be the same under the actual circumstances of this case, as if the father had died a Roman Catholic, and the mother surviving had been a Protestant; would it in that case have been unlawful for the mother to have brought up the children as Protestants?" This view of the right of the mother surviving, where no testamentary guardian has been appointed by the father, has a sanction in the judgment of Lord Hardwicke in *Villareal v. Melish* (2 Swanst., 536 and 538), and in the case of *Stroke v. Stroke* (3 P. Wms., 52), I think, however, that it must be taken to be the accredited rule of this court, that, in whatever way the wishes of the father can be clearly ascertained, the court will respect them to the utmost that is consistent with the welfare of the child, and this without any reference to religious distinctions. It may, perhaps, be asked, where nothing has been done under the sanction of the father in his lifetime, and where he has not appointed a testamentary guardian, how could it be for the welfare of the child, without reference to religious distinctions, to compel the widowed mother to educate her infant offspring in a religious faith which her own conscientious conviction compels her to disbelieve? This is a grave question. In the present case, however, it has been assumed on both sides that, as both father and mother are dead, the ascertainment of the genuine wishes of the father should decide the question which is substantially at issue between the parties now before me. This could not be allowed in a court of law, and so far the intervention of this court on petition is an advantage of Wm. O'Malley. It appears from the affidavit of the Rev. Mr. Coyne, the Roman Catholic clergyman, that on the day before John O'Malley died, Daniel Coughlan, a policeman, came for him to attend on John O'Malley, whom he had not spoken to previously, nor did he know of his illness. Mr. Coyne states that before his visit John O'Malley "was attended by the Sisters of Mercy." It does not appear how soon before Mr. Coyne arrived, these ladies had been in attendance. Mr. Coyne says, that upon this occasion he administered "the last rites of the Church," and upon the same occasion, "John O'Malley, in the presence of his wife and two policemen, Coughlan and Pat. Mulligan, expressed a wish and directed that his children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion." That Mrs. O'Malley said to him, "John, you were always a kind and affectionate husband; I would wish to carry out your intention, but what means have you left me for that?" Whereupon Mr. Coyne said:—"That matter should be left in the hands of Providence." Mr. O'Hagan most earnestly and eloquently urged that this was a solemn dying declaration, and referred to the rule is

our criminal law, which admits a dying declaration in evidence. But with what cautious circumspection is it admitted? The death of the party who makes the declaration must be the subject of inquiry, and the circumstances of the death the subject of the declaration, which in some cases may be indispensable to identify the murderer. I could not but remember the prudent suggestion of one of our most learned and experienced judges, who, in Fitzgerald's case (Irish Circ. Cas., 169), says:—"Every one knows that in the state of languor in which dying persons generally are, their assent would easily be got to statements which they never intended to make, if they were but ingeniously interwoven by an artful person with statements which were actually true. That such has been the case here I do not mean to say, but at the same time, were I to admit the declaration which is now offered in evidence, I should be opening a door to great abuse."

Mr. Coyne has stated that he did not use any importunity; but if he considered himself conscientiously bound, in the discharge of what he must have felt to be a sacred duty of his office, to put questions and make suggestions to the weak and dying man which might not be easily parried without the energy of health and the *vis inertiae* of undisturbed conviction, I can well understand how, under the peculiar circumstances in which Mr. Coyne then stood, he may have succeeded in obtaining a languid assent, which would not have been volunteered. Mr. Coyne himself, not John O'Malley, answered the objection of Ellen O'Malley to her husband's alleged injunction. Would not this indicate, either that Mr. Coyne naturally considered himself as the interpreter of John O'Malley's wishes, or that the latter was too weak to deal with the objection, or did not desire to prolong the discussion? In any view, the scene is imperfect, the termination is abrupt. And indeed, in another part of his affidavit, where Mr. Coyne charges this afflicted widow with a readiness to barter the faith of her children, he says he told her "if they were given up according to the wishes of her husband, they would be taken care of." These are the very words of Mr. Coyne himself. The wishes of the dying husband were, he says, to have the children "given up." According to the previous statement, such a wish was not expressed by John O'Malley to his wife, and this is made more conclusive by her objection to what was expressed. How is this to be reconciled? Mr. Coyne has obviously mixed up what he may have suggested to the dying man under a solemn sense of duty at the critical period of the administration of the sacramental rite. It may have been proposed by the Sisters of Mercy that the female children would be received into the convent, where William O'Malley has now placed them. We have no account from those ladies of what took place when they were present. But Mary Byrne has in her affidavit given a very remarkable account of what took place immediately after Mr. Coyne had left the house. If the proposal was to give up the children, nothing can be more natural, or more probable in its substance, than the account given by Mary Byrne of what she saw and heard. The husband was at the point of death; the wife, with one little infant, the new-born babe, baptized in her own faith, and all her children of tender years. None as yet had been withdrawn by her confiding husband from the

influence of the mother's teaching and the mother's love—that now, when she would be left a widow, she should give up her children, each and all, to ecclesiastical custody! Whatever may have been said or done in the presence of the priest, or of the Sisters of Mercy, when nature resumed her sway, and at once appealed to the heart of the husband and the father, I cannot disbelieve the pithy account, condensed in one sentence of the affecting letter to her sister, written soon after her sad bereavement, where she speaks of “how a priest and two of the nuns thought to come round me in presence of my poor dying husband, but I balked them completely. John did not blame me for what I told them, for after they went away he desired me to bring up the children in the way I always brought them up.” The Rev. Mr. Scymour states, in his affidavit,—“That at the last interview with the said Mrs. O'Malley a few days previous to her death, she indignantly denied the truth of the report that she intended to have them brought up in the Roman Catholic faith; and alleged, as one of her reasons, that her husband's dying wish was that they should be brought up in her own persuasion as Protestants; and that her husband frequently, on previous occasions, expressed the same desire.” Here, then, we have the dying mother's account of what were the last wishes of the dying father: a double testimony, given in the presence of death, and sealed with all the solemn sanctions of eternity. If doubt there were as to the true import of his dying wishes, the consistent course of his life in the training of the elder children, and the remarkable fact of his having so recently allowed the youngest child to be baptised in the Protestant faith, would furnish the best comment for the guidance of a court of justice, which looks to actions and conduct as the best key to the discovery of intentions. Could he have intended that she should hand over the babe, which he did not even require to be baptised a Roman Catholic? It struck me as somewhat remarkable that from the month of March, 1857, when the father died, until the month of August, 1858, neither the Rev. Mr. Coyne nor any other person came forward to assert that the father of these children had on his death bed expressed his dying wish that all or any of them should be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. Mr. O'Hagan suggested to me that he understood some application had been made at the Tuam workhouse on the subject, and that the answer was that they had not power to alter the registry. It thus appears they knew their duty. But this does not consist with the explanation given by the Rev. Mr. Coyne. He says “From the course which Mrs. O'Malley pursued after the death of her husband, deponent thought it useless to interfere further in the matter.” This is quite intelligible, if the children were to be “given up;” but if they were simply to be brought up as Roman Catholics, why should no application have been made before the 11th of August by Mr. Coyne, who was a chaplain of the workhouse, or by William O'Malley, the anxious uncle? Why should the guardians have been then set in motion to violate their known duty, and set the registry and the law at defiance? I have not adverted to some topics which have been imported into the argument of this case, and have much increased the

pain and pressure of the trying duty which has unavoidably devolved on me to discharge. It has been said that Jane Robinson is only made use of by Miss Plunket, in order "to buy up the custody" of these orphans. It is enough for me to see that Jane Robinson is so nearly related to the children that it is proper for me to interfere for their protection, and that her interference is *bona fide*; and on the reference for which the order provides, the way in which she proposes to have them maintained and educated, will be investigated by the Master. The custody of the children remains under the care of the court, and is neither to be obtained by wealth nor to be denied by poverty. It is the free gift of the law, to which all must do homage, "the least as feeling its care, the greatest as not exempted from its power." In the case of Alicia Race, with the details of which I have been furnished by the kindness of Vice-Chancellor Kindersley, the provision made came from benevolent strangers, who desired to give the child the means of asserting her English right, and the court acted on the undertaking of counsel to have a maintenance provided. It is obvious that William O'Malley himself has neither the means nor the inclination to support these children without the aid of strangers. But in the case of orphans so situated there must at least be the power of having them publicly maintained as destitute poor, entitled to be secured in their Constitutional rights, as infant subjects of the Queen, if no relative can be found able and willing to support and educate them under the court, and subject to its control, or if no stranger can be allowed to extend the hand of charity without being subjected to harsh and ungenerous imputations.

In cases where the religious issue is open, it is a rule which I always adopt, to put the case with the religion of the parties reversed, and consider then the decision I should pronounce. Had John O'Malley been a facile Protestant, and his wife a devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church; had he allowed his children from their earliest years to learn the language of its ancient ritual and its impressive invocations; had he left his widow to fight the hard battle of life with a numerous and helpless offspring; if she had kept them together to the last, until she had nothing to share but her prayers and her tears; and if she had left them in the Church which hallowed the earliest lessons of their infancy; and if a board of guardians could be found who would consign them to a custody where Protestantism would be let loose upon them, and the interference of this court should be sought for their deliverance on the application of some humble but honest Roman Catholic relative, aided by any generous stranger: could I, then, shrink from a duty so sacred and so palpable?—God forbid. It is a satisfaction to me to know that if I have erred in the view which I have taken, my decision can be reviewed by the Court of Appeal, both here and in England. I must refuse this application, with costs. William O'Malley has availed himself of the assistance of Poor Law guardians to deprive these children of their lawful rights. He asks of me to believe that his deceased brother was a hollow hypocrite, who bartered away the faith of his children for some unworthy but undefined motive. I have no authority here, without and against evidence, to impeach

the motives or conduct of either the living or the dead. The children have a property in their father's good name, and, so far as it may be in my power to secure, I will see that they be taught to respect the memory of both their parents, and not to learn that either has been a castaway. John O'Malley, in his life, was, as it appears, an affectionate husband and a tender father; on his death he received reverently from the priest of his own church her last sacramental rite; with the minister of his wife's church he joined in fervent prayer, and confessed a faith which Mr. Lynch insists to be Roman Catholic, Mr. Fowler asserts to be Protestant, and of which I will only add, it was the simple faith of a Christian. In this responsible jurisdiction I feel how solemnly I am bound to act without fear, favour, or affection. The duty, on the present occasion, invidious as it is, has been made the more painful to me from the contention of the parties having been too much leavened with the bitterness of controveray, and too little with the kind and gentle spirit of charity, so suited to the case of poor destitute orphans. The religion of the Redeemer is a religion of love, and not of strife or hatred. Like his seamless garment, the trembling touch of faith may from the very hem extract a healing virtue. In the true spirit of this religion, I trust these children may be educated, so that the law of this land may be honoured, and the last wishes expressed by both the parents righteously fulfilled.

4

ART. IX.—MONTALEMBERT ON ENGLAND AND INDIA.

1. *A Debate on India in the English Parliament.* By M. Le Comte de Montalembert. Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. London: 1858.
2. *The Trial of M. Le Comte de Montalembert and M. Douniol before the Paris Correctional Tribunal on the 24th November, 1858.* Effingham Wilson. London: 1858.
3. *The Political Future of England.* By the Comte de Montalembert of the French Academy—from the French. John Murray. London: 1856.

The English people are so much accustomed to bespatter themselves with their own praises, to laud themselves and their institutions, and proclaim them to the rest of the world, as the freest on the face of the globe, that any responsive echo coming from abroad is hailed as a right due to their own excellence, no matter what may be the source or motive, from which it emanates. Their gullability is of the most facile, their devotion to flattery of the most servile description; they swallow with a peculiar avidity, everything which tends to feed their most consummate selfishness and egotism. Thus it is that the English press has seized upon, and heaped with the highest eulogiums the article by the Comte De Montalembert on the India debate, merely because it teems with the most fulsome adulations of their country. One paper, the giant in print, goes so far as to say, that this production, "is a noble and passionate eulogy of English freedom; the language of which extraordinary composition is a stream of unpausing eloquence," ignoring altogether the purpose for which these papers were written. We do not mean to assert that it is not an able performance, skilfully designed and executed, but any one who scans its paragraphs ever so lightly, will at once perceive that it was not written either as a panegyric, or a lesson in history.

The artistic design of this picture is too transparent, the colours too highly wrought and unreal, not to fail in producing the effect intended by the painter. It is impossible to hide from ourselves, that notwithstanding the Anglo-French

Alliance, which has lasted through many trials for the last five or six years, there still lurks within the breast of each nation, a strong germ of the ancient rivalry, which so often set Europe by the ears, and deluged her plains with human blood. This rankles still in the minds of the great mass of the French people, who cannot regard anything English as excellent, except her riches as a fitting prey for plunder and vengeance. Therefore anyone who extols the power, liberty, or institutions of "*perfidie Albion*," or contrasts them with those of France to the disadvantage of the latter, is regarded more as a spy, or secret enemy in the camp, than as a person anxious to instruct his fellow countrymen, or improve their social condition. The Imperial government might have allowed this writing to eat itself out in silence, being contrary to the instincts of the great French Public, and only serving the objects of the Red Republican, or Monarchists, who at all hazards are desirous of changing the present order of things. The army, which is the great engine of the ruling power in France, is more thoroughly imbued than any other portion of the public, with a supreme contempt for the English as a military nation, and consider it as an insult to be put in comparison with them. From this spirit arose the *fracas* of the colonels after the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, and if the Imperial dynasty is ever driven to its last resource to maintain its grasp upon the throne and sceptre, it has but to let loose its "dogs of war" upon England and her allies, in order to regain a complete hold of power, and to re-awaken the attachment of the people.

Montalembert has been for that reason extremely injudicious in carrying to such extravagant lengths the contrast, which he draws between the present position of his own country and that of Great Britain. The French do not wish to have thrown in their face the futility of their efforts for liberty and constitutional government, or to be placed so low in the scale of civilization, as to be designated the grovelling slaves of despotism. They despise many of the mannerisms, money-making, plodding systems of the English public, and are proud of many of their own national idiosyncracies, which are cried down and laughed at on this side of the Channel. They glory in their military power and discipline, regard themselves as irresistible in arms, and cannot at all feel flattered, when they are told by M. Le Comte—"When

I am stifling in an atmosphere loaded with the exhalations of servility and corruption, I set forth to breathe a purer air, and to take a life-bath (*bain de vie*) in free England ;" which sentence forms one of the leading paragraphs of his Essay on the India Debates. In fact Montalembert is one of those Royalists, who by adroit and prudent conduct have hitherto endeavoured successfully to keep their places, but, as has been often said by the followers of the present dynasty, constituting the great mass of the people, these men will never learn that their time has passed away. They hope that by disgusting the minds of the French with the government in power, they may be able to produce some change, and trust to Providence in the result.

He says again ; " I write for my own satisfaction, and for that of a small number of invalids, of prying, curious people—of maniacs, if you will have it so, like myself. I study contemporary institutions, which are no longer ours, but which once have been, and which still seem worthy of envy and admiration to my mind, behind hand as it is "—But maniacs may become very dangerous, in proportion to the extravagance of their notions, and their opposition to the received usages of the society in which they live. Then how can he compare the constitutional representation in England, to that which existed in France, either during the first Revolution, or under the first Empire, or under the modern Bourbons. The first was a grinding tyranny of democracy, more blood-thirsty and cruel, than that of the most absolute despot ; the second was overridden and extinguished by military control, the third could only boast of its utter servility and corruption. France never can enjoy a representative government for any considerable period without abusing it, and the direst anarchy is sure to follow in its footsteps.

Having opened with these and other remarks, which sufficiently show, that his aim is not to praise England, but to lower the French in their own estimation, he proceeds to discuss the Colonial policy of England- and her conduct towards India in particular. He points to Canada in triumph, where he says a French Catholic population has been fostered and increased in wealth and numbers by the care of the parent country, forgetting altogether that the threatened dismemberment of that part of her possessions has alone checked the illiberal dealing of the Home Government with

the descendants of the French settlers. He further asserts that every colonial extension made by the British opens up "immense vistas" to the preaching of the Gospel, and the spreading of the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, putting out of sight altogether the immense sums yearly subscribed in Great Britain for the foreign extension of the establishment, principally by the talismanic cry of opposition to Popery—France, Spain and Portugal are attacked, as Catholic countries, for not extending the dominion of the Gospel, or allowing it to die out where it had been formerly planted. This has arisen more from the degeneracy of the race, and the want of activity of their modern governments, than from the insufficiency of the teaching of their religion.

As to the general foreign and colonial policy of England he says ; " I may boldly affirm, that no one knows better, that no one has more loudly signalled than I, the backslidings and deviations of English policy during the few past years. I was certainly the first to denounce, previously to 1848, the policy of Lord Palmerston, but too often imperious to the weak and truckling to the strong, in the highest degree imprudent, illogical, and foreign to all the great traditions of his country." * * * " It would be besides the height of folly and of iniquity to regard England as solely culpable, or as the most culpable, among the nations of the earth. Her policy is neither more selfish nor more immoral than that of other great states, which figure in ancient or modern history." This is the only portion of his essay in which he does not act the Panegyrist ; it shews however his consistency, as it agrees almost word for word with what he wrote on the same subject in 1856. In 1848 he " already saw in Lord Palmerston—in the champion of Pacifico in Greece ; and the oppressor of the small country of Switzerland—a great contempt for the rights of the weak, and a ready ally of revolution against liberty. * * * The English people have been it must be confessed his too faithful accomplices. * * * The insupportable arrogance of the English diplomacy towards the weak, and of the English press towards everybody, has raised the just indignation of a vast number of reasonable men. Still more does the intrusive, aggressive and dissolving influence exercised by the British government, with respect to the rights and the faith of the Catholics in Switzerland, and in the south of Europe, deserve the reprobation of every sincere Christian."

Here some wholesome truths are allowed to burst forth in spite of his general purpose of praise, although he does not give many examples of these "backslidings and deviations." We can point to some, which may serve to illustrate more effectually these tendencies of British policy. During the Crimean war, entered upon in order to check the threatening aspect of Russia in Asia, and to curb her growing influence, which endangered the north west of India, and the trade of the East, the western powers made use of every available means within their reach to effect their objects; among the rest they enlisted the services of the Circassians, treated with them as allies, and supplied them in some cases with arms and ammunition. When the war was brought to a close, these allies were forgotten, left to their own resources, not included in the treaty of peace; no effort was made to shield them against the indignation of the humbled enemy, who would be sure to wreak his vengeance on their defenceless heads. Such an example of the selfish abandonment of a brave people, when the opportunity for making use of their services had gone by, does not exist in history, and England will hereafter regret her conduct in this affair, when the plains of Asia Minor and Persia are overrun by the rapacious Muscovites. The chain of the Caucasus might have been easily maintained as a barrier or fortress to check the advance of aggression; when that is swept away, as it must sooner or latter, it is scarcely possible to conceive how the onward wave of Russian absorption is to be arrested. Again, very lately our old ally Portugal, whose plains and hills have been dyed by the best blood of England, when she made her last stand for vital existence on the map of Europe, was compelled at the cannon's mouth to abandon the safeguard of treaties, and yield to a show of force by France in a case of manifest injustice. England never raised her voice even in protestation, or if she did it was in such an humble tone, as to proclaim either a complete inability to support her ancient ally, or an unwillingness to risk a disagreement with a new and more powerful friend. The whole question of the deportation of free blacks into the French colonies, against the spirit of the slave laws, and under the colour of a hiring for a limited number of years, may be cited as another example. England is mute or looks on with indifference, enters no protest, while a commission is enquiring into the best means of effecting this

legalized traffic. Then she endeavours to bully Naples, because this latter is a Catholic Power, and in consequence of the turbulence and revolutionary spirit of her people, fostered by the press, money and arrogance of England, is obliged to use strong measures of repression. What right has Protestantism to interfere with the internal affairs of a Catholic state, or to cry out against intolerance, when but a few years ago her own votaries in Ireland were the most intolerant of religionists, and in the north of Europe lately the zealous followers of the Reformation, furnished a most inhuman example of history?

England is lauded for her rapacity in seizing upon the dominions of the native Princes in the Indian Peninsula, and the Company extolled because it has governed "at a distant of 2000 leagues from the mother country, nearly 200,000,000 of men by means of 800 civil servants; and an army numbering from 15,000 to 20,000 men." All this is certainly a glorious page in history, far surpassing the achievements of Alexander, or the successes of the Tartar monarchs. But is it not another example of the rapacity of the human race? The insatiable desire to possess the fable riches of the East has caused the representatives of the English nation in Hindostan, to give the fullest reins to their avidity. They have stopped at nothing to possess themselves of the land, the produce thereof, and to hunt out the recesses, in which the storied treasures were kept. They have dispossessed on one plea or another every king or prince, who held dominion in the Peninsula; their last act of spoliation has brought about what has been termed by choice the "Rebellion," in order that the foul name might be made a successful pretext for the more complete extinguishment of every native claim, and the resumption into the hand of the government of a vast amount of forfeited property. The Indian war certainly commenced by mutiny of the native soldiers in the pay of the company, in consequence of a military order trampling upon one of the most sacred dogmas of their religion. Those, who have assumed the sovereignty in India have no right to dictate to the different races and castes, what they are to believe or what form of worship they are to observe. It is only in the case of something revolting to humanity, such as the *suttee*, or burning of widows, that there may be some title to suppress a rite.

But where so harmless a dogma exists as that of abstaining from touching or eating animal food, surely the prejudices of the natives ought to be in all conscience respected, and not crushed out under the penalty of rebellion. The landholders of Oude stand upon a different ground, they must be looked upon as the defenders of the rights of their sovereigns, and if their country is to be annexed and conquered at all hazards, it must be conceded to them at least that they are not rebels, but the resisters of aggression.

It is true that in the commencement of the war many grievous atrocities were committed by the sepoys, wholesale massacres calling to heaven for vengeance. We do not wish to palliate or defend these in the slightest degree, although we believe that they have been in many instances greatly exaggerated by the press of England, and the promoters of confiscation. Let the perpetrators be punished, amply punished as they deserve, but in the name of all that is good, let not the fair fame of the British arms be stained by that truculent cry for blood, which has arisen throughout the land, and has been already partially executed. Letters and accounts have been received from India, in which the writers dwell with savage delight upon the wholesale slaughtering of whole regiments of unfortunate, misguided men. These and other acts perpetrated under the name of retribution, will hereafter stamp the deepest stain upon the name of England in the page of history, only to be placed in comparison with the extirpation of the Carthaginians and Jews by the Romans.

That such is the opinion of Montalembert himself, will appear from the following passage :—

“ After having thus allotted to the defence of a great people, unjustly defamed, so much of our space, our motive being that it enjoys, almost alone, the honour of representing liberty in modern Europe, it is fitting to testify to the just indignation, which the excessive rigour of the chastisements inflicted by the English on the vanquished insurgents, who have fallen into their hands, ought to evoke. I am aware of all that can be said to excuse reprisals, only too legitimate, against savages guilty of the most monstrous excesses committed on the persons of so many officers, surprised and disarmed, and especially so many noble women, innocent young girls, and poor little children, slaughtered in hundreds, without any provocation for such horrid deeds. I can well understand the battle-ory of the Highlanders at the assault of Delhi, ‘ Remember the ladies! Remember the babies!’ I admit, moreover, that the severe punishments inflicted on soldiers,

taken with arms in their hands, all of them voluntarily enlisted, and bound, under an oath taken of their own free will, to respect the commanders whom they have massacred, cannot be compared with the chastisements inflicted on innocent and hospitable populations, by the conquerors of the new world, nor even with the rigorous punishments decreed by our generals of the French Empire against the populations of Spain and of the Tyrol, engaged in the most legitimate of insurrections; still less to the horrors committed in La Vendée, by the butchers of the Convention. But for all that, I am not the less convinced that the just limits of repression have been overpassed, and that the executions, *en masse*, of the defeated Sepoys, systematically continued after the first outburst of grief caused by unheard-of atrocities, will fix an indelible stain on the history of British rule in India. This is no longer justice, but vengeance. A people really free should leave the sad privilege of being cruel to slaves in revolt. A Christian people ought to know that it is at once a thing forbidden and impossible for it to struggle against Infidel races, with such arms as mere punishment may supply. It is the part of English "*gentlemen*" (sic.) who direct military and political operations from the Indus to the Ganges, to know how to resist the odious incitements of the Anglo-Indian press. They have before them the example of the chivalrous Havelock, who in a proclamation addressed to the soldiers, whom he was leading against the cut-throats of Cawnpore, declared that it did not become Christian soldiers to take Pagan butchers for their models."

As far as regards her colonial policy in Australia, North America, and the Cape of Good Hope, Great Britain has reason to be proud of a moderate, wise and beneficent course of action. The consequences of an opposite conduct in the instance of the United States have left an indelible impression on the minds of her statesmen, by which they learn that anything in the nature of oppression will not be tolerated by those who have once tasted freedom. At the first sign of undue coercion by the mother country, any or all of these colonies may throw off their allegiance, and arrogate to themselves a right to independence in the scale of nations. It is different with India and China. There the Europeans are either so much connected with the governing power, or so much interested in oppressing the natives for their own emolument, that any chance of right being done to the aborigines is out of the question. Philanthropists may lay schemes for the improvement of the population, for the irrigation of dry land or the draining of swamps, for the spreading of Christianity by the sale of millions of Bibles, or the suppression of Bhuddism and Castes, but that the main aim and object of all parties will ever be the extrac-

tion of the greatest amount of wealth, the increase of the commerce of the merchant at home, and the draining off to Europe of the fat of the land, cannot for a moment be doubted. How can it be expected, that a government at the other side of the globe, will rule for the benefit of the aborigines, and not for that of their spoilers.

The same system is about being carried out in China. A footing is got at Hong Kong; a miserable pretext of the seizure of a smuggling lorch is made use of, to take violent possession of a rich city, numbering more than a million of inhabitants. Then a trade is forced upon the Chinese, by which sooner or later the English will gain vantage ground upon their territory, and enact over again the scenes of India, the slaughter of the inhabitants, trying to free themselves of their pestilent invaders, and the violent seizure of successive portions of territory. Can it be said for a moment that the unfortunate subjects of the celestial Empire have not a perfect right, if they wish, to exclude all foreigners from their boundaries. It is contended that they have no right to refuse trade which will be for their own benefit, or the blessings of Christianity, which may dawn upon them at a future time. In fact it is the old argument of the end justifying the means; but a more plain instance of filibustering on the part of the great English people cannot be imagined. So much are our continental neighbours impressed with the reality of this idea, that they have determined not to be behind hand, and that if Asia is to be seized upon and divided among the European powers, they at least shall have their full share. France is only taking a leaf out of the book of England's system of aggrandizement, by appropriating to herself the territory of Cochin China. She sees what strides the Islanders are making in commerce by the possession of foreign lands, which serve as *points d'appui* for their trade. She has endeavoured to imitate them in Algeria, but finding that district to be up to this, a barren, losing speculation, she has turned her attention to more distant climes, where there can be no interference from dangerous neighbours. All this is a portion of the same wholesale appropriation, spoliation and robbery, which has been dignified since the world began, with the high-sounding title of conquest.

The assumption of supreme power in India, has been de-

and the latter instance a legitimate pretext for insurrection. He draws a parallel in the case of Algeria, and palliates, both by the difficulty of dealing with Eastern races, "either as allies or auxiliaries," and the necessity of complete subjection before they can be brought to reason. This is only an excuse for spoliation, and an argument for seizing with armed hands half the territory in the Eastern Hemisphere, following out the iniquitous policy now adopted in China, and Cochin China.

Incidentally to this question of the policy of the English in India, he touches upon that of the influence of the press, and the part it bears in the social system of these Islands. He calls it "a universal and permanent indictment against every one and every thing," but contends that it afterwards rectifies its own mistakes in time and makes up for its coarse vituperation, by the public good effected by open discussion. This is putting out of sight altogether the immense mass of private injury, which is done by intemperate writing on the affairs of individuals, the misrepresentations and lies which are daily and hourly practised upon the general community, and the hostility which it evokes in foreign nations by the absurd, ignorant, and arrogant views which it often takes of their internal affairs. The Press of England may be said rather to be a necessary evil, than a permanent good. It may be called the "safety-valve of the democratic element," by which discontent and faction are allowed to evaporate, so as not to injure the machine of the body politic. The contrast in this particular with the restrictions on the French prints does not at all hold good, because the natural tendencies of that people are widely different from those of the phlegmatic Britons. They are a nation easily excited to acts of desperation, and cannot calmly read for even a short space incitements to insurrection without carrying them out in the reality. It is a matter of history that in the time of the old Revolution the Press in France was the most demoralized, and savage instigator to bloodshed and massacre. If the same amount of freedom of discussion were allowed there, as there is in England, a succession of revolutions would be sure to follow each other at short intervals. The temper of the public is not equable, it cannot bear strong stimulants without being excited to frenzy. It is another question, however,

fended chiefly upon the grounds of the many abuses and cruelties of the native princes, the state of subjection and misery in which they kept the population, while they themselves wallowed in the grossest or the most refined luxury, and the substitution for all these of the blessings of European rule and civilization. In the first place, this was not the original reason for the extension of territory. The Company sought alone a wider field for the pursuit of riches, and took every opportunity to increase their wealth and dominion by spoliation. Besides, what trust can be placed in the rectitude of conduct of a set of merchants, who cultivate upon a gigantic scale, a baneful drug, and in the teeth of the laws of a neighbouring country, smuggle it into the territory, to the destruction of the minds and morals of the inhabitants. If they were capable of vending poison to one nation not under their control, and contrary to express agreement and treaty, surely they may be fairly suspected of wrong dealing with another people, who are completely under their control, and wholly unable to help themselves. It is to be hoped, that the new Government emanating from the supreme power in these realms, will root out this destructive policy, and rule the country, not merely for the interests of the few European settlers, but for those of the countless multitudes, who are delivered into their hands. The Panegyrist himself allows a certain amount of culpability in the now defunct Company, when he says :—

“ Admitting, even, that the immoral selfishness of a corporation of merchants has but too often signalized its *debuts* in the Peninsula of Hindostan, still, for more than fifty years, its generals and principal agents, the Wellesleys, the Malcolms, the Munroes, the Bentincks, fully displayed all the zeal and all the activity becoming their high functions, to expiate the evil deeds of their predecessors, and to lead every impartial observer to avow, that in the present state of things, British domination is at once a benefit and a necessity for the inhabitants of India.”

In the next paragraph, however, he is forced to admit, that the annexation of many states, which had been formerly allies or only subject to suzerainty, especially in the case of Oude, forcibly deprived of its native government by the Marquis of Dalhousie, is a just subject of reproach,

and the latter instance a legitimate pretext for insurrection. He draws a parallel in the case of Algeria, and palliates, both by the difficulty of dealing with Eastern races, "either as allies or auxiliaries," and the necessity of complete subjection before they can be brought to reason. This is only an excuse for spoliation, and an argument for seizing with armed hands half the territory in the Eastern Hemisphere, following out the iniquitous policy now adopted in China, and Cochin China.

Incidentally to this question of the policy of the English in India, he touches upon that of the influence of the press, and the part it bears in the social system of these Islands. He calls it "a universal and permanent indictment against every one and every thing," but contends that it afterwards rectifies its own mistakes in time and makes up for its coarse vituperation, by the public good effected by open discussion. This is putting out of sight altogether the immense mass of private injury, which is done by intemperate writing on the affairs of individuals, the misrepresentations and lies which are daily and hourly practised upon the general community, and the hostility which it evokes in foreign nations by the absurd, ignorant, and arrogant views which it often takes of their internal affairs. The Press of England may be said rather to be a necessary evil, than a permanent good. It may be called the "safety-valve of the democratic element," by which discontent and faction are allowed to evaporate, so as not to injure the machine of the body politic. The contrast in this particular with the restrictions on the French prints does not at all hold good, because the natural tendencies of that people are widely different from those of the phlegmatic Britons. They are a nation easily excited to acts of desperation, and cannot calmly read for even a short space incitements to insurrection without carrying them out in the reality. It is a matter of history that in the time of the old Revolution the Press in France was the most demoralized, and savage instigator to bloodshed and massacre. If the same amount of freedom of discussion were allowed there, as there is in England, a succession of revolutions would be sure to follow each other at short intervals. The temper of the public is not equable, it cannot bear strong stimulants without being excited to frenzy. It is another question, however,

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how far the liberty of publication should be extended, and where the work of repression by the executive should commence. A certain amount of elasticity should be allowed to public opinion, so that the various phases of it, the different elements of political party, might neutralize one another, and result in a harmony innocuous to the Sovereign power. If any one of them is unduly kept under pressure, it will find an opportunity to explode in some other direction, more dangerous to its opponents. Such has been the consequence of the present injudicious attempt to stifle this harmless *Brochure* of M. Le Comte de Montalembert. Had it been allowed to pass unobserved, most probably it would have only excited some criticism on its anti-Gallic tendencies, or some praise for the excellence of its construction; but when an undue amount of influence is ascribed to it by the very party, which it seeks to condemn, it obtains a weight in proportion to the resistance given to it, draws attention to restrictions on liberty, which the French people might have otherwise passed over in silence, and rouses a slumbering indignation, which it will take years of artful treatment to allay.

So far the matter of this pamphlet is merely introductory, serving as a foundation for subsequent opinions. He next proceeds to consider, first, the causes and the fact of the fall of Lord Palmerston, and secondly, the Indian debate with the actors therein. It is quite evident, that the noble Lord, who was at the head of the late government, is no favourite with M. Le Comte. The principal reason seems to be, that he has always been one of the most strenuous supporters of the Imperial Government, and was the originator of the Anglo-French alliance, which bids fair to prevent any considerable change on the soil of Europe for many years to come. Certainly a minister was never thrown out of his seat of power for such a futile and groundless reason, or with less show of justice by the British public, than was the late premier. In consequence of an atrocious attempt on his life and that of his consort, the Emperor makes a request couched certainly in strong terms, but grounded upon the very amicable relations, which had been for several years subsisting between the two people, that assassins and murderers should not be sheltered and fostered within the realm, and under the shield of the laws of Great Britain. The French had poured

out their blood upon the same plains and in the same cause, as the English, their indignation was naturally roused to the highest pitch by the nefarious nature of the crime, and by the excessive danger, which not only their sovereign had passed through, but which had menaced to throw them back into anarchy and revolution. All this is taken no account of by England, the ties of friendship and alliance are forgotten; instead of making allowance for an excited state of feeling, the request is rudely flung back by ejecting the minister, who had not returned an answer of defiance within twenty-four hours. The question was not one of the right of asylum, it was simply that of the harbouring of murderers, but for the sake of party purposes, this was all overlooked, the alliance of years disregarded, and a new element of discord sown between the two nations. A more impolitic, and it must be said a more ungenerous course of conduct, could not be pursued by one great people towards another.

The fall of Lord Palmerston was not due to this cause alone, or to the influence of party opposition. His own friends and adherents had for some time been growing arrogant and self-confident of their hold on power; many of them considered themselves independent of their leader, and the chief himself found it very difficult to regulate their action, or to retain them obedient under his sway. He too became somewhat vain of his position, and from the flattery of the liberal press, the triumphant issue of the Crimean war, and the general easy aspect of governmental affairs in the kingdom, considered his lease of office almost as a perpetuity, at least such as would give him high position for the greater part of his remaining days. These causes roused a spirit of independent freethinking among many of his followers, especially those inclined to radicalism or the Manchester school. They conceived that a good and safe opportunity had arrived for showing their strength to the head of the liberals, and in an unguarded moment they shipwrecked their own hopes of advancement, by helping to thrust out of the cabinet the only man, from whom they could expect an amalgamation of parties.

No sooner however were the ministry out, than their partizans saw the mistake they had made, and sought the earliest opportunity for rectifying their error. This did not present itself until two months later when the famous pro-

clamation of Lord Canning to the population of Oude, and the dispatch of Lord Ellenborough condemning it, were brought before the House. Here two questions were raised, whether the proclamation condemning almost the entire territory of the revolted country to confiscation was to be upheld, and the dispatch withdrawn : and whether the Derby ministry as a body were not implicated in the act of Lord Ellenborough, who condemned Lord Canning before he had been heard in defence, and transgressed the rules of official propriety, by publishing the dispatch so condemning him. The first was adroitly evaded by the opposition, who wished to pass a vote of censure on the cabinet for an act of their colleague, who with manly boldness resigned, choosing rather to give up his place and emoluments, acknowledging his error, than draw down ruin on his party. The ministerialists supported the broad ground of the impolicy of confiscation, and a battle of sections ensued. Opinions were divided among the different small schools, while the mass of the liberals were still split up into independent thinkers, who had not yet learned the value of holding together under a leader to defeat an antagonist. Lord Palmerston perceived that they were impracticable and abandoned his position, withdrawing his shattered forces, in consequence of the defection of some of his adherents.

Montalembert in treating of the way in which this debate was got up and conducted, shews how much the peculiarities of English manners struck upon his mind. After Lord Derby had obtained a majority in the House of Lords of merely nine votes, all sides were of opinion that he could not hold office for many days. The *Times*, that great organ of public opinion, perpetually grinding antiquated humdrum airs, but never prophetic ones, vaticinised that "before a week the Derby ministry will have ceased to exist." The strife of parties became hot and furious, in the press and in the House, but never exploded in indecent rancour or ill-feeling in private. Such was not the case in France, when questions of public moment were formerly made the subjects of party contest in the assemblies. M. Le Comte ascribes this difference between the two people to the fact, that in England all are of the same way of thinking at bottom, and consider a public fight only a fair warfare between factions. This however is not the true reason ;

the English are of a far different temperament from the French, pride themselves upon their coolness, calmness and impassiveness in conducting business, and when they leave the public arena cast aside all thought of strife or disagreement. Our Gallic neighbours, on the other hand, carry the animosity of party into their private relations, and hate one another cordially as political opponents.

The debate was carried on under the most admirable tactics on both sides ; in fact it may be cited as a reproach to the administration of public affairs in England, that the lives, liberties and property of many millions of men were hanging upon the decision of a party question. Sir Hugh Cairns, the Solicitor General, is praised by M. le Comte for the able speech, in which he reverted to the general topic of confiscation or not, and rated Mr. Vernon Smith for having withheld a letter of Lord Canning from Lord Ellenborough. Lord John Russell's adhesion to the opposition revived somewhat the debate in Lord Palmerston's favour, until the next day when Mr. Roebuck rose to support the dispatch. The vehement declamation and incongruous doctrine of this leader of radicalism seem to have struck the foreigner, as something very peculiar, and the tolerancy of the House in paying attention to him as something wonderful. Sir Robert Peel's personal and just remarks excited also his attention, chiefly because he alluded to the likelihood of a dissolution, and the impending danger to the Liberal party from the new elections. Here however lay one of the secret and most effectual causes of the final result of the debate. Captain Vivian moved the adjournment of the House during the Derby races, which was acceded to as usual, shewing that no matter how urgent or important are the public interests engaged, the English gentlemen composing the Commons have no idea of giving up their enjoyments of life. But during the interval they had leisure to consider the various consequences, which would arise from a defeat of the ministry. Many a poor and needy member looked forward with dread to the chances of presenting himself before his constituents with an empty purse, and perhaps a shattered political reputation. Dissatisfaction spread through the ranks of the opposition, many of whom were still wavering in their allegiance to their leader, not being sufficiently long out of office to gain a keen relish for its sweets.

As an episode Montalembert gives a description of the Derby, interesting from its peculiarities.

"It has been well said, that he who has not seen the Derby has not seen England; and for that reason people are less in the right who incessantly repeat, that an Englishman does not know how to amuse himself; or at least to amuse himself with spirit, and with order and decency at the same time. Whoever has seen 200,000, or 300,000 inhabitants of London, and its neighbourhood, assembled under a fine spring sun on the green slopes of Epsom Downs; whoever has wandered among all those equipages of every possible class, among these sheds, these bands of music, these open-air theatres, these tents with their fluttering streamers, this sea of bipeds and quadrupeds, returns home thoroughly convinced of the truth of two things generally but little received; first, the honest and communicative gaiety of the immense majority of the numerous throng; secondly, the great degree of equality which brings together, for this day at least, conditions of society usually the most distinct and apart from each other. Princes of the blood, and peers of most ancient pedigree, elbow grooms in the crowd and others of low degree, and even take part in the popular games, which occupy the irksome intervals between the races. Nowhere—not even among us in France—is seen a greater mingling of ranks; nowhere else too a gaiety, good humour and decency, resembling more the same qualities which distinguish in so honourable a manner our popular masses, when they abandon themselves to their periodical and official amusements. In the midst of this joyous and animated throng, one might believe oneself in France. But this illusion speedily vanishes, when one remarks the absence of everything like an official programme, of all interference on the part of the authorities. It is individual industry, which has done it all—announced everything, foreseen everything, regulated everything; the subscriptions collected to repay all expenses are spontaneous. A mere handful of policemen, without arms and lost as it were in the throng, reminds one of precautions taken against the interruption of order. By these features we instantly recognize England.

"On the way to Epsom, as during the preceding days, every conversation turned on the odd coincidence between Lord Derby's political destiny and his luck as a racing man. As on the evening before, his name was on every lip; and in the issue of the race about to come off, people took pleasure in accepting an omen of his victory or defeat in the division to take place the day after. An opinion, rather generally credited, circulated to the effect, that the noble lord was far more solicitous for the success of his horse, than for that of his party. . . . After some insignificant interludes the crowning race commences; twenty-four horses start together. How shall I paint the devouring anxiety, the tumultuous swaying to and fro of the crowd, the forward spring, the rustling of the hundred thousand persons, whose eyes and hearts are concentrated upon a single object? The disinterested stranger involuntarily recalled his *Virgil* to mind, and the immortal verses of the fifth book of the *Æneid*, which have familiarized every one of liberal education, and every cultivated mind,

with so many insignificant details for ever ennobled by the epic muse. The race, which was run over a space of three quarters of a league, lasted less than three minutes. For an instant, thanks to an inequality of the course, all the horses disappeared from the view of the spectators; when they again came in sight, the different chances of the rivals began to decide themselves. One moment more of devouring anxiety, a hundred thousand heads turned towards the winning-post. Fate has decided. It is not Lord Derby who has won. His famous horse is only second. The "blue ribband" escapes him; the cup has been won by the horse of a baronet unknown, who has realized at a stroke something like £40,000."

It is evident that near the commencement of this passage he seeks to draw a comparison between the quiet civil police of England, and the political guardians of the peace in France. The allusion however is carefully made, by no means strong, and leaves an impression, that the writer was apprehensive of entering too deeply into such a delicate subject. He ignores also completely the new body of *sergents de ville*, who have been introduced into the streets of Paris by the present ruler. The only difference between them and our own is twofold, that they wear a cocked hat and sword, which give them a less civic, and more military appearance, but more in accordance with the idea of force and order present to the minds of the French populace.

To return to the debate, which had been interrupted for the purpose of witnessing the national "olympics," as Lord Palmerston once called the Derby races. The newspapers had been strenuously writing up victory at one side, and defeat on the other. Never was the *Times* more at sea in its calculations, than on that occasion, simply because it was a matter to be foreseen, predicted, and not one in which public opinion could be followed. It attacked the ministry and the dispatch, with a virulence commensurate with the expectation that the former should be defeated by a considerable majority. Still there were signs of doubtful omen, Mr. Bright, speaking strongly in favour of the cabinet, and flinging in the face of Lord John Russell his vituperative language in the Durham letter. Here Montalembert has passed a curious eulogy upon a deceased Irish member, which sounds very strange and flat to our ears. He says: "Mr. Bright is a member of the quaker sect: he is brother-in-law of that Frederick Lucas, who, born in the same sect, became a Catholic, and in addition, the most energetic advocate of his new faith. Hardly had he entered the House

of Commons, when Lucas there took up a position beyond the reach of rivalry; everything predicted in him an orator and party leader, who should equal, or perhaps surpass O'Connell; a premature death left behind the remembrance, still vivid, of the invincible charms of his language, and of the energetic uprightness of his convictions." That Frederick Lucas was a man of talent may be conceded, but that he ever possessed the genius or eloquence of the great Repeal leader, is rather too much to assert. It is only one of these Gallic manners of talking of men, who happen to agree with, and perhaps happily express their own opinions. Lucas would never have got beyond his newspaper, even that was fast slipping from under him, as did that of Charles Gavan Duffy. They both attempted too high a range, and like the unlucky aeronaut of old, only left their name upon the sea of troubles wherein they fell.

Sir James Graham's speech had certainly a great effect in deciding the issue. He began by declaring that the resignation of Lord Ellenborough was satisfaction enough for the mistake committed by him, in forwarding the obnoxious dispatch, at the same time condemning the confiscation system, and bringing forward the protest of Sir James Outram, who had been the former occupier and pacificator of Oude, when it was annexed under Lord Dalhousie. This produced a very powerful effect upon the House, so much so that the next day several of the opposition members requested Mr. Cardwell, the proposer of the resolution against the ministry, to withdraw it. Lord Palmerston, who saw how the wind lay and that his adherents were about to desert, chose rather to retreat with skill, than to suffer an ignominious defeat. The motion was withdrawn, and the cause of justice and good government triumphed.

Thus was the future fate of millions of inhabitants of a province of Hindostan decided, by the result of as skilful a series of party manœuvres, as was ever adopted on any petty question for harassing a ministry. The meetings of the Liberal party beforehand at Lord Palmerston's house, the appointing of proposers and seconders of the motion both in the Lords and Commons, the able speeches on both sides evading the main question and endeavouring to outwit their opponents—all this was brought to a happy conclusion by the intervention of the Derby day, and the time so

given to the Liberal and Independent members to consider the position in which they would be left in case of a defeat of ministers and a dissolution of Parliament. A more ridiculous cause for deciding a great question could not be assigned.

M. le Comte praises highly the tact of D'Israeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the manner in which he followed up the retreat of the discomfited forces of Lord Palmerston. He ascribed the success of the division to the action of the different independent sections of the House, who were too much actuated by fair policy and a love of justice to allow such a question to be decided by a mere party manœuvre. The leaders of the several liberal and radical independencies, Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Mr. Bright and Roebuck, congratulated the Commons and themselves on the issue, not foreseeing that this was the very thing D'Israeli aimed at, and their adhesion to the ministerial ranks was somewhat pledged by that line of conduct. Montalembert's impression from the whole debate seems to have been, that persuasion had worked its way by the mere force of speaking, and that the ministry gained by strength of argument. Lamentable shortsightedness of the foreigner, who knows not the ins and outs and tergiversations of English party politics! He left England with a very exalted notion of the freedom of speech used in the House and its effects on the members. The contrast with France seems to have struck him very forcibly, for he says :

"While these reflections encompassed me, I quitted their great spectacle full of emotion, and contented, as ought to have been every man, who sees in a government something else besides an antechamber, and in a civilized people, something more than a flock of sheep, docilely indolent, to be fleeced and led forth to pasture, under the silent shadows of an enervated security. I felt myself more than ever attached to those liberal hopes, which have always animated, through the most regrettable phases of our history, the *élite* of honest men, whom neither disappointment nor defeat has ever bowed down, and who, even in exile or on the scaffold, have always preserved enough of patriotism to believe that France could, quite as well as England, endure the reign of right, light and liberty. Noble belief! well worthy to actuate the most painful sacrifice, and which, although betrayed by fortune, deserted by the crowd, and insulted by cowards, does not the less retain its invincible empire over proud souls and generous spirits. When I returned to France, I read in the leading organ of the clergy, and of the new alliance of the Throne and

the Altar, that all I had just seen and heard was 'a farce played with great display of scenery,' such as are often found in the history of deliberative assemblies. Happy country, thought I, and still more happy clergy, to whom such excellent information is given in such noble language."

That France might endure a little more liberty, especially in the affairs of the Press, than she does at present, may be fairly conceded, but that such a debate could have been enacted in the Chamber of Representatives under the Bourbon dynasty, is a physical impossibility. The genius and temper of the French people is of a different stamp, the influence of the Crown had too direct an effect upon the deliberations of the deputies. In Louis Philippe's time the Throne exercised too corrupt and coercive a supervision upon the votes to allow of any extensive freedom of speech or opinion. The writer of this will never forget a discussion at which he was present in the year 1841 in the Chamber of deputies, on the conduct of the Spanish authorities of the Pyrenees towards some inhabitants of the French valleys, who had broken out into marauding parties, and pillaged some of the villages beyond the frontier. M. Guizot, who at that time held the reins of power, got into the tribune, and leaning on his elbows like a schoolmaster, lectured his audience in the most perfect manner, and was listened to in the most undisturbed silence. The scene impressed the mind of the writer at the time, with the idea of a pedagogue laying down the law, chapter and verse, to his pupils, who received it without dissent or approbation. Surely this is not the deliberative liberty, which M. De Montalembert hints at as having formerly existed in Constitutional France. The passage above cited is one of those, which formed the subject of the recent prosecution in Paris; it is not strong, but it reminds one very much of some of these parts of Junius, which were made in former days in England the grounds of indictment against the Morning Advertiser. At that time it was not considered unconstitutional for the crown to proceed against a newspaper containing matter which cast aspersions on the head of the state, and brought the government into disrepute. It is idle to say, that such a power should not be conceded to the supreme authority in every nation; it is another question whether in the case of M. De Montalembert, it was judicious or not to exercise it.

Having finished his description of the debate, M. le Comte proceeds to eulogize many of the institutions and peculiar manners of England. That of the capability of every citizen to complain against any official personage for grievances, whether real or fancied, he looks upon as something peculiar. He says it is, "a guarantee of British liberty, of enormous importance and but too little known, which contrasts with that inviolability of the pettiest officials of France, created by the constitution of year VIII, which people were simple enough, even under the constitutional *régime*, to place among the Conquests of 1789." Certainly there cannot be a greater cause of complaint among the inhabitants of a free country, than that the very people, whom by their public voice they place over themselves to manage either the magistrature or the affairs of the state, should be those from whom they receive the least civility, and that no redress can be had against the many petty acts of injustice of which they may be capable. The great remedy for such an evil exists in England in the Press, which may be brought to bear at any moment upon the offender, and show him up to public indignation. In France such a tribunal of opinion is not heard or dreamt of; there is no satisfaction for injuries done, except by some round about ordeal, which completely fails in its effect. The constant dread in which our employés are kept of their actions and dealings being exposed, is one of the greatest safeguards we possess, for the inviolability of the constitutional liberties.

M. de Montalambert rejoices in the defeat of Lord Palmerston, evidently on account of the foreign policy of that minister, and the support which he gave to the present ruling power in France. He congratulates himself also on the discomfiture which the *Times*, an overgrown organ of manysided views, received by the unexpected issue of the debate. The check given to this "immense engine of publicity" restored the "equilibrium of constitutional powers," and demonstrated the superiority held by the House of Commons over the Press in ruling public opinion. All the efforts of that journal were vain, to bring back its favorite premier, against the sense of justice and honesty residing in the bosoms of the representatives of the people. He attributes the great force of our form of government to the influence of the middle classes, who really rule the state

through those permitted to hold the reins, not quarrelling with the aristocracy on account of their birth, or the rich man on account of his riches. He says the middle class "willingly consents that that the aristocracy by birth, which for ages, is recruited from its ranks, shall represent at home and abroad the public authority and the national grandeur, just as a powerful sovereign, reposing in the tranquil and simple majesty of his power, willingly leaves to great men and lords the care of displaying the pomp of distant embassies, and obtaining the honours of onerous missions." This is but a portion of a more general idea, which he announces elsewhere, in his Essay on the Political Future of England, that there exists a come-and-go movement between the people and the peerage, by which the latter attracts all the notabilities of the nation, in law, in arms, in diplomacy, &c., and sends back its collateral branches to form connections with those beneath them in the scale of society. The nobility of the present day owe their principal influence in the community, to the care which they take to cultivate popular connexions, mix themselves in popular questions, sympathise with the lower classes, and very often take the lead in subjects of public interest or improvement. What ruined the ancient *noblesse* in France before the first revolution was its overweening pride and exclusiveness, its *insouciance* for the rights of those beneath them, its claims of exemption from many burthens cast upon the lower ranks, and the contempt it shewed for anything *roturier*. Such feelings are now happily nearly extinct, but such a consummation has been brought about by the almost total destruction of family property.

No considerable opposition to the influence of the nobility in England has been shewn since the days of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade. Two reasons have mainly contributed to this; one arises from their exercising the general right of thought and speech, mixing in parliamentary government, and consulting the interests of the people, like any other constituent part of the commonwealth. The second resides in the influence of property preserved to them by the laws which allowed entails and family settlements, and preserved them from the consequences of confiscation by the crown. On this latter account there were found among the ranks of the parliamentary leaders, in the time of the civil war,

almost as many of the aristocracy, as on the side of the Royalists. As a contrast to this the law of "*morcellement*" or parcelling out estates among children, introduced into France by the Code Napoleon, has had a beneficial effect in beating down the power of the nobility, but it has done away altogether with a salutary check, which might have been used against the too democratic tendencies of the population. The crown is perfectly helpless, when left by itself to battle against the encroachments of revolutionary opinions, a counterpoise would be required in the influence of a large landed proprietary and titled families, who should have a large stake in the preservation of settled government.

There exists however in England a very grievous evil, threatening at some future time to wear out the machine of self-government, and crumble into ruins the whole edifice of the state. This is the increasing growth of pauperism, the mass of immense wealth to be compared with it, and the clashing of the two in the community. The amassing of riches and property to a very large amount induces a feeling of confidence and security, which leaves the party possessing them open to the insidious designs of those having an interest to dispossess them. On the other hand, poverty and want produce discontent, commensurate with the contrast afforded by an opposite state of luxury. A great mass of our labouring population, especially in large cities and manufacturing districts, are very easily roused by the cry of wages being too low, and that masters and landlords do not give sufficient value for the labour of the poor. The Poorhouse system has also become an overgrown grievance to the owners of estates, who are obliged in many cases to make use of harsh measures to check the spreading of the evil. The strictness of the rules of parish settlements presses very heavily upon the lower classes, and create a bad feeling between them and their superiors. All these causes operating together must in the end produce some movement, in which the working men will endeavour to overcome the too oppressive preponderance of wealth, and throw off the yoke of the millionaire. The only way, in which the progress of the evil can be checked, is by the government and entire country watching over the moral and material well-being of the working classes, and not allowing them to fall either into ignorance or indigence.

Montalembert considers that the military *prestige* of England is gone for ever, that the acquirements of her generals and officers are not equal to the exigencies of the age. The only ground for such opinions, is the fact, that she does not keep up such a large standing army as France, Austria, Russia, or even Prussia, and may be considered as only a third-rate power, in relation to the number of her soldiers. But what necessity could she have for maintaining such an immense body of men in arms. It is sufficient for her purposes, if there are enough of troops at home to recruit those, which are out on foreign service, and to keep up military knowledge in the minds of her officers. The actual force in time of peace, is but the nucleus of that which may be raised in time of war, but from this arises a serious consequence, that in the commencement of any campaign, from the rawness of the levies and the inexperience of the leaders, reverses are very much to be apprehended. Then M. Le Comte asserts that though her naval strength is very great, still that it may be yet equalled by that of France, as it was in the time of Louis XIV. and Louis XVI. Certainly the introduction of steam into ships of war will produce an enormous revolution in naval tactics, and dispense very much with the skill of sailors. But it cannot supply the hearts and hands of British seamen, who are in their element on the sea, and delight in a sea fight, while the Frenchman, no matter how much accustomed to the waves, never feels at home upon them, and curses the day he gave up the firm land for the unstable ocean.

There is so much lavish praise poured in the pages we are perusing, on the subject of the institutions of this country, that it is some relief to meet with a little censure, as a contrast. This is found in the antipathy aroused on the continent by the unsatisfactory manner of dealing in our political relations. M. le Comte treats of it in the following manner:—

“There exists, besides, against England, in the minds of many, a moral repulsion, which of itself alone, constitutes a serious danger. The English regard in the light of an honor, of a decoration, the abuse of that press which preaches fanaticism and despotism; but they would be far wrong in believing, that there exists against them in Europe, no antipathies other than those which they are right in considering an honor. Count de Maistre, whom they ought to reproach themselves with not knowing sufficiently well, who never saw England, but who divined it with the instincts of a genius, and ad-

mired it with the freedom of a great mind, has penned this judgment : 'Do not believe that I do not render full justice to the English, I admire their government, (without, however, believing, I do not say that it ought not, but that it cannot be transplanted elsewhere); I pay homage to their criminal law, their arts, their science, their public spirit, &c. ; but all that is spoiled in their external political life, by intolerable national prejudice, and by a pride without limit and without prudence, which is revolting to other nations, and prevents them from uniting for the good cause. Do you know the great difficulty of the extraordinary epoch (1803) at which we are living? It is that the cause one loves is defended by the nation one does not love.'

"As for me, who love the nation almost as much as the cause which it defends, I regret that M. de Maistre is no longer living, to stigmatise with that anger of love, which rendered him so eloquent, the clumsy effrontery which British egoisme has manifested in the affair of the Isthmus of Suez, whose gates England would fain close against all the world; although, prepared in advance, she holds the keys at Perim. He would have been quite as well worth hearing on the subject of the ridiculous susceptibility of a portion of the English Press, regarding the Russian coal depôt at Villafranca; as if a nation which extends every day its maritime domination in every part of the world, and which occupies in the Mediterranean positions such as Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, could complain with a good grace that other peoples should endeavour to extend their commerce and navigation. On one side, then, the legitimate resentments, excited by the imprudent and illogical policy of England in her relations with other states; on the other, the horror and spite with which the spectacle of her enduring and prosperous liberty fills servile souls, have created in Europe a common ground of animosity against her. It will be easy for any one, who may wish it, to turn to good account this animosity, and to profit by it, for the purpose of engaging England in some conflict, out of which she runs a great risk of issuing either vanquished or diminished."

He has here resumed two subjects, on which the ship of England's constitution may hereafter be wrecked. The selfishness of her external policy, which sets nearly every state in Europe against her, and will one day raise them all to crush her in her hour of need. Unfortunately, she has sought every means, right and wrong, to extend her trade and commerce, and amass wealth, even at the expense of those who, though weak, had been once her firm allies and friends. Witness the destruction of the fleet of Denmark by the great Nelson, because it might fall into the hands of the French, and be made use of by them for a descent upon the northern coasts; then, the desertion of Portugal recently, and the winking at the illegitimate traffic in slaves to the French settlements; and now, very

lately, she has abandoned the right of search, for which she had entered into a war with America in 1811, merely because to insist upon it may endanger her amicable relations with that continent, whose trade produces her the most considerable returns. As to her military power, or rather weakness, descanted upon by M. le Comte in the above passage, it is idle to suppose that she can ever expect to be rated as anything but third-rate in point of numbers. In fact, to keep up such an army as those maintained either by Austria or France, would be preposterous; it would only serve to create a national bankruptcy, and could not be for an hour tolerated by the British people; neither is there the same necessity for it with her as with them. The incoherent elements of the Austrian Empire could never be held together but by an overwhelming force. The army in France also serves to check open rebellion, and to draw off the most dangerous part of the community within the range of discipline and employment. With England her wooden walls are certainly her best defence, but, as in the case of Athens of old, the time may come when they will no longer be an impregnable bulwark. Carthage was once the most prominent naval power in the Mediterranean; her pavilion swept the seas without challenge or rival. The perseverance, however, and growing strength of Rome, enabled her soon to contest the prize with the Queen of Africa, and Carthage was crushed in the encounter; not one trace of her very existence remains, except the name. We do not mean to complete the comparison, but it is senseless to rely upon too great a feeling of security, or shut our eyes to the effects of the revolution carried out by the application of steam to the navies of Europe. Ships of war will soon become nothing more than floating batteries, requiring no peculiar skill or hardiness of sailors to work them; and then comes the danger of England—she is too rich a prize not to excite the avaricious longings either of the Northern Tartar or the Western Celt.

This desire for overpraising the institutions of this country seems to have been growing on Montalembert for some time—to have become in him a kind of passion. He indulged in it before, to a large extent, in his *Essay on the Political Future of England*, of the greater part of which

the present *brochure* is only a repetition; but he did not institute the same amount of comparison with France. On this account there are many instructive matters in the former, now omitted in the latter, to which it may be useful to draw the reader's attention. He notices an undercurrent of revolutionary spirit existing in the middle classes, shewn by a strong discontent at the commencement of the Crimean war against the incompetency of the administration, and in the columns of the radical newspapers. Criticism and depreciation of the aristocratic classes, and of the time-honored customs of the nobility, have become very common. Some have gone even so far as to denounce the House of Lords as a bore, and to hint that the crown possessing no real power in the community should be deposed from its rights altogether. Happily, those opinions are but of the very few, and directly opposed to the inclinations and common sense of the whole realm. They denote, however, a certain amount of discontent, which deserves to be taken notice of, and watched carefully so as not to allow it to corrupt the body politic. Then, the merchants of England have fallen of late into very great disrepute all over the world, on account of the gigantic frauds practised in their names upon unsuspecting individuals. Enormous bank and other failures have disclosed a system of carrying on trade, which makes it doubtful how much of the fabled wealth of the island is real, and how much based merely on credit or speculation, vanishing into thin air at the touch of the accurate investigator. It is impossible to say what amount of corruption exists under that cloak of riches and religion, business and bigotry, where one hand is distributing bibles or building churches, and the other thrust into the pockets of the widow or the orphan. All these symptoms of corruption and discontent shew that there is still a great deal of amelioration to be effected, and of humbug and hypocrisy to be guarded against.

On the subject of the spread of Catholicism in England, Montalembert has said nothing in his last production, but in his former there is a good deal of instructive matter. He shews how the true faith has been gaining ground there by degrees since Emancipation; how the Puseyite element has been growing in the University of Oxford, and has produced its fruits among the Protestant clergy, who are

every day approaching nearer and nearer to the observances of the Roman ritual; then, the animosity which has been aroused among the Protestants, and the sense of terror they feel at the falling off of many of their great lights: how, in order to prevent the influence of the Church of Rome from working too rapidly amongst them, they refused to receive, as nuncio from the Papal See, any ecclesiastical dignitary, and attempted in vain to carry out the bill brought in by Lord John Russell, in pursuance of his Durham Letter policy, for the prevention of the assumption of titles among the Catholic Hierarchy. All these he discusses with peculiar felicity, and without any ultramontane or sectarian views, ending with the following passage:—

“Alas! the Church is wanting to England and England to the Church. What would not the English, if they had remained true to the old faith, have done for it with their indefatigable activity, their indomitable energy, the propagandising influence of their commerce, their fleet, the munificence of their contributions, now so profusely given to error. . . . The most venerated institutions of England, her best and purest glories, are connected with Catholicism. Trial by jury, the Parliament, the Universities, date from the time when England was the submissive daughter of the Holy See. It was Catholic Barons got Magna Charta from King John—Irish Catholics contributed the principal strength of the English armies in the Peninsula and in the Crimea. Except Queen Elizabeth, the only surviving sovereigns, of whom the people have kept the memory, are Catholic kings—Alfred, Edward the Confessor, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Edward III., Henry V. The cathedrals, the churches, the castles, all those ecclesiastical and feudal edifices—which was an English taste before it was ours, and which they preserve or restore with such pious care, are exclusively the work of Catholic generations.”

Every day shows more and more the insufficiency of the Established Church for the wants of the lower classes in England. All those rich livings, rectories and bishoprics, are only of use to those scions of the aristocracy or gentry, who get promoted to them, and leave the work of curing souls to unfortunate half paid curates. The solemn, hard, dry style of service adopted does not touch the heart of the common people or affect their imagination. Christianity should be not only a religion of belief and doctrine; but, also of feeling, charity, and awe-inspiring observance. In France, among the educated classes, there exists a vast amount of infidelity and deism, or disregard altogether of the outward forms of religion, acknowledging indeed the actuality of the

Divinity, but avoiding all worship. In England the reverse is the case, it is the lower classes and some of the middle, who make no observance of religion, are plunged in complete ignorance of all faith, and act only according to their natural instincts of moral good. This is a species of Heathenism in the midst of Christianity, showing how insufficient is the teaching of the Establishment for the religious education of the masses. A servant girl in London being asked on a Sunday why she had not gone to Church, replied; "Law Sir, Church wasn't made for the likes of me"—meaning thereby, that one should have a carriage or fine dress to show oneself off, before he or she could have a right to appear before the fashionable congregation. There is nothing more striking in the worship in Catholic countries on the continent, than the mixture of poor and rich, kneeling near one another under the lofty venerable aisles to worship the most High. Such a contrast is never seen in this country; it would outrage the aristocratic notions of the upper classes, and the lower portion of the community would find itself altogether out of place.

It is abundantly evident, from many passages already cited, or others not brought forward, of this last publication of M. de Montalembert, that his object in writing was to depreciate in the eyes of Frenchmen, their present constitution and form of government, and to criticize, in many cases very strongly, several of the recent laws. Such a thing cannot be done in France, without exciting a great deal of public attention, and arousing many other kindred spirits, who might take occasion to propagate the same opinions. We must not judge in this country of the effect, which may be produced by such a publication, merely by the tame phlegmatic manner, in which a crowd of English artizans, labourers, or factorymen, may listen to a long and violent harangue. Speaking or writing has not the same influence upon them as upon the fiery volatile Frenchman, who one day may dance at the *jardin mabille*, and the next throw up barricades and fire on the troops from behind them. The Imperial Government, judging no doubt, that if such a style of composition were tolerated, the license of the press would very soon know no bounds, decided upon bringing M. le Comte before the Tribunal of Correctional Police, in order to put a stop to the evil in its inception. It must be conceded, that

the composition itself was the authorities acted for weight. It would never opposing journals, while wholesale attacks on them. There was however a ferment, in instituting the police magistrates, who executive, and in treating by the most ordinary of the dignity and imposition. This failed to a public excitement attracted many persons, who were advocacy of the celebrated effect of his imposing el

The charges made against accustomed to the exact to be of a very general to hatred and contempt "attacking the respect Emperor under the universal suffrage"—"and hatred of the citizens accusations of such a multitude to the imagination tolerated in a court of justice however very much increased specially for the beginning in the troubles of '48, was offence formerly unknown was added to the Statute men were convicted upon for rebellion, and the mind to an apprehension of civil a wholesome and necessary it violated the spirit of the preconceived rules of law seems to be nearly identical is more general in its to all times on account of the relation. The application

moderated, and the punishment mitigated, as occasion may require. From the nature of the charges made, it is quite plain, that it lay altogether with the judges on the meaning of the passages cited, whether they came within the law. No proof was required—M. de Montalembert having admitted the authorship. The Procureur Imperial, who opened the case, laboured very assiduously from English history to show, that the statements and conclusions in the *brochure* were not accurate, that they were an outrage and insult to the Institutions of France. The only portion of the report of the trial worthy of notice as given in the pamphlet, second at the head of this article, is the speech of M. Berryer, who both as friend and advocate appeared to support M. de Montalembert.

He commenced by identifying himself completely with the conduct and opinions of his client through his political career, a most dangerous ground for an advocate to take, for it does not exculpate his client, while it condemns himself. He said; “yes, in the midst of political terrors, we were fully united—we had the same feelings—to save society, but to save liberty likewise, and it is with the same motto, the same battle cry, that I am come here to repel an unjust, unfounded, imprudent, and ill-timed accusation: I was going to add—rash.” He next proceeds to draw a sketch with great eloquence of the past services of M. de Montalembert to his country.

“He was still young when France escaped from the sufferings and disgrace, which the three tyrannies of the Convention, the Directory, and the Empire, had inflicted on her, and was resting under a constitutional monarchy—a government strong and free. It was in the midst of this work, of this movement, of these jealous apprehensions, that the intelligence and conscience of M. de Montalembert developed themselves. Brought up in the traditions of a noble and Christian family, he felt himself from his youth called upon to defend the institutions, the principles, the liberties, for which France sacrificed and suffered so much; and soon, in obedience to these noble inspirations, he declared himself the defender, the friend, of the religious and political liberties of the country. Inconsistencies have been sought for in his words and in his writings. Ah! I, too, have my memory; he presented a noble spectacle in 1830; in the midst of the Chamber of Peers, this young man, hardly twenty, coming to justify his attempt to open a school of liberty at Paris. That does not constitute a passing remembrance; all were profoundly affected at hearing this young gentleman, of an old, liberal, and Catholic race, publicly making this profession of faith—Faith is not dead in every

heart; it is to that I gave early my heart and my life—the life of a man. To-day, especially, it is but little; but this little, joined to a great and holy cause, may grow greater with it. When a man has consecrated his future to such a cause, I have ever believed, and I still believe, that he should not fly from any of its consequences, any of its dangers.’ And who can say that since then he has once broken his word? Seventeen years later (the body of the magistracy would be truly ungrateful if it forgot it), he defended, in the tribune of the National Assembly, the principle of judicial irremovability. It was he again, in 1855, who energetically defended the liberty of the press, at a time when rigorous measures were called for against it after the commission of a great crime. Are you going to ask of a man, whose conduct and language were such, if on a solemn occasion, in presence of great questions, he has wished to have recourse to the daily puerile, and lying resources of the pen of a libeller and pamphleteer? No. It is with more dignity that, faithful to himself, he takes up subjects of this nature; he has seen the tribune fall, he has seen the press chained—yes, chained, that is the word. You said it yourself, adding that it was the wish of the country.”

Here the whole royalist breaks out, he recalls the constitutional liberties of France, which existed merely in name under the Bourbons, and hints strongly at the usurpation of the Emperor; another dangerous ground, most likely to injure his client. He next alludes to his visit to England, the impression made upon him by the debate on the Indian question, the regret he felt at the lost liberties of his country, and his indignation at some Catholic writers, who had attacked the English for their revengeful reprisals against the Sepoys. He denies then that there is any libel against France.—“But,” says the prosecution, “a direct attack is not in question—you know the ability of the language—the attack exists in the perpetual contrasts which you establish between the liberties of England, and the present condition of France;” and is about to repeat and endorse some of the expressions made use of when the president of the tribunal interrupts him, and reminds him of the oath he had taken, when called to the Bar in 1811, to respect the laws of France. Berryer then continues—“I remember my oath, but you make me shudder, M. le President; you carry back my thoughts to a time, when the praise of a good man, the approval of a virtue, of a good sentiment, of a good law, was not considered a crime. No, I do not wish to recall that period to my memory, “*legimus capitale fuisse.*”

This is certainly very bold, worthy of the character of the great advocate, but most injurious to the interests of his

client. He then endeavors to show, that Montalembert has always upheld the alliance between England and France, in order that the latter might gain something of the liberties of the former by contact with her; that he deplored the lost colonial greatness of the former, and tried to prove, that she was as capable of being free.

He next considered the question of the applicability of the laws of 1848 and 1849 under which the prosecution was instituted. They were passed at the commencement and during the progress of the last revolution, in order to protect the press and the government, but since that *regime* has passed away, the advocate argues that the laws are extinct. "The law of 1848 was enacted on the morrow of the days of June, at a time when, in seeking to quell excesses, it was sought also to guarantee free discussion, a free tribune, and free press; and do you believe, that the sentence which should be based to-day on such a law, would not excite in society universal stupefaction?"—In fact that because the Emperor had been chosen by the people, to hold the supreme dominion with a strong, dictatorial hand, the laws previously passed were to be of no avail. This is to uproot the very foundations of society in France, if at every change of government all the former decrees or statutes are *ipso facto* abrogated. He then applies himself to each of the passages, subject to accusation, in detail, the first of which compared the executive of the Empire to an "antechamber" full of flatterers, &c., whom he had known to exist under every rule, and had therefore become moderate in his opinions and in his support of monarchy. "I have seen these men, at the beginning of 1814, wish to monopolize Royalty; six months had not gone by, when they prostrated themselves at the threshold of the government of the Hundred Days. These are the men, who people antechambers, who are their chroniclers, and who are the curse of every *regime*. These are the men whom M. de Montalembert addresses, those who conspire against the dignity of our Church and against that of France." But it is notorious, that in the time of the monarchy, especially under the last branch of the Bourbons, there was more backstair influence and sycophancy made use of, than existed at any time under the new or old Empire. This argument is much keener against the cause of M. le Comte than for him.

The passages, in which France is said to be insulted, by stating, that she has allowed these institutions to be taken from her, which still exist in Canada, and that she is held in a condition of pupillage unworthy of her antecedents, he does not seek to palliate, but boldly asserts they are facts not to be gainsayed, and therefore not libellous. That they are so, might be easily contested, and that France has very much improved in her condition and constitution, since these colonies were separated from her, might be shewn without difficulty; therein however does not lie the point of the accusation, which applies only to the insult cast upon the government, the intent to make the people discontented, and the motive, to bring back their minds to the former rule and dynasty.

The third offence is that relating to the press, where he attacks the interference of the government, and calls it an official gag. This part of Berryer's speech is so characteristic, that it must be given in full.

"First, can M. de Montalembert be reproached with having recalled to mind, that in France, the journalist, the writer, the editor himself, ought never to divest himself of the salutary terror of a warning. In truth, gentlemen, I ask how can there be in that an offence? Warning is legal. The government may say at any moment to a writer, 'I warned you once, twice, and pay attention, the third time I suppress you, I annihilate your journal; the idea of your property in it will not stop me.' The warning is then salutary, which can prevent such a suppression; but in the eyes of a man, who knows the state of affairs,—and here I must give full expression to my thoughts, for in a judicial discussion one cannot speak with a double meaning, and in a low voice, as if one were in a sick room,—the official gag is something other than the legal warning; there is not a journal which has not, one day or another, received a visit from a gentleman in a black coat, possessing sometimes the exterior of a respectable man, who, sent in pursuance of an official order, comes to say to the editor, 'In such a trial you will not say this—in such a discussion you will not reply to such and such an attack, you will be so good as not to publish such or such a document.'

The President. You spoke a moment ago, M. Berryer, of the sick room; you deceived yourself, but now you think yourself in the tribune. You have forbidden yourself the mere thought of attacking the law, and that is precisely what you are going to do.

M. Berryer. It is precisely what I was not going to do. For the official gag, which intervenes to prevent the journalist from venturing on dangerous ground, is not the legal warning; it is the official warning, the government warning, which although illegal ought to inspire salutary terror; and we may well be permitted, without

fearing to be accused of attacking the laws, to call that warning a gag. That does not constitute an attack against the law. It is at most only a censure passed on certain acts in the administration; a censure, which even in the terms of the laws which you invoke, is expressly authorised."

There certainly the advocate is right in the distinction he draws between the legal warning, an absolutely necessary check on the licentiousness of the press in France, and the police terror system, which prevents the discussion of all matters of a public nature clashing with the views of the Executive. The great utility of the press, as an engine of opinion, consists in the pressure it brings to bear upon officials, the detection by it of malpractices and incompetency, and its watchfulness in guarding public rights and liberties. All these are done away with by the command of authority; it becomes a mere chronicle of facts, often distorted and untrue, by the suppression of those most material for the elucidation of opinions and events. If the present Imperialism desires to preserve its popularity, its hold on the affections of the people, it must find out some method of allowing greater latitude to free discussion. It has nothing to fear from the advocates of the passed state of things, except that the people may become restive under a too absolute and coercive stretch of power or restraint of liberty. The day of the Bourbons is gone by; they can never regain the attachment of the middle or lower classes, who are too much wound up with the fate and fortunes of the reigning dynasty, and look up to it too much, as the creature of their own will, the product of their revolutionary ideas, to suffer for a moment that it should be cast down, or a substitute provided except by themselves.

The last heads of accusation are those relating to the attacks on universal suffrage, and the rights which the Emperor holds under the constitution. The first he deals with in a few words, by shewing that M. de Montalembert respected the right of universal suffrage, at the same time that he disapproved of many of the consequences following from it. The second, the most dangerous ground of all, he treats in a noble style, identifying himself with his client, attacking the conduct of the Emperor in the boldest manner, and advocating the cause of monarchy.

"The prosecution has recourse, in order to punish the pretended offence, to the laws of 1848 and 1849. Those laws had for object

to maintain the respect due to the trustees of public power in the terms of the constitution of 1848. This constitution has been violated. Have you any other laws? You accuse M. de Montalembert of having attacked the rights and the authority, which the Emperor holds under the actually existing constitution, and this by virtue of a law, which had for end to defend the constitution, which was violated in 1851. Is it by analogy, that you would wish to extend this penal provision to M. de Montalembert? But to proceed by analogy in the case of penal offences is unheard of and monstrous. The law of 1851 had for object, to punish attacks against the person of the King, and the constitutional authority with which he is clothed. The law of 1855 modified this provision by protecting against attack the rights which the king held from hereditary birth. After the Revolution of 1830, it was felt that these provisions were no longer applicable, and on the 29th November of the same year, a new law, having for end, to protect the new rights of the Royalty of July, was voted by the Chambers. In 1848, the sovereignty passed into the hands of a single Assembly, and the law of the 11th of August, 1848, assured the respect due to Republican institutions. A few months afterwards the constitution of 1848, confided the executive power to a responsible president, and immediately the law of the 27th of July, 1849, offered its protection to the President of the Republic, such as it was defined to be by the republican constitution. Did anything similar take place on the day of the accession of the Empire? Where then is the law which protects the rights which are vested in the new Emperor? I do not know of such a law, and what signify to me the causes of such a blank? Is it not quite enough for me to declare its existence? Even if M. de Montalembert had attacked the rights attributed to the new Government, by the constitution which the Emperor has made, you cannot make use against him of the laws passed for the protection of the constitution, which the Emperor has violated. I have done, gentlemen, and it only remains for me to sum up, in a few words, what I should have said for the defence of M. de Montalembert. Swayed by the great memories which penetrated the soul of M. de Montalembert, I have sometimes yielded to all my emotions, and thus weakened the arguments for the defence; but I hope that you will not forget, that you will not for an instant lose sight, in the course of your deliberations, of the character and of the whole life of the man whom you are to judge. M. de Montalembert holding so elevated a rank, not only by birth, by the ineffaceable dignity of the Peerage, but still more and above all by his sentiments, his talents, and his soul, is not a libeller, a pamphleteer. He has obeyed a twofold inspiration—he wished to express his regret for the liberties we have lost, and to protest energetically against self-styled religious writers calling themselves Catholics, who set at naught all the principles of religion, of humanity and honour, not fearing to insult England, and to applaud the massacres of Delhi and Calcutta. In glorifying England M. de Montalembert has not committed any offence—this is admitted—and as for the contrast brought into relief by the incriminated article, between the institutions of the two countries, my client did not seek it—he found it.

To say that this contrast ought to cease, to wish and hope that it may, is not to insult France, but to honour her. As for the laws, which you invoke, they have been passed to defend the institutions, which M. de Montalembert defends and regrets. You would not wish then to apply them to him, and you cannot, since in penal accusations recourse is not had to analogy. Ah! Gentlemen, do not regard as a crime our legitimate regrets. We are already far advanced in life, we have but a warmth which is passing away, allow us to die tranquil and faithful. We are sufficiently unfortunate in seeing our holy and glorious cause betrayed, vanquished, denied, insulted; suffer us to believe, that we can preserve for it an inviolable attachment in the bottom of our hearts—suffer us to think so—suffer us to say so! Allow us to preserve, and to recall the remembrance of those great combats of eloquence which have made known to us, and have caused us to love, the generous institutions which we have defended, which we will always defend, and to which we will be faithful to our very last hour."

Here we have the gauntlet thrown down to the Imperial Government, not only on the part of M. de Montalembert by his advocate, but on M. Berryer's own part. For a lawyer to attack the existing laws, and thereby to exculpate his client, is absurd; therefore it is quite plain, that the same intention was carried out in this speech as in the *Brochure* itself, to find fault with the institutions of France, and to direct the attention of the French people to the defects in them, amongst the rest the usurpation of the Emperor. That this is the speech of a Royalist, and on behalf of a Royalist, cannot for a moment be doubted, merely that the different phases of opinion of the two persons do not appear to be the same. One may be a Legitimist, the other a constitutional Royalist, but that both are opposed to the present form of Government in France, and so to the will of the people there, is abundantly evident. From the Constitution of the particular Court before which he was tried, it was very easy to predict from the first what would be the decision in the case. The article was prosecuted by the executive, as a mere newspaper effusion, and treated as such in the sentence.

When it first became known in this country that this *Brochure* was to be prosecuted, the press took the matter up very warmly, praised M. le Comte up to the skies, because he had flattered themselves, and glorified English affairs to the highest. The object of the publication was altogether lost sight of, the Imperial Government was at-

tacked for its want of liberality in suppressing the publication of opinion, and the accused sympathised with in every shape and form. But when Montalembert would not accept the pardon from the Emperor, ostensibly because it left behind a sort of temporal punishment hanging over his head, and thereby shewed that he hoped to enlist the sympathies also of the French people, and to cause an impression on the public mind abroad; then some of the English newspapers began to turn their backs upon the unfortunate writer, and to exclaim against the absurdity of contesting a point of etiquette or law with absolute power. The *Times*, which at first declared Montalembert to be "a sort of martyr in our cause," when it perceived the end of the publication, and that it was merely written for a Royalist purpose, and after the *Cour de Cassation* had refused to reverse the sentence except in part, then that mighty organ of public truth was obliged to admit, that M. le Comte had placed himself in a false position, had justly incurred the censure of the Imperial Government, and been fairly dealt with by it according to the laws. It would now appear that the conduct of the Executive in Paris has been straightforward in the case, that they have only made use of a prudential measure to give a general warning, to all persons desirous of having the present dynasty changed, that they will not suffer any attempt to raise a disturbance, or to make the people discontented with their rule. France requires a strong Government, prompt to act within the range of the law, more dictatorial than our own, because the people do not reason so much, nor wish to interfere so much in the administration of affairs. The peace of Europe depends on the security of the throne in France; is it to be endangered in order that a few Royalists may express their opinions without restraint.

As to M. de Montalembert himself, it must be admitted that he is nobly consistent to the opinions which he always expressed regarding the affairs both of church and state. Perhaps the best trait in his public character is his opposition to the spread of ultramontane or other bigotry into the hitherto liberally disciplined church of his country. One passage of his publication is eminently expressive of this feeling, and, as such, merits to be cited here. "For my own part—I say without circumlocution—I hold in

horror that orthodoxy which makes no account of justice or truth, of humanity or honour; and I am never tired of repeating the significant words, lately expressed by the Bishop of Rochelle:—‘Would it not be well to give to many Catholics a course of lectures on the virtues prescribed by the law of nature, on the respect due to one’s neighbour, on upright dealing even towards our enemies, on the spirit of equity and charity? The virtues of the natural order are essential, and from their exercise the church herself has not power to dispense.’” This is, no doubt, a strong hint to the writers in *l’Univers*, whose doctrines and sharp practice in ecclesiastical matters threaten to do more damage to the interests of the Roman Catholic church, not only in France, but over all Europe, than the influence of all the freethinkers. The political ideas of M de Montalembert cannot be approved of to the same extent, except in this, that he adheres to them manfully, and desires a constitutional government for his country. We are afraid, however, that this is very much mixed up with the return of the Bourbon race to the soil of France, a thing at present impossible according to all political prospects, and anything but desirable considering the revolutionary tendencies of the people. That unfortunate family has twice lost the throne through their own imbecility and weakness; they have learned nothing by adversity, they are completely unfit to govern such a warlike and excitable nation. The constitution which they did give the people at one time, was frequently found insufficient; Louis Philippe himself was obliged several times to resort to “coups d’état” to master his difficulties, and finally tried an underhand process of corruption to maintain his hold on the sceptre. He might have held on much longer but for his vacillation of purpose, and his consciousness of having lost the affections of his subjects. Still there were some bright days under that effeminate government; there were some men, such as Montalembert and M. Berryer, respected, honoured, and allowed to announce their opinions. Hence we can understand the expression of regret which the able advocate so feelingly put forth both for his client and himself, and feel some sympathy for the consistent patriot and politician even though somewhat in the wrong. These men are in the same position as the Scotch Jacobites of the last century,

whose devoted adherence but lamented that their
a useless purpose.

The publication of this
of the advocates, shew in
opinion and feeling in F
in this country, who sho
every institution in it, w
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M. Berryer, dared to
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ART. X.—HEALTHY MUSHROOMS.

1. *Checkmate, a Tale* : London : Bentley. 1858.
2. *The Coquette*, by Biddulph Warner : Dublin : William Robertson. 1858.
3. *Hills and Hollows* : London : Newby. 1858.

The great and good St. Francis of Sales, deep versed as he was in the science of souls, was but an indifferent adept in natural history. Yet it is probable that if ever the pure-minded and humble servant of God felt a temptation to vanity, it would arise from his quasi-respectable stock of information concerning the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Among passages breathing of heart-felt piety, profound theological science, and deep skill in the direction of souls, you will be surprised into a smile by some amusing mistake concerning the habits of animals or properties of plants, quoted from Pliny, Aristotle, or some lazy naturalist, who preferred hearsay to actual observation. One chapter is devoted to a parallel between mushrooms in the physical order, and amusements in the moral order (so to say); and as he probably knew as much about that shy and discreet production of nature as Dr. Goldsmith at all events, we do not scruple to make a quotation in order to help out our own design.

"I say of dances, *Philothea*, as Physicians say of *Mushromes* ;* the best of them are nothing worth ; yet if you will needs eat *Mushromes*, be sure they be well drest.—If you must go to a Ball, &c. Eat but seldom and little of *Mushromes* (say the Physicians) ; for be they never so well drested, the quantity makes them poisonous.—Dance but little, and very seldom, &c. *Mushromes*, according to Pliny, being spongy and porous, easily draw infection to them ; so that being near Serpents and Toads, they receive venom from them.—Masques, Dances, &c., attract the vices and sins of the time, &c. But above all, they say that after *Mushromes* we must drink wine ;—and I say, that after dancing it is necessary to use good and holy meditations, &c."

Taking the liberty of classing Novel and Romance-reading with the dances and other amusements quoted from *Philothea*,

* Our quotations are from a scrubby little copy, printed in 1705 ; but by whom or where published the title-page does not condescend to say. The Italics and spelling are not ours.

we require the reader's respect for the admonition of the Saint, in the selections he makes at the circulating library, which since the days when George the Third was king, has become a kind of necessary evil.

Requesting the reader advanced in life, to recal how interested and engrossed he was, more than one time in his youth, even to the neglect or bad execution of necessary duties, by the perusal of an exciting work of fiction; let him lay hand on heart, and say if indiscriminate and unrestrained novel reading can possibly be a healthy occupation for the young heart or the young understanding. If the book can be merely taken up to pass an unoccupied or weary hour during a journey, or after mental fatigue, and if the work is innocent of inculcating false doctrine or unsound morality, there is nothing to be said.

Compared with the corresponding class of literature in France, we may be said to possess a sound and healthy crop of fictitious literature, but still it requires the utmost care in the pulling up of weeds and noxious plants, before we can let our youth wander at will through the garden, and pluck up and eat at random.

Checkmate is a vigorously written and interesting book, and when read from beginning to end, of an edifying tendency. This we say advisedly, for if the reader leaves off in the middle, or with two-thirds of the number of pages accomplished, it will not be a bit more edifying than any other exciting story of the ordinary run. Indeed one particular incident may be fairly objected to, where a conscientious lady consents to use her influence in a manner directly the reverse of what her conscience approves, in order to save her scamp of a brother from an imminent danger.

It is probably the first production of the author. There is a surprising absence of decision in a war of wits between the good presiding genius and the evil character for the time. One is determined to gain his selfish object, the other equally determined to frustrate his designs; yet each merely watches the other's motions, and seems as ignorant of what the next move may be, as of the quadrature of the circle. It reminded us how

"Lord Chatham with his long sword drawn,
Was waiting for Sir Richard Strahan:
Sir Richard, eager to be at 'em,
Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

In a later stage of the story, the person who represents the hero, and who has both penetration and resolution, has to perform two exploits, the second depending on the success of the first. He takes time enough for reflection on the connection of both, but when the first step is won, he is completely at fault as to how he may place his foot on the second, though character, fortune, and happiness are at stake.

Again, the chief incidents of the story are powerfully and spiritedly narrated, but the reader does not clearly see the natural connection of each with its predecessor: and he finds that after the good genius already mentioned has outraged her own conscience, engaging herself to do such and such things, she still remains with folded arms, and does—nothing. She acts with as much energy as *Box* or *Cox*, we forget which, who with the wish fathering the thought, and anxious to get a few minutes' sleep, hoped the rasher of bacon would considerably give itself a turn on the coals.

The work more resembles a number of scenes and situations with the connection and the disposing causes very slightly indicated, than a compact story.

The proofs do not seem corrected with the care which the merit of the work and the good appearance of the volume ought to require.

Whoever goes through the book, will not be at a loss to feel that the author is a Catholic; but there is no controversy, nor sketching of Protestants in Indian ink, or sepia, or bistre, nor any conversion,—these processes so dear to Mrs. Sherwood and Charlotte Elizabeth, as applied to Catholics. Whatever villany occurs is perpetrated by a Catholic who has discarded his early religious impressions. In the excellent novel of *Mount St Laurence* there is a fault in our eyes: among all the members of her Protestant family, there is scarcely an estimable character. Very probably there are Protestant families so circumstanced: would to God they had no counterparts among ourselves.

• • • • • "The Devil's in Hell
And Dublin City;
That nigher he should come t' oursel,
Is unco pity."

Burns.

But a person in fault will bear a reproof from a relative or friend, which will only make him angry when coming from an indifferent person or a stranger. Our author is certainly

wrong in allowing the sincere and unselfish Julia Manners, a Protestant lady, to consent to a wrong line of conduct, even under the terrible circumstance alluded to.

In the opening of the work we have a graphic sketch of the family and home of a French nobleman, an Emigré, settled in the North of England. The early part of the day is spent by him in the dress and occupations of an English country gentleman: in the evening he resumes the tongue, and manners, and "garb of old Gaul." We suspect our author to have spent some of his life east of the *Manche*, from the spirit of many passages in his work. The daughter of this gentleman, *Lucy Deguseau*,* is the *Ingénue* of the story. *Julia Manners*, an elderly maid, cherishes her with the love of a mother. These, with the dissipated Lieutenant *Rarrow*, *Julia's* half brother, and *Ernest Deguseau*, *Lucy's* cousin, who has forsaken his early devout practices, and squandered his property, make up the principal personages of the story.

The Count has lost his beloved wife, and a cloud has in consequence fallen on his daily life. We will here use our author's words.

"For some years his existence was very melancholy, until gradually his affections became absorbed in his daughter. As she grew up into youth and loveliness, he found himself imperceptibly weaned back to the world, engaged in its interests for her sake, bound to life by a fresh and natural tie.

We men are always clumsy at feminine descriptions: though we may sometimes succeed in drawing a caricature, a vindictive old maid, a managing mother, yet it must be some revolting monster, a 'campaignre,' or a *Becky Sharp*. Maidenhood, fresh, blue-eyed, laughing maidenhood,—anything really feminine, requiring quick sight and delicate pencilling, is utterly beyond our reach, mere hewers of wood as we are.

If I tell the reader, that *Lucy Deguseau* was fresh-colored, had blueish eyes, a neither very long or well-formed nose, that she generally dressed in light-colored airy fabrics, and that her expression was bright and pleasing, I have given nearly all the information I possess. . . . The Misses Smyth of Smythgrove, said she was unformed, vulgar, had no manners whatever: how could she, with her fondness for poor people, and her disgusting habit of kissing their nasty children? The rich manufacturer's lady . . . had much pious commiseration for the poor little creature, brought up in Popish darkness; and took care to keep her supplied with the newest editions of the Rev. Ebenezer Glyde's remarks on the Bishop

* The compositor occasionally improves the name for the worse, by setting it down *de Guseau*.

of Rome and other improving publications. . . . Experience forces me to believe that even the most perfect feminine hearts are not always invulnerable to jealousy. Indeed there are moments when my judgment will ungallantly insist, that if a good looking young person be universally spoken ill of by her own dear friends and acquaintances, she must necessarily possess some very estimable qualities which would render it most desirable to love, win, or run away with her, as the case may be."

Our reader will hardly require to be told after reading the above extracts, that we have before us, a writer of an agreeable, lively, and observant turn. The under quoted will show that he has seen or heard of the disagreeable relations of dissipated, unprincipled young gentlemen and their victims of the various guilds of trade.

"Once for all you can't see him; he is not up yet." "I insist upon it, I must." "'Tis as much as my place is worth to take your message at this hour." "Make way then, and I'll take it myself. Your place indeed! We'll find your master a safe place enough, if he don't pay honest folk their own. Give way." "Can't you leave your note! I'll deliver it when he comes down." "Leave my note!—leave my note indeed!" . . . said he, turning to the half dozen people who were waiting with him in the hall. "Gentlemen he wants me to save my note." (*They make a rush, and Hawks the valet, slips on the poor chain and addresses his besiegers.*) "If you think gentlemen's doors are to be invaded by a set of greasy, beer swilling tinkers, the office shall teach you better manners." . . . "Here is the evil to pay," said Hawks to his master: . . . "they will force open the door." . . . "Nothing for it but a bold face," said Deguseau decisively, after a moment's thought. "Must let them in." He pointed to the door, and re-entered his dressing room. (*Hawks ad victimas guffur.*) "A pretty din to make . . . you must be proud of your morning's work. May I enquire your worships' business?" . . . "Of course you couldn't guess," said Bilton with a grin. "Here, my fine fellow, take this note to your master, and tell him we'll none of us leave without an answer." "Go o' your own messages. You pay no wages." (*Now when the way is free, they dare not go up stairs, but repeat Bilton to speak for them.*) "Come in, you booby. Why don't you bring my boots? I rang a dozen times." Bilton opened the door. "Here get some chocolate, and be smart about it." . . . "Ahem! 'tis me," said Bilton, timidly. . . . "Ah Mr. Bilton, excuse me! a thousand pardons. I thought it was my man. Pray take a chair." "Have some breakfast! A cold morning. Perhaps you would prefer something better than this. I have capital brandy." . . . "Nothing for me, thank ye. Fact is: come on business: have a large smile to support (*lays down his own and associates' bills*). . . . We are resolved to have our money." "And I assure you," said Deguseau lolling back, "none of you wish you may get it more sincerely than I." . . . "If you don't pay me freely, I'll have it the best way

I can.' (*An oath is here pretty freely implied, for which and other instances of bad language we censure the writer. Things unfit to be read aloud are unfit to be written, when the expression is liable to fall under the eyes of young and old.*) . . . 'I'll get out an execution, and sell the very shirt off your back, and (*an oath*) if you drive me to it I will.' . . . 'And your dividend out of the sale would amount to something like four-pence; . . . and if I be imprisoned, my uncle would not leave me six-pence, and your claim not be worth the paper it is written on. Pshaw! you can do nothing.

What right have you to come battering at my door? I might put you all in the tread-mill for storming my house.' 'I'm sorry about that, sir,' replied the man, with his head bent, fumbling at the leaf of his hat, 'we want our money—what are we to do?' 'I'll tell you what you, Bilton, must do,' continued Deguseau in a friendly tone, as he applied a light to the bowl of his meerschaum; 'I shall be married, let me see, somewhere about Christmas. Bring your account in February, and it shall be paid. . . . Meanwhile, here is five pounds, not on account, but as a kind of interest till then. Now you will go down and dismiss the people below.'"

That our author is successful in personal description, will be evident from the following passage:—

"This Miss Manners was a quiet lady-like person, slightly made, over the average height, and of that settled age when women give over all thoughts of marriage. In her youth she had been a belle, and was sought after . . . She had still remains of beauty; but her dark restless eyes and high, well developed forehead made the expression too hard, too intellectual to please in a woman. It was said she had suffered an early disappointment; . . . and an attentive observer would easily perceive that her life had been lived; that she had passed through some great trial, whose traces were still visible. When in repose, the face assumed a saddened interesting expression that tempted you to a prolonged gaze, until you turned abashed from those flashing eyes, sentinels that never slumbered, ever on the watch to baffle scrutiny, and guard their secret."

Apropos to the weak fondness she felt for her worthless half-brother, Lieutenant Rawson, we get this apostrophe.

"Old maidens—kind hearted old maidens, the most exemplary portion of the community! unselfish, miraculously patient, meekly enduring wrong and cruel ridicule, often from those for whom your pure lives are sacrificed, how understand your bizarre weakness for all sorts of bad characters! Is it a desire to reform the sinner, or simply a love of contrast that renders you so partial to all suffering from their own wickedness or folly? If Master Tom is sentenced to a whipping for robbing the garden, whose intercession does he seek? If Mr. Bob runs into debt, or away with a ballet girl, who goes to soothe his offended parents? O ye venerable sisters, ye maiden aunts! to obtain your sympathy and assistance, we only need be unworthy of either—ye domestic guardian angels, how little do we know your worth!"

Now for a bit of landscape word-painting.

"The rays of the morning sun absorbed in milky vapour, spread their light evenly over the landscape. It was one of these mornings peculiar to the North, no strong shadows, no bright prominent lights: all abrupt and rugged outlines were lost in a thin pearly glaze. The ladies were in capital spirits as they passed the park gates; so was our hero: fresh air was a luxury to him.

'Compare town to this!' he exclaimed, inhaling the frosty breeze. 'Now, Lucy, I understand your love for the country. See the sparkling glory of that hedge, the diamond drop glistening on each thorn! This bracing air makes one young again, Cockney that I was, to think the country dull! Ah! if in common gratitude we delayed our mad chase after the miserable vanities of the world to enjoy the wealth nature places at our feet, how much happier we should be!'"

The religious element is only sparingly evident through the volume: we must, though limited for space, give room to a devotional gem.

"One extremity of this passage shone with rich colored light; a mere spot of color it seemed at a distance. On nearer approach, it resolved itself into a semicircular oratory built outwards from the walls of the house. . . . Pushing the curtains aside, . . . you raised your eyes. The walls were painted in deep blue, richly gilt, decorated with fleurs-de-lis and sacred monograms. A top light of stained glass shed around a solemn splendor; and there, pure, bright, and transparent as a sunlit cloud, a figure of the Virgin stood floating in the mellow light, her gentle hands outspread, the seraph head bent in lowly loveliness; it was breathing marble. For a moment your eyes fell with involuntary awe; for a moment it seemed, indeed, the very person, the ever blessed presence of her, before whose radiant holiness, even Gabriel—Gabriel the Archangel—knelt."

Probably some Protestant reader may think this smacks of idolatry; but let him not be frightened. In the course of a *tolerably* long life we have never met a genuine pagan, though we have questioned and catechised to some extent: so it is probable that the number is very small through the Christian world.

Readers who enjoy scenes where intense feeling or passion is exhibited, will find pabulum to their taste in this volume. Provocation to a duel by the smashing of a glass on a gentleman's forehead, introduces us to a fire-eating stage Irishman, enjoying the Welsh appellation of Morgan; and we have details of the miserable preparation of next morning calculated to disgust even a duellist by profession.

If the talented author comes again before the public, let

him by all means take the roomy suite of three volumes to develope his constructive powers: he will thereby make a more compact story than he can do in one. Let him give more space to scenes of humor which he can manage right well if so inclined. Our private opinion is that if a young lady with a vocation has a fond father advanced in life, she may without sin defer her vows till his decease; and as the general prejudice of novel readers naturally runs in favor of happy marriages, let us by all means have one in the next three volume novel.

The same fault applies to the *Coquette* as to *Checkmate*, as far as the want of a connecting medium is in question; but in the *Coquette* the relation of every part to the preceding one is seen without trouble. It has a resemblance in this respect to a comedy or domestic drama; and as the story is interesting, the characters varied, the scenes of humor, and passion, and feeling, and plotting, not few, we wonder that some play-wright has not taken the very little trouble it would give him to mount it for the stage, as they say in the Green Room.

But the author does not enjoy the name of Charles Dickens, Charles Reade, or Charles Mathews, and has not a London reputation. He is a mere warm-hearted, talented, and patriotic young Irish gentleman, rejoicing in the yet unrenowned name of Biddulph Warner, and must bide his time.

We have for *Dramatis Personæ* a brusque and benevolent Doctor, under whose cloak we think we recognise one who not only deserves well of his own circle, but of the country at large, by the efforts of his patriotic and benevolent pen; a large-hearted *Mrs MacAdam*, a broken-spirited, reduced barrister, and his amiable, affectionate daughter; the *Coquette* (a coquette in the worst sense of the word) and her mother, (daughter and mother worthy of each other), the lover, a humorous jackeen of Dublin streets, *Lieutenant Galopade*, and the keeper of a very low lodging house, who knows everything and every body. Whoever wishes to inspect the structure of the web, in which the fortunes of these people cross and mingle with each other, may easily gratify their curiosity, as the book is well printed, on good paper, and very moderate in price.

We have registered a vow never to shock an author's nerves by exhibiting to himself or an indifferent public, the skeleton of the comely child of his brain and heart. So we will only present glimpses of the line which connects the rounded cheek to the delicate chin, or that which joins neck

and finely formed shoulder, the fair forehead defined by the waving hair, the straight nose, short upper lip or dimpled hand with its taper fingers. If the reader can set the whole symmetrical figure before his mind's eye from our partial sketches, as Dr. Owen would give you the whole animal by the help of a bone or two, let him gratify himself; he has our full permission and entire sympathy.

The characteristics of our author's powers are sprightliness, distinctive marking of character, facile command of language, dramatic spirit, and genial humor. We know not by what process, course of study, or intuition, he has been able to depict the two terrible *unprotected females*, who compose the dark portion of the picture; but his forte lies in pleasing sketches of genuine good nature in a husky envelope. True religion, in his view, must be strongly imbued with sympathy for our fellow mortals. Whatever makes us think proudly of ourselves, and despise or dislike our neighbour, may be what you will, but is not Religion.

Mrs MacAdam, the Lady Bountiful and good genius of the book, has been on her round of good offices to her poor neighbours. She *foregathers* with the newly imported rector, and finds him bestowing his hearty contempt on some vulgarians, who were not well up in the cosmogony or use of the globes. By the way, the young folk catechised are more ignorant of Scripture history than they need. *Mrs. MacAdam loquitur*.

“‘Here, boy’ (to a youth with an Ass and a Creel of Turf.) ‘Pr-r-r-ew! yes, my lady.’ ‘Is that good turf?’ Bedad is it, your ladyship never seen such turf.’ ‘What do you want for it? Stay, Mr. Absolute: what ought I give for this load of turf?’ ‘Load of turf! Why—a—really I have not the slightest conception. In fact I hardly ever saw any before.’ ‘Bless me! don’t you know how much a creel of turf’s worth? Why! every child here knows it.’ ‘They have heard it a hundred times. You seem amused, my good madam.’ And so she was, for the good old soul laughed, till the tears threw a haze over her spectacle glasses. ‘Well, well, well, oh, dear me!’ said she, wiping her spectacles, ‘how illiterate you must be, never to have heard the price of turf! don’t look shocked.’ You

* *Mrs. M’Adam* allows English poor children to be better grounded in religious and secular knowledge than the same class in Ireland. If better acquainted with rural life in England, she would find the reverse to be the plain fact. As to submitting to oppression, commend us to the English man, who will not submit to hunger or nakedness with the same resignation as his Irish brother has so often done.

English don't understand our people. They have been accused of being insubordinate—the reason is, the Irish are almost the only people who won't submit to oppression. You may think their grievances light; but a man with a large family to support, and tenpence a day to feed them with, is very easily oppressed. No! don't give that boy anything. He knows that if he wants any work, I'll get it for him: and he has no excuse for begging, since he is not ill. Even if he were, he would be taken care of."

Let the ladies decide on the truth of the following sketch of the *Coquette*.

"Adaline Marsden was a coquette, she was not a flirt. You may think the terms synonymous, they are not."

She was about five-and-twenty years of age, and under the middle height. She seemed even less tall than she really was, so perfectly proportioned and exquisitely modelled were her members. Her face, shaded by dark glossy hair, wore an expression of melancholy, which was heightened by the almost entire absence of color. But when excited, a slight flush would spread over her entire face and neck, suddenly appearing, to disappear as quickly.

Had she been very fair, this absence of color, together with the darkness of her hair, would have given a disagreeable palor to her features; but this was not the case, for though not a brunette, a slight olive tinge was perceptible. She had dark hazel eyes, and long dark lashes, which she generally *kept down*, so that when she raised them and looked at you, the effect was heightened. She spoke very little, but what she said was to the purpose, and she was an excellent listener. But then, so seldom, so very seldom, did she suggest an idea, that to talk to her required considerable ingenuity, and would have been rather a weary task, were it not that she encouraged you now and then with those soft liquid eyes. To *others* there was no apparent coquetry in her glance, but there was a light, which unobserved, hidden from the rest of the occupants of the room, fell on you for a moment, and sent the blood faster to your heart. A *dangerous young Lady*! you think so: so do I. With this fair creature Henry Leslie was in love.

"Adaline Marsden lived with her mother, who was a lady of weak nerves but strong principles; she was a great manœuverer, and managed with a small income, to live or appear to live well. She was a great patroness, and a small subscriber to charities innumerable. For a woman who looked on this world as a thing of no consequence, and its inhabitants generally as several degrees worse than those before the flood, it is truly astonishing what struggles she made for its good opinion. . . . Tall, thin, and angular was Mrs. Marsden, with a hooked nose and a pair of black eyes. Her manner was sometimes so sweet that it was quite painful; partly because it was so palpably *put on*, and partly because on such occasions, she displayed her teeth in a very unpleasant manner."

Rev. Mr. Sadly is one of the aspirants to the hand of our coquette: we wish him a safe deliverance. He pays a visit, sits far

enough from his heart's object, drops his hat, stoops for it, and ends by scrutinising the pattern of the carpet.

"Mr. Sadly was a clever man as far as Greek and Latin went. He wrote a good sermon and read it well ; but alas he was shy, and could no more succeed in small talk than he could preach extempore. He was a good-hearted man and a wise one, except where worldly wisdom was concerned. He had a good property, was consequently a *catch*, and Adaline the silent talked in order to catch him. She did not wait to permit him to become embarrassed, . . . but said, looking up quietly, 'I have been thinking of a remark I heard made the other day, that we Irish are of Carthaginian origin. I longed to ask you about it. He said that the people inhabiting the Pays Basque near the Pyrenees speaking a language quite distinct from French or Spanish, one most difficult to acquire, are descended from the same source, and speak a kind of Irish: so much so, that an Irishman from the west can understand many of their words. Now do tell me all about it ; pray do, for I know you understand all these difficult questions. Indeed I am rather afraid of you ; people say you are so clever.' Here she looked at him in a half timid, half trustful manner, saw him redden with pleasure ; and as soon as she heard him 'hem,' a signal that he was about to launch deeply into the subject, took up her work, and began to think of something else, looking up encouragingly now and then, and asking the meaning of some difficult word."

To the work itself we refer for a most exquisite picture of the reduced gentleman, *Simon Denning*, despairing of comfort in his old age, and incapable of making any exertion towards acquiring independence. And if in the gallery of fiction, there be an amiable female character more fluely imagined, or better drawn than *Mary Denning*, taking the size of the canvas into account, we have not met with it, that's all.

We go back to the country to scrape acquaintance with the parish priest who ruled conjointly with *Mrs. McAdam*.

"Father Murt did not look as if fasting injured him : his face was ruddy and expressive of unalterable good humor and philanthropy.

• • He loved his people and understood them, for he was the son of a farmer. He was by no means formed to shine in society : His rusty black clothes were generally more or less travel-stained ; he shaved twice a week, and his waistcoat exhibited frequent traces of snuff. He was deeply read. . . . Since the day Mr. Absolute had determined to shine in Ireland, a mighty bug-bear had loomed in the distance for him, and that bug-bear was a popish priest."

On coming into *Father Murt's* presence he feels the chivalrous energy experienced by St. George on meeting the dragon, while the dragon looks on him as a well-dressed, elegant-look-

ing rector with a handful of parishioners to look after. He receives the stranger cordially and presents his snuff-box, but *Mr. Absolute* smells the cheese baiting the Romish trap, and keeps a freezing distance. The priest is anxious that secular instruction should be in common between the Catholic and Protestant children of the school, and that their respective clergymen should give them separate religious instruction at convenient times; but *Mr. Absolute* will not agree, and much good is prevented.*

The scenes of passion, of antagonism, of pathos, must be sought in the book itself. *Mrs. McAdam* will, of course, endeavor to turn the eyes of *Young Waverley* from the heartless coquette to the true hearted and good *Mary Denning*. Our author has not listened as sharply as he ought to have done (not being to the manner born), to the peculiar phraseology of country lad or Dublin jackeen, or he would not allow them to say, "the man *as* has no music in his soul," or something similar. But we can't expect everything even in the world of imagination. May our author's health allow him to write as many volumes as Mr. G. P. R. James or Mrs. Charles Gore.

We suspect the author of the third book on our list to be a lady. She has given herself room to develope her plot and characters, and has consequently presented a more acceptable treat to the ordinary run of novel readers than Mr. Warner or the author of *Checkmate*. Though a considerable portion of the work relates to occurrences in London and Jersey, we guess our authoress to be a native of our isle from her evident sympathy with the people and the native gentry, and the very few mistakes that occur in the pronunciation and idiom of the peasantry. She is as sparing of conversions or of discussions as the author of *Checkmate*, though evidently of a sincerely religious spirit. Considered from the Catholic point of view, the work will probably do more good than if written with a controversial turn. She merely commends her faith by shewing its healthy effect on the personages of the story who are not ashamed of the Cross of CHRIST. The others are good or bad according as the exigencies of the tale require, and the reader is full as much interested about them. On one point she has very strong prejudices indeed. She will not admit into our

* Our author's imagery is preserved in this extract, but not the exact words, as space failed us.

graces under any circumstances, those regenerators who throw down whole villages, and send the poor, the naked, and the dying, out into the wintry day without shelter or resource, merely to have a wide extent of grazing land under their eyes. There are perhaps too many personages introduced, but they do not jostle each other out of the reader's memory, as much as in other works of the kind, and each is kept very distinct by delicate though decided touches of the pencil. Readers who are tired of striving to fix the outlines of the numerous landscapes in works of fiction in their minds, and to remember the peculiar grouping and hues of the clouds, when *Ada the houseless* sunk down exhausted on the heath, will feel much refreshed among these *Hills and Hollows*, for they are not even required to pass through a rustic gap in a hedge through the entire history, much less to keep on the mind's retina, the intersection of the outlines of distant hills, nor bear in mind how much of the valley side was encumbered with old thorns, nor where the tangled copse ceased, and the heath commenced.

We strove from beginning to end to tolerate *Donald* as the prefix to *O'Neil* in the appellation of our Irish gentleman, but with small success. We also felt some qualms at *Raymond O'Neil*, but with some exertions got over them. If the loving husband who left his amiable partner to make a fortune for her at the gold fields, without previously mentioning his purpose, had nothing for it on his return but to lament over her tomb, whom would he have to blame?

Nothing is more grateful to the gods and goddesses of the "Royal" or the "Queen's," when their nerves are wrung by a picture of family distress, than to see the respectable, heavy, old merchant or gentleman with his brown overcoat, cocked hat, breeches, shoe buckles and cane, enter at the centre of flat, walk down the stage, look pityingly on the distressed occupants of the garret, pull out his well-filled purse (of Counters), and change the woful spectacle to a scene of joy and gratitude. We find in the work under consideration, something of this kind, where we would prefer to see comfort and independence wrought out, with God's blessing, by the heads and hands of the vigorous young people about whose fortunes we are anxious. Now, with a hint to the corrector of the press that he has not thoroughly satisfied us, we make an end to fault finding.

We have no character from the ranks of the peasantry liv-

ing through the work, and amusing or interesting the reader. They merely form a group on occasions, and though their dialogue is characteristic and applicable, they do not help the plot much more than the chorus in *Antigone*, except that they have brought, and will still bring, in one or two scenes, tears to the eyes of those who can feel pity for misery and suffering. We defy any writer of the "Spasmodic" School to produce a more painfully interesting passage than that, where *Lady Hampton* flies from her Lord's house. What a delightful mist, confusing the boundaries of right and wrong, would not some of our literati raise between our eyes and the circumstances of this rash step, if *they* held the pen! but as here related, every thing is made to promote sound principles of moral conduct. The young hero is in a cockle-shell of a boat with two ladies; for one he feels the most earnest attachment, for the other high esteem and friendship. They are about being overet in a sudden squall; he can only save one at best—which shall it be? The account of the peril, and of the conduct of the personages, is most spiritedly given. The forte of our authoress however lies in pictures of social and family relations, in characteristic and lively dialogue and repartee, and in her delicately though firmly-tinted female portraits. Her gentlemen are respectably painted, but beside the living and breathing faces and figures of the ladies, they are only men of wood and canvass such as we find in studios.

While going through the volumes we were strongly reminded of *the Changeling* and *Canvassing*, by Miss Martin; but this lady loved to conduct her peasant or peasantess through her book, and amuse us with their native wit and idiomatic phrases, to dwell on the quiet or sublime features of a western landscape, or a little tempest in a tea-cup,—the small politics of a village coterie; and none could excel her in her felicitous way of presenting these things. We are disagreeably reminded by the mention of this lady's name, of one at least of our old Irish gentle families, who to save their poor dependants from starving during the awful years of famine, reduced themselves to poverty, and are now strangers to the old feudal homes, where they once ruled absolute in the affections and attachments of their devoted dependants.

The story begins with the marriage of two sisters, one to an elderly English nobleman, the other to an Irish gentleman. One consequently moves in the exclusive circle of the aristo-

cracy, the other rules her little Connaught kingdom, improves her dwelling, and its accompanying gardens, but is ignorant of the meaning of the word "Economy." The splendid misery experienced in the lordly palace, and the worldly reverses, and trials, and exertions of the Irish family, form the chief interest of the plot. The young *O'Neil* is everything that a patriotic, warm-hearted, young Irish gentleman, and a good son and a good Christian, should be. We might wonder how his sister should turn out so heartless and worthless, with such a father, mother, and brother, encircling her young life, were we not convinced by experience, of many a young person taking to vicious courses in the bosom of families where devotion and family affection formed the very atmosphere of their abodes.

Lady Hampton has a refined mind, pure literary taste, a keen sense of moral dignity as apart from religious influence, and pride is not wanting. *Mrs. O'Neil's* happiness is concentrated in the love of her gallant husband and her children. Then we have the rich *Leonora Eden*, sincere, independent, rash, seeking for religious light after receiving an infidel education; her delicately nurtured, sentimental, and false mamma; the old campaigner, *Mrs. Selwyn*, and other female personages, every one well worth the reader's acquaintance. We beg to introduce *Lady Hampton*. She finds no congeniality with her tastes in her stately, proud lord, and there is no one to understand her or converse with her on her artistic or literary favorite subjects, but a worthy early friend, *Mr. Ernest Bland*.

"It was when she found herself in solitude of mind once again, that Isabel Hampton experienced the loss of some friend to whom she could utter even the mere passing ideas suggested by books or contemplation. She was essentially a pure-minded but undisciplined woman. She thought and acted virtuously, and was refined from choice and habit of life; but religion was not her actuating principle, any more than was salvation her desired goal. She loathed doing all evil, but only did as much of good as was agreeable."

Mrs. Selwyn (the old soldier) is enlightening a peasant's wife in the country.

"'You should never marry at all—you poor Irish,' remarked *Mrs. Selwyn* in a law-giving voice, 'filling the country with paupers. The English are not such fools.' 'Well, sure, 'tis no sin any how,' retorted the woman, nettled at the tone of the stranger. 'I'm tould them in England are quare enough—that's the poor sort; they don't trouble the priest often at any rate.' 'The priest!' echoed the lady

scornfully, 'They have none of your priests there: they are nice clean, clever people that go to church decorously, and never tell lies.' 'I'm sure your ladyship is right if you mane *the Quality*, or them that's got schooling and good feeding,' responded Nelly Flynn: 'but my husband's brother is living in Manchester these eight years, and he came over this Patrick's-tide with his two children to lave them with his father till they get some edication and religion. He tould us the childher in them big towns is all as one as haythens.—Lord save us! and as for prayers, he says they never say any.' What an impudent woman! exclaimed Mrs. Selwyn, unable to defend her cause in that line: 'she contradicts me as if she knew how to read the Times.'"

They say the Devil keeps a hard service: so it appears does the genius that rules the high caste folk in London that have nothing to do—but mischief.

"The season had begun anew with its tyrannical enslavement of time, energy, and health. Existence was seemingly bestowed for the one engrossing aim of wasting it all in London! Day and night, the self-constituted minions worked on at the great tread-mill of fashionable toil; the rich and noble (men and women), for so-called pleasure; the artizans and needle women for bread—all consuming their lives in the pursuit. Lady Hampton followed in the perfumed, prosperous concourse, still escaping censure, and still indifferent to all."

Young *Grantley*, a precocious lordling yet in his teens, and his first cousin, *Raymond O'Neil*, become acquainted. Alas that there should be so much untimely depravity among young lordlings in London, and their example so closely imitated by the unhappy crowd of shop boys in the monster houses of Dublin, and the unthiinking creatures they drag into ruin along with them!

"Although of the same age, Raymond was much stouter, more muscular, and high colored: his fine beaming countenance, full of sense and spirit, looked doubly so next Grantley's pale face and *blasé* expression. One was a manly boy, the other a boy man. . . . The boyman whistled up an Italian air, and touched up his locks at the pier-glass: Raymond was soon deep in a book of prints of the Peninsular war. . . . 'Shall we look up the general (their grand father) at his club, O'Neil?' asked Grantley (he liked surnames best, they sounded *mannish*), and he buttoned himself in his top coat. 'With all my heart. Why do you muffle—have you a cold?' 'No; but is this muffling? You are a hardy cove (*would a young nobleman use such a slangy expression?*): you Irish bear anything good or bad,' observed Grantley with a smile; he fancied O'Neil was a muff. 'We know what to bear, depend on it,' he answered coolly; 'it is rather good fun to pitch into a fellow when he is insolent.' 'I say, shall we try a sherry cobbler? it is killing cold,' returned the Viscount as they went out. 'I do not know what it is,'

said Raymond, 'it sounds funny.' 'I shall initiate you,' was the patronising reply, 'and shew you a pretty girl into the bargain.' The boy-man winked as he had seen others. 'I do not care a straw about your pretty girls,' retorted the manly country-bred boy contemptuously. 'I hate girls, they are so prim. Do you think I am such a *Miss Molly*?' The boy-man felt ashamed somehow and inferior too. 'You are a great big child, O'Neil,' he sneered: 'here we are.' . . . Lord Grantley had melted jelly and a biscuit, and then called for half a glass of *liqueur*. 'There's brandy in that,' suggested O'Neil with dislike. 'I should rather think there is. . . . Now for the cobbler:' he was pedantically knowing, he exhibited for the other's instruction. O'Neil tried it, and not feeling amused, nor caring for wine, he threw it by. . . . 'I wish I had you at Eton, old boy; they'd make a hare of you for your greenness.' 'Would they? they didn't at Oscott.' 'Oh! they are a slow set—all papists there.' 'I'll tell you what, my young lord: you may try your wit and your fashion on me to a certain point, and welcome; but if you were the Prince of Wales, and sneered at my religion, I would pummel you into a pancake.' He looked as if he could: the Viscount stammered an excuse. 'Have a cigar,' he added as they passed a shop. 'No, thank you,' replied Raymond smiling, 'I have no taste for aping big chaps; it does not amuse me.' 'What do you like then—marbles?' asked the other. 'No, I like riding, and shooting, and fishing, and reading, and music. Now you have all my pursuits,' said Raymond playfully: 'tell me yours if you have any.' 'I am tired of a good many things; but I like billiards and betting and horses best. . . . My governor keeps me cruelly tight every way; so I am always on the sly, and hard up!' 'Do you mean your master or your father?' asked Raymond."

We admit the following colloquy, as we know that a very large proportion of well educated and sincere Protestants are very far from approving of the proceedings here censured. Two peasants are conversing.

"'Mr. Barlow is a good civil gentleman; he is a hard honest man. What do we want but that and a civil word? but them ladies of his is the mischief. They are ever and always stopping to lay down parables, and making little of themselves in every poor man's kitchen, pretending to be mighty free with us, but all the while as disdainful as you please, afraid of the pig, and the gander, and the chin-cough, and not letting their feet to the flure past their toes.' 'Yes, and then drawing down the religion, and purtending to read their foolish little stories, but always bringing in some *sliver* agin the priest or the Holy Catholic Church, and praising the jumpers. Fair, I'll keep them new turncoat preachers out of this village any how. Bad manners to them! it was the meal that brought them.'

'Tis thrue for you, Mick. 'Tis no fit thing to come into any man's house to offend him and his family, jibing about the Blessed Mother of God, and what we'd die for, and did evermore. I'd sooner lose the sight of my eyes, than listen to the impudent tormenting

talk of them mean jumpers. What brought such intruders into our parish at all? thank God we're not starving. Let them go to the big fact'hory towns and them mines under ground full of haythens. We had priests, and prayers, and patience enough without going to thim for it. If we hadn't the true faith, how could we come through the starvation time without plunder, and murder, and every other villany? Didn't I see stout men wither away into *thrommeas*, and their wives and babbies gasping for death th' other side of thim, 'till the hair grew out of their bodies; and they never laid a wet finger on sheep, nor cattle, nor corn, tho' the land was teeming with them.' 'Tisn't that same,' rejoined the other, 'but they never turned an angry face up to heaven, nor said, 'why was it,' nor begrudged them that had enough (and good *they* were about it), but took it all from the GREAT God, for they knew it was for their good, and that *HIMSELF* had suffered.' 'And why did we bear it?' asked Mick. 'Was it for fraid of the magistrates? no. What had we in jail, but better feeding than we had at home, and we waiting for death all the time? 'Twas because we had the rale thrue faith, and the hopes of heaven, and because it was the will of God. Arrah! do you think the English would sit down empty and hungry, and have beef and mutton in the next field?' 'And sure if the bread is only any way small or dear over in Manchester, arn't they rising like bees in a swarm, and smashing windies, and tearing away loafs from the bakers? It's long till they'd wait till the life dropped out of them, and then be ashamed to own they were empty. Oh! they ought to larn their own side first, before they'd be tazing the likes of us. I'm not saying a word again the rale ould ministers that war in it formerly, that minded theirselves and *came honest* by their flocks, and had civil manners for the poorest in the parish, and kep a good house: them had every one's good will. But now whoever turns from our side, and puts on a white handkercher, is as good as a rale parson, and has no manners nayther. 'Twas poverty done it.'

Being embarrassed with the number of passages worthy of being presented to the reader, we take the first at hand, and introduce *Mrs. Eden*, a widow of forty-three, with "wonderful hair unstained by one silvery streak, but with skin roughened by many beautifying applications."

"This lady's air was usually sentimental, although in moving about she indulged in gay little hops now and then, such as growing girls are seen to practise, when on some joyous expedition with an amiable governess who walks a trifle too fast. She idolised two or three delightful doctors and pathetic parsons, and 'worshipped genius' even in petticoats! Mrs. Eden insisted on calling herself 'Eve' (having been christened 'Sarah'), it was so tempting with 'Eden,' and she imagined herself the type of her too irresistible first mother. (*Mr. O'Neil is presented to her*). 'I am indeed most happy to behold him again' (*he had rescued herself and daughter from want on a former occasion*), she uttered with affected rapture. 'Mr.

O'Neil, I only regret it did not occur in some woodland glade where the vesper hymn of birds falls sweetly on the ear ; and that they were not real daring bandits that you put so boldly to flight. Fine fellows are those brave banditti, with their black beards, and plumed hats, and glittering daggers ! I should like to be a bandit's bride dwelling in some forest cave, gorgeously attired'— 'In stolen goods,' added her daughter, contemptuously. 'You are too down-right for your mother,' said Mr. Bland. 'She views things fancifully, poetically.' 'Yes, that is my bane : I am ever taking the graceful views ; my feelings rule me : I am a slave to sensibility. I found a wounded pigeon yesterday in the park, and kept my maid up all night, nursing the dear dumb thing. It looks up into my face like an answering spirit ; I am sure it has a human soul.' 'Your maid is very ill all day,' said Leonora, 'her cough is much worse. I would have put the useless pigeon out of pain, and allowed the sick maid to lie down in bed. I wish people had human souls for one another. Why didn't you sit up yourself?' "

No marriage-disposed young lady need lay the work aside for fear of finding all the heroines immured in convents towards the end of third volume. One only (and she not reared up in any belief) out of half-a-dozen, devotes herself and her property to the works of the Sisters of Charity. Our extracts are not from those parts of the work that interest the most by human interest, or evince the sound judgment, and deep-seated religious convictions and philanthropy of the writer. She has written another novel, *Blanche and her Betrothed*, and we hope that these are only the first of a score at least.

A fitting conclusion of this paper will be to give a list of unobjectionable works of modern fiction, as far as our experience goes, beginning with those known to be written by Catholic authors. Geraldine, Rome and the Abbey, by *Miss Agnew* ; the Pope—Isidora the Neapolitan—Modern Society in Rome—the Alcazar, by *J. R. Baste* ; Bertha, Florine, Queen Adelaide, the Robber Chief-tain, by *W. B. Maccabe* ; Alban, the Forest, by *J. V. Huntingdon* ;*

* This gentleman conducts a Catholic peioriodical at Baltimore, U.S. His first work was "*Lady Alice or the New Una*," the scene being laid chiefly in Italy and England. The Catholic hero of the tale being in danger of death, declines the aid of his own clergymen, and becomes an Anglo-Catholic in a style that would for ever endear him to Dr. Pusey. The talented author had at the time the fearful example of poor Blanco White before his eyes, and might have known that when a Catholic pitches himself off the platform, he will not halt on the next step with the earnest, truth-seeking Anglicans : he tumbles down to the lowest level of Christianity, or rolls off into the outer void of unbelief. Before his next work, "*Alban*" was published, he had furnished a practical proof of the correctness of his views when writing "*Lady Alice*," by becoming a Catholic himself.

Shandy M'Guire, the Spae Wife, by *Rev. Mr. Boyce*; Eden Middleton, Grantley Manor, Lady Bird, the Countess of Bonneval, by *Lady G. Fullarton*; the Mussulman, by *Dr. R. R. Madden*; John Bull and the Papists, by *Edgar*; the Tudor Sisters, Kate Devereux, Florence the Aspirant, Hidden Links, by *authors* whose names are as yet unknown to us; Mount St. Laurence, the Witch of Melton Hill, Margaret Danvers, Mary Star of the Sea, by *Mrs. Thompson*; Palmario, and Tales of an Arctic Voyager, by *R. P. Gillies*, whom we suppose to be a Catholic; Lizzie Maitland, edited by *Dr. Brownson*; Pauline Seward, by *Dr. J. D. Bryant*; all the novels by *Miss Kavanagh*, *Hendrik Conscience*, *Banim*, *Griffin*, and *Carleton*, the Nowlans, the Station, Tales of Ireland, and the Lough Derg Pilgrim excepted; generally, all the works published by *Burns* and *Lambert*, *Duffy*, *Dolman*, and *Richardson*, at the head of which stand *Fabiola*, *Callista*, *Antoine de Bonneval*, and *Alice Sherwin*. From the Italian we have *Marco Visconti*, by *Tommaso Grossi*; the Betrothed Lovers, by *Manzoni*; the Nun of Monza, and the Convent and Harem, by *Rossini*; this last translated by *Mme. Pisani (Mrs. Col. Gardiner)*, herself the authoress of the *Banker Lord*, and *Vandeleur*.

'The Citizen of Prague' from the German is an excellent story of the days of Maria Theresa.

The following works, mostly of an excellent character in their way, are from the pens of writers of high Anglican principles.

The Heir of Redcliffe, Heart's Ease, Daisy Chain, Little Duke, Lances of Linwood, Henrietta's Wish, Dynevor Terrace, by *Miss Yonge*; Ivors, Margaret Percival, the Earl's Daughter, Amy Herbert, Katharine Ashton, Cleve Hall, Experience of Life, Ursula, by *Miss Sewell*; the Fortunes of the Falconars, Sir Gervase Grey, King's Connel, Musgrave, by *Mrs. Gordon*; the Story of a Family, the Maiden Aunt, the Use of Sunshine, and Nina, by *Mrs. Smedley*; Eastbury, by *Miss Drury*; Dorothy, Still Waters, Uncle Ralph, by *Miss Colville*; Anschar, by *Mr. King*; Everley, the Owllet of Owlstone Edge, the Curate of Holy Cross, Mignonette, Lady Una and her Queensdom, these last by anonymous writers. We have heard 'Emily Howard,' by *Mrs. Dunlop*, a story of Portugal, very well spoken of. Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Grey, Mrs. Burbury, and our countless Galaxy of novel writers,* will excuse our apparent neglect of them. A writer in Blackwood or some other periodical, once gave minute instructions as to the dressing of a cucumber: the process was intricate and long, but the final direction was to raise the window and throw out the delicacy untasted. We will not be so cruel to our particle of cookery, merely requesting our friends, in the words of the Saint quoted above, 'to eat seldom and in small quantity.'

* A list of our chief female novelists will be found in the paper on *Delphine Gay*, in our NUMBER for last October.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

In our last Record we referred to the establishment of the Cork Agricultural Reformatory, and in our present Record we are enabled to present to our readers the following most interesting Report of a visit to English and Continental Reformatories, by the President of the Cork Reformatory Committee:—

I have thought it desirable to lay before you a report of the visit which I have just paid to several Reformatory institutions in this country, in England and on the Continent, accompanied by Mr. Edmond Paul Townsend, of the Presentation order. I shall not in this, trouble you with arguments in favor of Reformatories, nor adduce statistics to prove their success. Of the necessity for such institutions I know that you are deeply convinced, and as to their success, it may be sufficient for me to state that in no instance have the conductors of those which I had the pleasure of visiting, ever thought of the possibility of failure. They may have had, and they have had, great difficulties to contend against and many troubles to overcome; but in patience, firm resolve, entire devotion to their labour, and confidence in God, they have striven on, and conquered. In no one case have they failed; they have all had their difficulties, and all have surmounted them. May we not hope, that with the Divine assistance, a similar success awaits our undertaking. We, too, shall have our trials, but we shall overcome them, if we earnestly use those means by which others have triumphed.

I shall then confine myself to a simple narrative of what we have seen, and a statement of any suggestions that may have occurred to Mr. Townsend or myself.

The first institution which we visited was the Female Reformatory at Golden Bridge, near Dublin. It is intended for females of all ages, selected from the several Convict Prisons, for whose maintenance 5s. per week are paid. It contains 40 inmates, all of whom appear to be under excellent discipline, and to perform their work diligently and cheerfully; their sole employment, at present, except the house duties, is washing for private families in Dublin: at this they are fully occupied—a small sum out of their earnings is laid aside for each woman, to be given to her on her discharge. The establishment is managed by the Sisters of Mercy, and I had the pleasure of conversing for a short time with the Superioress, who appears to be eminently suited for the work she has in hand. Her manner, which is gentle and winning, yet evidences a decisive and energetic will, cannot but exercise a powerful influence on those whom she has to control, which in fact it does, as she told me she never finds much resistance to any thing that she wishes to have done. She shews the inmates in a calm and firm manner, that she is determined it should be done:—she takes great pain to convince them that what she directs is for their good, and she has thus gradually obtained so great a mastery

over them, that now, at the meeting which is held every evening for instruction and prayer, the women accuse themselves openly and before all, of any transgressions of the rules of which they may have been guilty during the day. At first this was difficult, they were apt to bring stories of one another—the result of prison habits. This she was resolved to suppress, and so mentioned the circumstance at instruction, saying that on the next occasion she would tell the fault, the person guilty of it, and her informant, but recommended, in order to avoid this, that each woman should confess her fault herself. This plan, however, effectually put a stop to tale-bearing, and now the women say to each other, if they notice any fault, “mind you tell that at instruction.” There is now no trouble with them, they observe the rules rigidly, and are anxious to give every proof that they are worthy to be given back to society. In many instances, indeed, it is necessary rather to encourage hope, than to enforce humility, so deeply are they impressed with their faults, and so desirous to retrieve them. The superioress said that she found the most rigid discipline, tempered by kindness, to be necessary. She recommended that new inmates should be brought in gradually, that they may be broken by those long in the Reformatory; for instance, on the day I visited, she was informed that there were ten women to be sent from the prisons; she requested that they may be sent in groups of five each, with a few week's interval between. The buildings at present occupied are not sufficiently extensive for the number of inmates, nor were they originally intended for their present use, so that the arrangements cannot be said to be perfect. The grounds are unwallled and unguarded, but there is no attempt at escape. Every thing is perfectly orderly and clean, and I have no doubt, that when the suite of buildings, now in progress, shall have been completed, this institution will, under its excellent management, become a model for all such establishments.

We next visited Newgate and Mountjoy prisons, as they are both Reformatories, so far as prisons can be. They are conducted upon the separate system, the only plan by which a prisoner may be saved from the contamination of vice, although he may not be brought back to virtue. Newgate is an old structure, adapted, as far as it could be, to the cellular plan; it is occupied by females, and appears to be admirably managed. The Mountjoy Model Prison is a magnificent building; it contains 499 separate cells, and is so constructed that the entire prison lies under your eye at a glance. It contained 300 prisoners at the time of my visit, and although the discipline is necessarily most strict, and is rigorously enforced, there was not a single person confined in the punishment cells, a circumstance most creditable to its management.

This is the first prison to which convicts are sent, that they may be broken to discipline: they may be retained here for nine months, but seldom require to be kept so long. They are drafted from it to the several depots, such as Spike Island. It is impossible to over praise the admirable arrangements of this prison. Every thing appears to be attended to in the most careful manner, but however worthy of examination in many points, and suggestive of instruction, as it does

not immediately bear upon the subject that we have in view, I need not enter into further details. In these visits we were accompanied by Dr. Lentaigne, and Mr. J. Murray, and through Mountjoy prison by Mr. Netterville, its able governor, from each of whom we received the greatest kindness and attention.

Our next visit was paid to the Reformatory of Mount St. Bernard, in Leicestershire, within about six or seven miles of Loughboro'; it is by far the largest Reformatory in these countries. It contained at the time of my visit about 300 boys, of ages varying from 5 to 15 years. It has been established nearly four years, and its success is stated to be very satisfactory. The entire establishment is now in a transition state, most of the old building having been pulled down, and new ones in progress, but still quite unfinished; it would be therefore, unjust to form any conclusions from present arrangements, which are only temporary, and such as necessity compelled its managers to adopt; but when the projected plans will have been completed, it will possess all the means and appliances for carrying into effect the most perfect and effective system of training, both educational and industrial. A much larger number of boys were sent to the institution than had been at all anticipated, or than there had been time to make preparations for, and this occasioned the superiors the most serious embarrassment; so great, indeed, as to have made them all but despair. That is a feeling unknown to religious in the cause of charity. They labored and succeeded, and their success under such difficulties and embarrassments as they have had to encounter, is a lesson and an encouragement to all engaged in similar undertakings. Although the superiors are the Trappist monks whose abbey is about the eighth of a mile distant from the Reformatory, and both the lord Abbot and the Prior constantly visit the colony, its immediate management is confided to eight Brothers of the third order, who are assisted in the industrial education of the boys by several master tradesmen. The former are unpaid and wear the religious habit; the tradesmen are paid, but only a small sum, as the object is to get men who have a desire to engage themselves in this sort of life, and who do not embrace it for merely pecuniary consideration. The boys address their teachers, as they do one another, by the title of "brother." This is one of many expedients used to try and gain their confidence and affections, to which all the efforts of the superiors appear to be directed, and they seem to have succeeded wonderfully, for the boys address them in a frank, kind and fearless manner; affectionately, but by no means wanting in respect; and go through their work diligently and cheerfully. I was much struck with a young fellow about 14 years of age, who was working in the smith's forge, making a screw, and working as hard and as well at it, as if he were paid largely. I noticed his industry and skill to the brother superior who was with me. "Yes," said he, "he is now one of our very best boys, and promises to be an excellent and intelligent tradesman; his application is unceasing, and his name is inscribed on the Tablet of Honor for his uniform good conduct; yet that boy was at one time the terror of Yorkshire, as a pickpocket and burglar. We had a good deal of trouble with him at first, but he is completely changed, and I should have no hesitation to recommend

him to any one to-morrow. We have not had him three years." Another boy of about the same age he pointed out to me, as the model boy of the whole colony; the first in all that was good; who for two years past had not incurred a reprimand even for a breach of rules, who was looked up to and respected by his fellows, and held the highest position of confidence entrusted to a colonist. Still, that boy had suffered three or four convictions, his father was a robber and a drunkard, a man of the most infamous character; he mentioned his name, which, he said, had a bad notoriety. The poor child had been turned out upon the streets, by his bad father, to beg and steal. When upon his third or fourth committal he was transferred to Mount St. Bernard, and now is what I have described. Cheering facts these!

During work, meals and instruction, and also in the dormitories at night, strict silence is enjoined; but at recreation they are allowed perfect freedom, and they certainly enjoy it. The Brothers are always with them, by day and night, sharing even in their sports. They are gradually introducing military discipline, and have a tolerable band of drums and fifes; they get the boys to march in order and to go through some evolutions, but they evidently do not wish to be too rigid, they must keep the boys in good temper, and manage them by kindness. There is a large quantity of land, some 300 acres, in connection with the colony, and by far the largest number of boys are employed upon it. There are also taught tailoring, shoemaking, tin work, smiths' work, carpentering, clog making, joining, sawing, mason work, brick-laying, stocking weaving and book-binding. All the boys wear clogs, with leather uppers, and their week day dress is a blouse, just the same as the French peasant or labourer; they have besides a Sunday dress, which has the honorary distinction, such as Lieutenant, Sergeant, Corporal, to which they are entitled marked upon it. They have adopted the division into families, but do not carry it out very strictly; the boys sleep in large dormitories, each in a separate bed, and the superior sleeps in the same room with them. The clothes of the boys are taken from them each night, and placed in a press under the superior's bed. This is a precautionary measure, which I hope present circumstances alone render necessary, and which may soon be discontinued, for it is not in conformity with that confidence and trust which all their training and education should tend to inspire. A small sum is put aside out of their earnings, and bearing a proportion to *their* industry, not to *its* profit, which is funded for them until they are leaving the colony, or if they are very well conducted, and that the privilege of corresponding with their relatives or friends is awarded to them by their superiors, they are sometimes accorded to send a little out of their fund to a parent or near relation; but this is a great favor, and must be earned by distinguished good conduct. On the whole, we were greatly pleased with our visit to the colony of Mount St. Bernard, every part of which we examined most minutely, and received the fullest information and kindest attention both from the Father Prior and Brother Superior. I look forward to the time when it will bear comparison, as I am sure it will, with the noblest institutions of the Continent.

In order to close my report on the English institutions, I may now

depart from the order of time in which I made my visits, and speak of the two Reformatories at Hammersmith, near London, and the Home for outcast boys, Belvedere Crescent, near Hungerford bridge.

The Reformatory at Blythe house, Brook-green, Hammersmith, is superintended by five Monks of the order of Our Lady of Mercy; four of them are Belgians, from the house of St. Hubert, where they have a Reformatory, and one, the brother who accompanied us, an Irishman. This house was established in 1855, and they represent the results of their labors as satisfactory; so also have they been spoken of by the Press and from the Bench. The superiors are assisted by two trade masters, a shoemaker and a tailor. There were at my visit 78 inmates; there is no land attached, and the only training which the boys receive, besides literary education, is instruction in either of the two trades mentioned.

There is a large play-ground where the boys enjoy themselves very much. The arrangements of the house, &c., do not seem to be very suitable, and as they are about to remove to a larger place, with land, the superiors do not care to make any changes now. The dormitories are divided into separate cells, latticed all round, into which the boys are locked at night. This is a transplant from the prison system, with which I think it had much better have been left. The superiors, however, say that the boys with whom they have to deal are a very difficult class indeed, the experienced London pickpocket, and that they require precautions which with any others would not be needed. I can well believe this, for nearly all their boys are 14 or 16 years of age, and one can easily imagine how much of vice and craft boys of that age must become acquainted with in London. They all appear to be under great control, and look cheerful and contented. The family system is not adopted, but the boys' manners to their superiors is very affectionate. In this, as well as in Mount St. Bernard's, 7s. a week are paid by government for the support of each boy; the diet is very good; they get three meals a day, and meat is allowed four times a week.

The Female Reformatory at Hammersmith, managed by the Sisters of the Order of the Good Shepherd, is only an infant institution. They have at present but six inmates, who are very young, and the superiors desire to increase them gradually; they have made preparations for about twenty. All the arrangements are most admirable, exquisitely neat and orderly. The time of the children is occupied by literary instruction, vocal music, recreation, and needle work; there is ample ground attached, and I cannot but anticipate the greatest success from the labors of the good sisters. There is a house of refuge for female penitents in connexion with this establishment, which is excellently managed; the inmates are employed only in washing and domestic duties.

The Home for outcast boys at Belvidere Crescent, near Hungerford bridge (Surrey-side), is a most interesting institution. It is superintended by Mr. Driver, a man of great intelligence, and thoroughly devoted to his work. I do not know any place that affords stronger hopes or greater encouragement to those interested in Reformatories than this little Home, the success of which is undoubted. At first Mr.

Their only industrial employment card-boxes for soap, their support and clothing for 12 hours a day. To so they pay him back for their in his hands to purchase clothed, where the boys are never go out ; the door is attempted to desert. The the boys to habits of order impress them with strong the practices of a Christian either taken into employment or assisted to emigrate to whence most gratifying let Driver assured me, were a little colony, in the very hope, and of encouragement even one earnest, intelligent

I shall now describe to you, as briefly as I can, our visit to Mettray, as you are aware of many of the details of that invaluable establishment. We spent two entire days there from morning till night, minutely inspected everything, and saw each detail of their every-day life, from getting up in the morning to going to bed at night, in actual operation. The colony is about four or five miles from Tours, and consists of ten separate houses, five at each side, and the church in the centre, closing the view. Each house is named after individuals or a locality that had largely contributed to its erection, such as *Maison de Courteilles*, the *Maison d'Ourches*, the *Maison de Tours*, &c., and is devoted to the use of a family. It contains three floors, the lower being used as a workshop, the first and second as refectories and dormitories. The number in each family vary—40 is the number assigned, but it ranges from that to 60. M. de Metz advised us in our arrangements, to limit our families to 25. "Do not," said he, fall into the error which I did, in making my families too large; 25 is sufficiently large to give variety and not cause difficulty in its management." Besides the 10 houses at the colony, there are four large farm houses on the land, each of which is fitted up for 50 boys. The whole now consists of 700 boys, 500 being at the colony and 200 on the farm. They are superintended by 50 employés—who are engaged as *chefs de famille*, agriculturists, masters of trades, and literary teachers. There are, besides, the *sous-chefs*, pupils of the preparatory school, who are not paid, but who are supported and educated, and elder-brothers, who are selected from the colonists themselves, two for each family. The families are selected principally according to age, but upon this I was much struck by an observation of M. de Metz,—“In the formation of my families,” said he, “I endeavour to produce a moral chemistry, by bringing together opposite dispositions—mixing wit the quick and lively people of this south, the less excitable youths from Brittany and Strasbourg, and thus check and calm them.”

There are 270 hectares (nearly 700 acres) of land attached to the colony; one-third of this is free, and for two-thirds a rent of 50 francs per hectare is paid. The entire is admirably farmed; the principal crops are grain, and green crops for the feeding of cattle, of which they have a very fine stock. They have also some vines, but not many; they endeavoured to promote the cultivation of the silkworm, but the climate was found to be too cold, and they have had to abandon it. Almost every trade is taught at the colony, and they manufacture the greater part of what they require for their own consumption; they grind their own corn, make their own bread, and manufacture nearly all their own clothing. The boys are comfortably dressed; each wears *sabots* and blouse, and in winter a short cloak, which of course they lay aside at work. In the washhouse, however, there are some women who assist, and the hospital and room for repairing the clothes, &c., are superintended by the Sisters of the Order o. Our Lady of the Presentation. This assistance has not been found necessary at Buysselede, where the boys do all for themselves, and I think if it can be dispensed with, so much the better. Everything is done with military precision, and to sound of trumpet. They have a

nice band of eight brass instruments, on which they perform very well. The employment of their time each day in winter, is thus distributed: They rise at six, breakfast at half-past six, labor at seven, dinner at 12, recreation at half-past 12, labour at 1, instruction at half-past 5, supper at half-past 7, and prayers and bed at quarter past 8 o'clock—there is of course some change for summer, but not much. Before each employment, they are paraded in the court yard; at word of command the boys for agriculture or for each trade form in front, and to the sound of trumpet they march with perfect precision to their respective destinations—the discipline is perfect. I never shall forget being present when a family of the youngest children in the colony were going to bed—even in this they carried out their order and discipline. When the little fellows marched up stairs, they ranged themselves around the room, keeping up the military tramp. At the command, “*a genoux*,” each was in one instant on his knees, and from a corner of the room came a weak, tiny voice beginning, *Notre Pere, que es aux cieuz*, the response of the fifty was spoken as if one voice, “*Ainsi*.” After prayer the order was given to arrange hammocks, which was done in three movements each at the same second; they now put off their clothes, as commanded, and hung them on the hook beside their hammock, and at the last order, all were in bed. This will give an idea of how everything is done.

I had the pleasure of two interviews with M. de Metz, who received Mr. Townsend and myself with the greatest kindness. He appears about 60 years of age, dark complexion and eyes, and of most prepossessing appearance and manner. He speaks with great fluency and singular eloquence, and displays the liveliest interest in his subject and a thorough mastery of it. The points upon which he principally advised me were the following:—

1. To commence with a small number, say 12—he thought that a good number, as it would not be too many to manage, and would be sufficiently numerous to prevent any feeling of solitude on the part of the boys.

2. To limit the number of the family to, say, 25. It was an error, he said, on his part to have his families so numerous as 50, with which he commenced—25 was more easily managed and gave sufficient variety.

3. In answer to a question of mine, as to whether it would be of much importance to take land either with or without buildings on it, he said, by all means, if you can, get your land without building. Any that you may get, you will have to alter, at perhaps considerable expense, and they will never be quite what you would wish; do not let stone walls make laws for you; make your own laws, and let the walls be obedient to them. The building may, of course, be as light and inexpensive as possible.

4. He was especially impressive in recommending the family system. I recommend it, he said, after an experience of 20 years, and if there be anything which this long experience has convinced me of, it is the excellence of the family system, especially with a small number, such as 25, which I now adopt, if it were in my power. The system of Mettray, said he, is embraced in three principles—religion for its

foundation, military discipline, and family culture—(*Le fondement religieux, la discipline militaire, le culture de famille.*)

5. He also spoke of the great advantages of the *Société Paternelle*, and of the desirableness of having some such organisation to patronize the boys and look after them, after they had left the Colony. He found it of great use to allow the boys to come back to the colony, when they may be out of employment, so that they may not be tempted to fall again into crime. I urged the usual argument, that this facility may have the effect of preventing the boys from making sufficient exertion for their own maintenance in the world, that they may be indifferent about employment, if they were always sure of a shelter, and that this may destroy their spirit of self-dependence. To this he answered, that he received back none but good boys, of whose conduct he was sure, and that he found, in fact, that no boy would return to the diet, the hard work and the rigid discipline of Mettray, who could get any employment outside. He did not allow the slightest wages to any boy so received back. He said that after his long and extended experience, he did not find that this rule, which he strongly recommended, produced the slightest ill effect upon the boy's characters, or injured their principles of self-reliance; on the contrary, said he, this feeling gives them confidence and prevents them from falling back into crime; it gives them as it were wings, which sustain them in their good intentions. In fine, he kindly said, that if difficulties should at any time arise, he would be most happy to answer any question, and afford me every information in his power. We left Mettray deeply impressed with the conviction of the success that must necessarily attend an institution, so beautifully conducted, and under such enlightened management. We were accompanied through the colony by M. Arnaud, head of the Preparatory School, and through the Farm by M. Warren, the sous-chef of the Agricultural Department, both of whom afforded us the fullest information.

The last Institution which we visited was the Reformatory at Ruysselede; it is within 4 miles of the station of Bloemendaal, between Ghent and Bruges. It is under the superintendence of M. Poll, assisted by eight employés and a chief superintendent; it is entirely supported by the Belgium Government, which allows 70 centimes a day for each boy; in Mettray 14 sous are paid by government.

The same system prevails here as at Mettray, but in consequence of the form of the building which the government bought and repaired, it is differently applied. The family system is fully recognised, but the children are not kept in separate houses. They sleep in four great dormitories, each containing 125 beds. They eat in the same refectory, and receive instruction in the same school-room; but they are divided into 8 families, each under its chief. The teachers here are also chefs de famille, and a considerable number of officers is thus spared. There is the same perfect military discipline as at Mettray. They have also a band which numbers 40 performers—they played several pieces for us, and played them excellently and with great precision. So well are the boys trained to music, that there is quite a contest for them amongst the different regiments, and M. Poll told

me that there are now in one of the regiments stationed in Bruges 12 of his boys in the band, and in another, 10.

There are 500 boys in the colony, and in a house situate at a short distance, 100 more, who are destined for the navy. They have a three-masted ship built by themselves, in front of the house; it is surrounded by a large pond, and here the boys are exercised in naval tactics, and instructed in the technical terms in Flemish, French, and English. There is a vessel also at Mettray, but it is not much attended to, except in Summer, when the boys are exercised at it. In the parent house, the boys sleep in neat iron bedsteads, but in the naval establishment in hammocks, certainly the neatest, cleanest, and most orderly I ever saw. In fact, the perfect neatness and order that prevail in every part of Ruyaselede, is beyond all praise. I did not think it possible that any establishment could have been kept in such condition, and everything is done by the boys themselves without any help. There are 250 hectares (about 600 acres) of land attached, for which no rent is paid, the government having given the entire plant, buildings, land, cattle and implements. It is all admirably farmed by the boys; the stock of cattle is very fine, and they are excellently kept.

Pleased as we had been with Mettray, we were infinitely more delighted with Ruyaselede; the order, neatness and cleanliness that prevailed were quite unequalled, and we left it with the full conviction that of all the establishments we had seen, it was indeed the model. We were shown the entire colony by M. Poll, for whom we received the greatest kindness attention.

The result of our visit has left the conviction on my mind, and what is of far greater importance, on that of my friend Mr. Townsend, that there is nothing to be feared in undertaking our work here. It is a serious responsibility, but it is one which we may accept without dread. It will be more expensive than we had anticipated, but we have no fear that the public will permit a good work to perish for want of funds. With then a firm resolve, a thorough earnestness of purpose, and an unbounded confidence in God's fostering aid and blessing, we joyfully and trustfully anticipate success.

This is a most admirable report, and in the passages referring to Mettray the writer, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, shows that he has fully caught the spirit of M. Demetz. An English friend, who knows M. Demetz thoroughly, and with whom he has conversed oftener, and more fully, than with any other in England, states, that he has heard M. Demetz "say the same things related by Mr. O'Shaughnessy, frequently."

There are, however, two points noted by Mr. O'Shaughnessy to which it is right we should draw attention. He refers to the "Société Paternelle" as a *Patronage Society*. This is not a patronage society, but it is the society which established Mettray, and it was founded by M. Demetz and M. de Courteilles in order that the sixty-sixth article of the Civil Code might no longer be a dead letter.

The second particular which we must note is that in which a reference is made to the numbers in each "family." We do not think that M. Demetz has made the numbers in each of his "families" *forty* through any mistake of his own. He has always told us that *he* would wish the number to be *twenty-five*, but that the smaller the number the more expensive is the maintenance of the "family;" and as he depends upon subscriptions for this maintenance he cannot increase the expense of his "families" beyond a certain point.

These are very small errors in the Report, and the promoters of the Cork Reformatory may well feel proud of their President, and of the noble example shown by them, and by their good city, to Ireland.

The Bristol Ragged School, on St. James's Back, is well known to most of our readers who are acquainted with Miss Carpenter's labors in the Reformatory cause. From the *Eleventh Annual Report*, that for 1857, we extract the following passages. The Committee of Council have given just £50 to this school, when from its requirements, and through its services, it should have received at least £150.

THE Managers of this School regret that in the twelfth year of its action and efficient operations they should be compelled to make a special appeal to all who take an interest in the cause for liberal pecuniary aid, not only to pay a large balance due to the Treasurer for the past year, but to insure the existence of the School in its present condition, one which they believe has never been exceeded, or even equalled in past years.

The cause of this most unexpected position of the pecuniary state of the School is as follows:—

It was stated in the last Report, that on June 2, 1856, the Committee of Council on Education passed a Minute in aid of "Ragged and Reformatory Schools," by which liberal assistance was offered, adapted to the needs of such Schools.

As Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, three of whom had in succession closely examined the School, had uniformly borne a high testimony to the Master and Mistress, and expressed great satisfaction with the efforts made to enforce obedience, cleanliness, and order in the School, and the result of those efforts on the children, the Managers proceeded at once to act on this Minute. They increased the salary of the Master, which they considered due to one who had for ten years zealously devoted himself to the School, and on whom its efficiency mainly depended; they engaged an Assistant Master, especially with the view of carrying on better the Industrial department of the School, on which the Committee of Council judiciously lay great stress, and of throwing regular help, which was greatly needed, into the Evening School; and they engaged as Assistants

But to the surprise and perplexity of the Committee, early in the present year, the following minute was added:—“If the establishment has not been licensed by the Secretary of State, the following Certificate must be signed by two Justices of the Peace:—

It is evident that the Committee could not ask any Justice of the Peace to sign this Certificate. A Free Day School cannot maintain children who have "no visible means of subsistence," nor supply a home to those who have none; and though many children have been received into the School who have been convicted of crime, if they have manifested a desire to change their course of life, yet it is evident that it cannot take the place of a Reformatory. And however deficient we may consider the parental care exercised over a large proportion of the children, we should not be prepared to ask Magistrates to declare that they have satisfied themselves "that the children had no proper guardianship."

Existing Minutes under which the St. James's Back School had received aid in former years, having now been cancelled as regarded Ragged Schools, the Committee were thus virtually excluded from any aid from the Parliamentary grants. After some correspondence, however, on the subject, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, under the Minutes of June 2nd, 1856, Jelinger Synonds, Esq., Inspector of Union Schools, was sent to inspect that at St. James's Back. Though he reported that the School is under fair discipline, and containing the class of children contemplated by the Council, yet his report did not satisfy the Council of the general claims of the School to receive aid under the Minutes of June 2nd, 1856. Her Majesty's Inspector having requested that the grants might not be altogether withdrawn for the current year, a grant of £45 was made to the Infant department of the School, the mistress being certificated, together with £13 for the rent and Industrial Implements, but the Secretary of the Committee of Council thus wrote to the Managers:—"The rest of the School *does not fulfil the conditions of any Minute now in force. It is neither a Feeding School for outcasts, nor an Elementary School of the common kind.* In order to prevent

misconception, I am to state expressly that if the School continues to be organized as at present, it will not receive any grant for the year ending April, 1858. The grants now allowed are not strictly regular, and will not be admitted as a precedent for others."

Under these circumstances the Committee immediately dismissed the Assistant Master, substituted an Assistant for the Infant School Mistress, and gave up the Evening School, placing the Industrial Afternoon School under the management of Mr. Andrews, thereby lessening the expenditure of the School, but greatly diminishing its usefulness.

Yet the Committee could not contemplate the diminution of the usefulness of the School, which must be the result of this unexpected withdrawal of pecuniary aid from the Committee of Council, without a strong effort to obtain some modification of existing arrangements, especially as they considered that the present position of the St. James's Back Ragged School involved a most important general principle, viz., that the benefit of education should be brought to bear on a large class of the population hitherto untouched by any other agency than Ragged Schools, and that these, carried on by a larger amount of voluntary, pecuniary, and personal effort than any other Schools, are entitled to a fair share of the Parliamentary Educational Grants. The Managers of this School had striven for nearly ten years to fulfil the conditions of the Minutes framed for Elementary Schools of the common kind. They had done so as fully as the peculiar nature and condition of the children permitted, and valuable testimony to this was borne by three successive Inspectors. But their utmost efforts had proved that those Minutes were utterly inapplicable to the Ragged Schools, which were now excluded from the new Minutes. It appeared a fit time to bring the whole subject before the Privy Council Educational Committee. A Memorial was therefore prepared, developing this principle. It was signed by every member of the Committee, and forwarded to the Managers of other Ragged Schools. It was signed by those of Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Ipswich, Gloucester, and Cardiff. This Memorial was presented to the Lord President on the 4th of December, by a very influential deputation headed by Sir John Pakington, and supported by Lord Shaftesbury, with the Secretaries of the London Ragged School Union. The courteous and favourable manner in which the deputation was received, and the justice of our cause, give every hope that ere long arrangements may be made enabling such Schools to receive their fair share of aid. But the result cannot of course be as yet known, and the Committee must therefore strongly appeal to their friends and the public for the means of enabling them to carry on the School. The annual outlay for the Day and Evening Schools in an efficient state cannot be less than £300; the present subscriptions do not exceed £140; there will therefore be a deficiency of £160 on the current year, unless prompt and efficient aid be given; and the Managers do not feel that it would be right again to encounter a large adverse balance.

The nature and operations of the School are as follow:—The scholars are gathered from the lowest parts of Bristol. A portion

of them are simply extremely poor, and unable to pay for schooling, but the larger number are so low in habits and character, that when seen in their ordinary condition in the streets, it would appear almost impossible to bring them under good School training, yet when in the School they make such efforts to improve their condition, and are so orderly and attentive, that inexperienced visitors usually imagine that they must belong to a higher class. About 220 children are taught in the Day School, with an average attendance of from 70 to 90 in the Juvenile School, and from 80 to 100 in the Infant School. Of the nature of the instruction given the Committee can speak with satisfaction, from the reports of three successive Inspectors, as well as from their own personal knowledge and the observations of visitors.

The Industrial occupation of the Afternoon School forms a considerable item in the expenditure; but it is a very important part of the education, as infusing both the ability and the will to work. The completeness with which these departments are conducted will be seen from the accounts of the respective Treasurers. Many of the children bring their dinners with them, and others are provided with them by a small payment during the winter months; these remain in the play-ground in the interval between the Morning and Afternoon School, and are consequently withdrawn from the bad influences of the streets, from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. Notwithstanding the very uncertain resources of the School, the Committee felt that a larger and more airy play-ground would be very important; they therefore accepted the offer of the proprietor of the four adjoining houses to remove them, greatly enlarging the play-ground, and rendering the premises more complete, on an addition of £10 per annum to the rent. This alteration is a very great improvement, not only by giving more space, but by the withdrawal of continual annoyance and bad influence, arising from the tenants of the houses. There are also outhouses for bathing, washing, and wood chopping. The Evening School has been temporarily carried on at private expense, with the sanction of the Committee, and has considerable influence for good on a class of boys too old for the Day School. The Girls' Evening School has been discontinued for want of funds.

Such is a brief sketch of the general working of the School. Its actual results it is of course impossible to state, but it is certain that numbers are now useful, self-supporting members of society, who owe all to this School; that numbers are thus brought under Christian influences who were living entirely cut off from the respectable portion of society; and that when the children of any family have continued for some time in the School, a decided change is visible in their habits and character. In many cases where the elder children have been convicted delinquents, the younger ones, being kept at School, have turned out respectable members of society.

If our reader is a conventional "gentleman," or a fully developed, i. e. crinolined "lady," we advise him or her never to go near our honored friend, Miss Mary Carpenter. She will first of all make our lady or gentleman think himself so

small, and worthless, and will, secondly, shew him how much he could do if he liked, that he, unhappy mortal, can never again think of himself as he thought before. Mary Carpenter is not Martha, nor yet is she Mary, but she is what was best in each. Her's is an active, not "a cloistered virtue:" in the beautiful life of a Christian woman she shows all that a genuine Christian woman may, and can do; and she may say, in the noble words of Jeremy Taylor to Lord Carbery—"My work here is not to please the speculative part of men, but to assist the penitent, to strengthen weak hands and feeble knees, having scarce any other possibilities left me of doing alms, or exercising that charity of which we shall be judged at dooms-day. It is enough for me to be an under-builder in the house of God, and I glory in the employment. I labor in the foundations; and therefore the work needs no apology for being plain, so it be strong and well laid."

All our readers are fully acquainted with Miss Carpenter's School at Bristol, the Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory, and from the *Third Report*, that for 1857, we extract the following passages:—

The financial condition of the School is very good; £300 have been vested from the year's income towards the eventual purchase of the premises. The whole outlay, including the alterations and furnishing of the adjoining Cottage, is only £831 1s. 6d. The average number of girls during the year is 56; the whole expense of each therefore is only £14 16s. 9d., and deducting the alterations and additional furniture which cannot fairly come under the year's expenditure, is only £13. When therefore a sufficient sum is vested for the eventual purchase and present rent of the premises, it is evident that the School may be well supported by the Treasury allowance of £18 per annum for each girl. Under these circumstances it has been thought right to decline with thanks any further aid from the Committee of Council on Education, trusting to the additional help of voluntary contributions alone to place the Institution on a permanent basis.

The Cottage has formed a very important addition to the establishment. It is calculated to hold eight or nine girls with a Matron; it is provided with a wash-house and oven for baking bread, and is, in all respects, furnished and arranged like any small house for an ordinary family, without peculiar means of punishment or confinement. Into this are drafted by degrees older the girls, in whom most confidence can be reposed, and who are best prepared for domestic service. They all live as a family, being occupied as much as possible in the various departments of housework, besides baking all the bread consumed by themselves and the girls in the Lodge. They are also taught to cut out and repair their own clothes, and they take as far as practicable the position of young servants in a family.

The Matron does not lock up her stores and private property more than would be done in an ordinary house, and sends the girls out on errands, or occasionally leaves them alone in the house, without having had to complain of a breach of such trust.

The increased liberty allowed at the Cottage has in some instance developed evil which had been kept in check under the stricter discipline of the Red Lodge, but generally a decided improvement is perceived in the girls, when they find that a greater responsibility rests on them, and that their future prospects are directly dependent on themselves. The residence in the Cottage is at the same time so true a test of fitness for entering into the world, and a preparation for it, that it will generally be advisable for all the girls to pass through it before leaving the School. No girl once settled at the Cottage after a month's probation has made any attempt to abscond, nor has any one been obliged to be sent back to Red Lodge for persevering misconduct. The difficulty of placing the girls out at service has been greatly lightened by a clause in Sir George Grey's recent Reformatory Bill, permitting young persons in Reformatories, who have gone through half the time of their sentence, to be put out on trial for a month, before application is made for their discharge. This has been done in the case of five girls up to December 31, 1857, and no one of these has abused the privilege, or committed any dishonesty. Indeed the applications for young servants from Red Lodge are becoming more frequent than can be supplied. Small families, where the Mistress herself superintends the work, are found the most suitable.

Before entering on a brief sketch of the chief points of interest in the School during the year, a few incidents may be mentioned to prove that the Reformatories are not regarded either by the honest poor on the one hand, nor by the criminal class on the other, as a "premium on crime." In a neighbouring Day School the young daughters of two very poor families, where the mothers with difficulty found for their children the needful sustenance, were detected in pilfering half-pence, which it then appeared they had been in the habit of doing for some time, making excuses at home to account for the possession of money. The thought occurred to the Managers of the School whether these two little girls should be prosecuted, with a view of having them sent to a Reformatory, which it was thought would be a great boon to both parents and children. It was ultimately determined to retain the girls in the School, inflicting suitable punishment on them and to summon the mothers to chastise them, which they did, grateful that their children were not expelled. A short time after, the Red Lodge girls were permitted to be present at an examination of this very School, and their neat appearance, orderly demeanour, and physical condition betokening abundant food, might naturally have excited envy in the minds of these parents, and regret that their children had not been placed where they could enjoy similar advantages. Instead of this the mothers afterwards expressed to one of the Committee the gratitude they felt when they looked at the fifty poor girls in the Reformatory, that their children were not, like those, *prisoners*. No persons have expressed greater

interest in the School or desire to serve it, than these very industrious, honest, poor persons, who, it is supposed, are aggrieved by what is done to rescue these outcasts. While they acknowledge that they should gladly have secured for their children similar advantages of training and instruction, they have expressed warm satisfaction that these unfortunate children were so cared for, and have proved their sincerity by such small gifts of money or services gratuitously rendered as lay within their power. The "honest poor," daily toiling for their own children, have even a deeper feeling of compassion for these misused and neglected young creatures, than those whose social position places them entirely beyond their sphere,—and show a generous sympathy with those who are working for them. They are greatly belied in this matter.

With respect to the *criminal class* themselves, it is generally forgotten that those have long been living a wild and unrestrained life, prize this liberty, law-less as it is, and accompanied with every kind of privation, even more than those who are habitually accustomed to the restraints of society. This is especially the case as regards children. In the case of the parents, even where their general conduct would betoken rather brutal neglect or savage hatred, there exists also a strong instinctive affection, (if such it may be called, which would never deny itself for the future or even present good of their children), and a strong sense of the possession of property in them. These two feelings are greatly mortified by having their offspring taken forcibly from them and placed under other guardianship, however good that may be; and when, in addition, they are compelled to pay for this unwilling abdication of nature's rights, the punishment is severely felt. A domiciliary visit to the homes of many of the Liverpool girls during the autumn, was a strong proof of this. Though the parents were generally in the lowest condition, in no one case was the removal of the daughter spoken of otherwise than as a severe domestic calamity, which, in some instances, had left permanent ill effects in the family; at the same time grateful appreciation was expressed of the kind care bestowed on their girl, and with one exception, an earnest desire that she should not return to the scene of her misdeeds, on the expiration of her sentence. The same feeling is generally manifested in the letters to the children from their homes. But the notoriously bad woman, whose withdrawal of her daughter (not under sentence) from Red Lodge was spoken of in the last Report, writes of her children as "incarcerated in durance vile," *i.e.*, *under sentence* in Reformatories, though in the same letter she says, "I should feel highly satisfied if my daughter Jane was under your kind protection; her age is 8 years." So very great a degradation is a magisterial sentence to a Reformatory felt by those who hold a decent position in life, that some tradespeople who are utterly unable to manage an orphan child, or prevent her from being taken before the bench, begged admission for her as a volunteer, they themselves undertaking the whole cost of her maintenance, which has been faithfully paid in advance every quarter.

Nor is compulsory detention in the School less disliked by the very poor, whom some persons most erroneously suppose likely to incite

their children to crime, to obtain shelter in such an asylum. Last summer a wretched little street-sweeper, having been through motives of compassion taken into domestic service, committed theft, and after a second gross and daring act of the kind, ran away. In the hope of saving her from a life of vice, she was prosecuted and placed under sentence at the Red Lodge. In a few weeks she ran away and was known to be in her miserable home. The parents absolutely refused to give her up, alleging that she had been punished for the offence by being sent to Bridewell, and that the Magistrates had no right to punish her twice for the same offence. No arguments or entreaties availed, and at that time there was no law against harbouring runaways from Reformatories. The parents *preferred* to keep her at home in vice and starvation. Within a week, however, she was discovered begging with the younger children, and was apprehended and sent to Bridewell, for a month, to prove to both parents and child, the power of the law. Now the poor girl is thankful for the benefits thus bestowed on her, and entreats for the admission of her younger sister.—A girl was sent a year ago to Red Lodge on conditional pardon; her former character had been very bad; after a previous imprisonment for picking pockets, she had been sentenced at Sessions to a *year's imprisonment*. The father is a cab-driver. The girl's improvement, and a change in his domestic circumstances, rendering it probable that she should now maintain herself honestly, she was, at his desire, recently sent home in florid health, great strength, and with respectable, useful clothing. The father thus writes after receiving her,—“I was told when she whent theare, she wod heave the beat of everything; I find it quit diferent * * as to her living and clothing it quit disgraceful * * I have a cat in my house as better rattles every day ore is lift and what the child as had ever sin her hath been theare and if I have knew it she never shud whent theare I was quit Ashame to see her,—Please to answer this letter as soon as possible if not I heave a friend that will write for me to sir georg gray and will state to him every parcuail [particular?] about the child.” This shows the importance of compelling payments from parents, many of whom are living, as this one describes himself, in plenty and luxury; also it proves that such a man as the writer of this does *not* esteem it a boon to have his child in a Reformatory even instead of a prison, nor is the fare in it considered luxurious, or as abundant as might be enjoyed at home. The girl herself had spontaneously written the evening before she left:—“Dear Miss C., you have been very kind to me, and I am very sorry for all the trouble you have taken with me, but I hope you will forgive me. I shall be very sorry to leave you.”

The past year has not presented as great an amount of obvious progress in the order and discipline of the School as was hoped at its commencement. The School had been very rapidly increasing in numbers; and though the staff was abundantly equal in size to the number of the girls in the School, averaging a proportion of one Teacher to ten Scholars, yet the newer members of it were painfully feeling how impossible it is to imagine, without actual experience, the difficulty of inducing habits of *wilful* obedience, on those who had never before submitted to controul.

In April, the Red Lodge Cottage was opened with four girls, and these were gradually increased, until in August they amounted to eight. For some time it was rather difficult to make these girls understand their exact position, especially as their kind Matron made them feel as a family, rather than a School; but gathering experience from every failure, a gradual improvement in tone of feeling has been manifested, until at the present time they appear quite sensible of the advantages they enjoy, and grateful for them. It is found advisable to keep these girls as much as possible distinct from those in the Red Lodge permitting them to join their former associates only on special occasions, and at the Sunday afternoon religious instruction; they have also trifling distinctions in dress, &c., which are prized by girls, and in various ways greater privileges. Thus, promotion to the Cottage is an object of great ambition, especially as it is a certain step towards being placed out at service, six having been placed out from thence on trial during the latter part of the year. This separate house affords also the very desirable power of giving a temporary home to girls who have been placed out, when obliged from ill health or other causes to leave service, without causing inconvenience in the large establishment. This has frequently been done, particularly in the case of girls who had left during the former year.

The death of two little girls before alluded to formed a solemn and important epoch in the School. The first sickened in the early spring. She was a gentle good child, beloved both by Teachers and Scholars. It appeared as if filial obedience only could have led to the theft for which she had been exposed to a public trial, for she left her mother and sister in gaol, and many were the secret tears she shed for them. She did not play with the other children, but spent her little earnings and her leisure time in knitting socks for her brothers and sisters. Her illness was long and painful. She had always taken special delight in the Word of God and in prayer, and now these were her great comfort. She was very patient and quite resigned, though she wished to live, if it should be God's will. She was tenderly nursed by a girl who was full of violent passions and vicious inclinations, but who had still a loving heart. While she was on her dying bed, the other received an unlooked for summons. She had always shown a peculiarly low, vicious nature, very lying and at times spiteful; she had been sent for arson after three months' imprisonment. She had complained of slight indisposition and had been medically treated, but expressed herself as quite able to accompany her companion on a long promised excursion. Happily this was refused. In two days peculiar symptoms appeared; she soon became senseless, and on the third day breathed her last without the slightest suffering. The dark, low expression gave way to a sweet serenity, and an almost heavenly smile diffused itself over those features which had seemed formed in earth's coarsest mould. Never did the Angel of Death release a prisoner more gently, or enter a household more benignly. "The Heavenly Father has taken your companion's spirit to Himself," was the one feeling impressed on the minds of the children. All the arrangements were so made as to inspire solemnity, without superstitious dread, into their minds. At

their most earnest entreaty they carried her themselves to her grave in a quiet and beautiful cemetery at no great distance, followed by all her Teachers and school-fellows. They sang their favourite hymn, "Heaven is my home," with faltering voices round her open grave, when the solemn words of prayer had been uttered over the closed coffin, on which the falling clouds had painfully resounded. The other little sufferer's end was evidently approaching; the mother of the departed one, though dwelling in the county, made no effort to give one last look at her child;—but the prison walls prevented this one from having a loving mother's arms around her; for the period of the sentence had not yet expired. The case was represented to the Secretary of State, with an earnest entreaty for pardon, and an intimation that unless that were granted speedily it would be too late. With most kind sympathy in the Home Office the prayer was granted, and within a week the poor mother's arms were around her child. She did not long survive;—her looks had said, "Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." The funerals were conducted with the greatest simplicity and economy, but the kindness of friends put some black crape on the children's bonnets that the solemn impression might not soon be obliterated, and a card was given to each in memory of their lost companions, with an appropriate text chosen by themselves.

These peaceful scenes of mourning were soon to be succeeded by very different ones. The Mistress, whom they greatly loved, and who had shown peculiar tact in controuling and influencing them, as well as devotion to the work, was about to leave England for a distant home. Their grief was excessive; and manifested itself in very rebellious conduct to her successor, who had been very highly recommended, but who showed herself unfit for her post, as well as utterly incapable of managing their difficult and peculiar tempers. Though another was found, who in different circumstances had shown considerable power of influencing, yet a month's misrule had sown many tares which could not easily be uprooted. Added to this, many young girls who, when they first came, had fallen into the general order, now laid aside the controul which they had at first imposed upon themselves, and displayed the natural bad dispositions which they had at first striven to conceal. This will not eventually be injurious; for it is only as the actually existing evil is fairly grappled with, that ultimate reformation can be hoped for; but for the present much trouble and inconvenience must arise when these repressed mischiefs reveal themselves. The rebellious feeling of the older girls showed itself in a tendency to abscond. A first offence of two older girls was forgiven, on their returning penitent, as well as an attempt on the part of some others, but at the end of October three of these again absconded, and when brought back in a few hours by the Police, showed such extreme violence and insubordination that it was considered necessary for the welfare of the household, as well as right for themselves, that they should be taken before the Magistrates, who sentenced them to three months' solitary confinement. These are among the painful trials connected with a Reformatory. The numberless encouraging and touching incidents which occur in

it and relieve the minds and hearts of those who are giving to it their daily labour and constant watchfulness and anxiety, cannot be easily described. Nor, indeed, can a stranger enter into the joy of seeing the first awakening of true penitence, or of receiving the yearning of grateful love from these once forsaken ones. These are the soul's secret which cannot be revealed. Yet it may be mentioned what deep sympathy the children felt when they heard that the house of a mechanic, who had worked on the premises, had taken fire, his wife and children escaping utterly destitute in the middle of the night. They subscribed from their little earnings above 30s., and made a number of pretty and neat articles of clothing for the family. They felt amply rewarded by being permitted to present them when finished, and their bright looks shewed that they understood, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The children shew great delight in their Scripture lessons, and manifest great attention during the services of religion. Many of the girls who for sometime were very unsatisfactory, now manifest an evident determination to improve; one of these, indeed, whose mother was in prison when she came in on a second offence, is now giving much satisfaction in service. Altogether it is felt that decided progress has been made in the general stability of good order and right feeling in the School; that the actual results have more than ever surpassed our hopes, and that those who are interested in the work have reason to thank God and take courage.

MARY CARPENTER,

SUPERINTENDENT.

Bristol, Feb. 3rd, 1858.

We have frequently referred in our Record to the Park Row Asylum for Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoners at Bristol. We visited this Institution last October, and were extremely pleased with its details. Our satisfaction was certainly not lessened in discovering that the Lady Superintendent is a Tipperary woman. By the way, we may add, that the master of St. James's Back is an Irishman, and the mistress of work an Irishwoman. From the *Fifth* Report of the Park Row Asylum, that for 1857, we extract the following:—

The Park Row Asylum, as we stated last year, is not a "Reformatory School," under the controul of Magistrates or of Government, but a Refuge where the Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoner (above sixteen years of age) enters by her own free will, at her own desire, and under a willing promise to submit to the rules of the house, whither she comes *direct* from Prison. She undergoes at first a probation of three weeks or a month in her dormitory, associating gradually during this time with the other inmates, first at prayer in the chapel, then at lessons, and lastly at meal times. If after the time of probation she is still willing to remain in the Asylum, she is

then fully admitted, and receives the clothes of the house. Much benefit is derived from this time of semi-seclusion, as the candidate is daily visited by the Lady Superintendent, and by the Ladies of the Committee; and great moral influence is thus obtained before any free intercourse takes place with the other inmates.

The employment of the inmates consist of all sorts of household work; washing, cooking, baking, needle-work, knitting stockings and socks; boys' caps are also made. A few hours are daily devoted to religious instruction, reading, and writing; the first elements of arithmetic and geography are also taught, and singing of psalms and hymns is daily practised.

Since our last Report family washing has been taken in at the Asylum, and proves to be a healthy and remunerative work; the net produce, after deducting payments for ironers, messengers, &c., having been in less than six months £19:6:7.

Seventy-three pairs of stockings and thirty-eight pairs of socks have been knitted in the house during the year, being principally an order received from the Visiting Justices at the Bridewell, for which we return our best thanks. The profit of the knitting has been £6:12, of other work above £11, during the year.

The anniversary sermon in commemoration of the opening of the Asylum was preached in the chapel on February 1st, by the incumbent of the parish, the Rev. W. Knight.

The Rev. Walter Marriott has continued his valuable services as chaplain, officiating in the chapel on Sunday and Wednesday evenings.

The Rev. H. Montagu has also continued his visits to the Asylum in the absence or indisposition of the Chaplain, and has often very kindly conducted divine service twice on the Sunday.

With much satisfaction we may mention to our friends that on the day the anniversary sermon was preached at the Asylum a £5 note, folded up very small, was picked up by our youngest inmate, and immediately handed over to the Lady Superintendent, by whom it was restored to the owner on her calling to enquire for it a few hours afterwards.

Also a small gold brooch having been drooped by a lady, while visiting the Asylum, unknown to her, it was found by one of the inmates while cleaning the room, and given to the Lady Superintendent, who after many enquiries at last discovered the owner. These two incidents will, we trust, speak favourably of young women who may through want of education or other causes, have deviated from the paths of honesty, but who with care, kind advice, and persevering good instruction, do not prove irreclaimable. Ten young women have had respectable situations provided for them this year, and in two instances a second has been sent to the same place, at the special desire of the mistress. Of these ten not one has been accused of dishonesty, or again brought before a court of justice.

Since the opening of the Asylum forty young women have been sheltered; in this year twelve new cases have been admitted.

Seven from Bristol Gaol,

One, for a week, from Bristol Gaol,

One from Bristol Bridewell,

One from Shepton Mallet Gaol,
One from Taunton Gaol,
One from Gloucester Gaol.

Twelve have been provided for, and ten remain in the house.

At the suggestion of the Rev. W. C. Osborn, Chaplain of the Bath Gaol, an offer has been made by our Committee to leave two or four dormitories at his disposal, if sufficient subscriptions could be secured in Bath. The proposal was taken into consideration, and Mr. Osborn attended a meeting of our Committee, and expressed his hope and that of the Magistrates of Bath, that it might be so arranged, as no such institution as ours exist in Bath.

At the General Meeting of the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Committees, held on the 20th of January last, presided over by W. Miles, Esq. it was agreed to purchase a piece of ground offered for sale, at the back of the Asylum and to raise the requisite sum by donations. If a sufficient amount could not at once be obtained, it was resolved to accept a loan offered by a friend, at 4 per cent. interest, redeemable whenever funds should permit. The cost of the ground was nearly £600; donations then promised, and a few afterwards obtained, amounted to £248: 14; a loan of £340 was therefore required to effect the purchase, and has been obtained. An old house stood on the acquired premises; this after much careful thought and deliberation it was resolved to pull down, and sell the materials, thus avoiding all expenses, whether for repairs or taxes, which the low rent obtainable might not always cover; and the still more grave objection which letting might involve, namely, intrusion upon the privacy of the Asylum; the principal motive for the purchase having been to secure a large garden adjoining the Institution, for cultivation and for exercise.

Accordingly the sale was advertised in the newspapers by private tender, the Committee excluding the pumps, cisterns, outside boundary wall, and other matters which it was thought desirable to retain.

Considering the bad effect of the ensuing winter upon so old an house, as well as the danger of the lead being stolen, which had happened to some neighbouring houses, it was resolved that no time should be lost.

Mr. Tucker's offer of £60 was considered the most desirable, and we are glad to record that all the conditions named to him have been faithfully carried out; so that we have now our premises clear, surrounded by a boundary wall, and including the large addition to our garden ground, so much desired.

From the foundation of the Calder Farm Reformatory, we have placed its history and progress before our friends, and from its *Second Report*, that for 1857, we extract the following useful and interesting passages:—

From the last year's Report, it appears that up to 31st December, 1856, 26 boys had been received under detention; 24 more have been received up to Decr. 31st. 1857;—50 received altogether;—besides 9 not under detention, as mentioned in the last Report.

As regards Instruction, the state of the 50 was, on admission, as follows:—

15 could neither read nor write; 9 could read imperfectly, but not write; 12 could read and write imperfectly; 8 could read well, and write imperfectly; 3 could write well, and read imperfectly; 3 could read and write well.

As to social condition, 19 had lost one parent; 4 both; 27 neither. 16 were more or less without parental control; 21 had drunken or otherwise disreputable parents. As to age, 21 were under,—29 above—14 years. Of the 50 received, 1 absconded immediately after admission. Since the last Report it has been ascertained that this boy was re-convicted at Liverpool, and sentenced to penal servitude. 7 were removed to other Schools, by order of the Secretary of State, viz.:—2 to Market Weighton; 1 to Carlisle; 4 to the Reformatory Ship, *Akbar*, Liverpool. 42 belong to the School 31st December, 1857, making with 1 not under detention, 43—the present number.

Of moral results, it is yet premature to say much. The earliest admission of a boy under detention, dates from March 19th, 1856. The periods of detention vary from 2 to 5 years, the average being above 4. Hence, no boy under detention has yet been placed out. The Managers believe that the improvement apparent in many of the boys, will justify an application to the Secretary of State for their discharge before their full period of detention shall have expired. But they feel it incumbent on them to exercise the utmost caution in thus seeking to shorten the time during which boys are committed to their care. In all attempts to infuse good moral and religious principles, *time* is requisite that they be thoroughly wrought into the character, so as to be acted upon habitually, and withstand temptation. Time is needed, even when the seed is sown in soil under favourable conditions, to bring it to maturity; much more is it needed when, as in the Reformatory School, the fallow ground has to be broken up, and weeds resulting from long neglect, bad counsel, or worse example, have to be eradicated.

On the other hand, as soon as there is reasonable ground to hope that a boy's good impressions are confirmed, and he shews himself trustworthy, *handy*, and likely to be useful to an employer, it is desirable that he should be placed out, both to make room for others, and that he may get into the way of earning his livelihood more independently; and also on higher moral grounds,—to test and strengthen his good principles by engaging in the actual conflict of life.

The object sought in the School is to prepare him for this conflict, not by cutting off all access of temptation, but by letting the trial come upon him by degrees, as he seems able to bear it. Kept at first under strict *surveillance*, he is gradually, as he shews himself worthy of confidence, trusted out of sight, sent on errands to less or greater distances, entrusted with money, &c. In no instance of the last kind, and very rarely in any other, has the confidence thus reposed been abused. One boy thus employed, having found half-sovereign which had been accidentally dropped, immediately brought

it, though his office as messenger gave him peculiar facilities for otherwise disposing of it, and though he was a boy of whom his master before he came, said, that he could not trust him with anything.

In order more fully to carry out the principle of gradual re-admission to the temptations and responsibilities of common life, a very useful discretionary power has been vested in the Managers of Reformatory Schools, by the Act of last Session (20 and 21 VICT. c. 55). By § 13 of this Act, they are empowered, when a boy shall have been half his term in the School, to place him with an employer for a month *on trial*, before applying for his absolute discharge; retaining, during that period, the same power over him, in case of misconduct, as if he were in the School; and the power to recall him in case he should prove unfit for the situation, or it for him.

There are several boys to whom, during the ensuing year, this course would be applicable; and a most valuable service would be rendered by any one who would kindly look out for suitable situations for them,—particularly as farm servants,—and would communicate thereupon with the Head Master.

The chief employment in the School is farm and garden labour, and the boys are found, with scarcely an exception, to take to it, with a cheerfulness and heartiness which, considering the very different course of life which most of them had previously led, is surprising and most encouraging. Willingness to work may be said to characterize the School as a whole; and new-comers, though often lazily inclined, catch, more or less quickly, the prevailing habit.

From the first, each boy was allowed to have a small garden of about 2 perches, to be cultivated by him, in *his play time*, for his own advantage. Several felt the benefit of this so much, that they applied to have more land, paying *rent* for it. This was allowed on certain conditions, as to good cultivation, &c., and at the rate of 6d. a perch, or £4 an acre. Three-fourths of an acre have been occupied in that way since the harvest.

The chief characteristics of the criminal class being indolence and the reckless expending of their unlawful acquisitions on immediate sensual gratification,—this small allotment system affords a direct corrective, in that it requires and habituates them to labour and forego present gratification (except that found in work itself when freely undertaken), with a view to a remote future benefit;—a step, less trifling perhaps than it may seem, towards initiation into that course of discipline which this life is designed to be to them and to all.

The more immediate advantage is considerable. The boys, having a direct personal interest in the bit of ground, and the little agricultural operations thereon, which they feel to be their own, acquire a general interest in such operations, which carries them on when working for the School, and tends to form in them that real liking for work, and that notion of doing something for themselves, which are such valuable characteristics of the honest labourer. The last—the sense of independence—is one which requires the greatest care to foster, as it might otherwise be weakened, in an institution where,

from the nature of the case, much must necessarily be done for the inmates.

The work done by them for the School is as follows:—It is found that, taking the average of the older and younger boys, each one digs over, during the working day of eight hours, of the land in occupation, which is moderately light, from 4 to 7 perches, according to its previous state of cultivation, and the depth required for the intended crop.

In the Spring of the present year, 29 acres of land were taken, in addition to that previously occupied by the School, making in all—36A. 2R. 26P.

This has been cropped as follows.—Wheat, 8 acres and 3 roods; Beans, 1 acre and 1 rood; Barley, 1 acre and 1 rood; Oats, 3 acres; Clover, 4 acres and 2 roods; Potatoes, 3 acres and 2 roods; Turnips, 2 acres and 2 roods; Mangold, 2 acres and 2 roods; Lucerne, 1 acre; Scotch and other Cabbages, 3 roods; Carrots and Parsnips, 2 roods; General Garden Crops—Beans, Peas, Onions, &c., 2 acres; Boys' Gardens, 26 perches; Pasture, 3 acres; Meadow, 2 acres.

On entry to the new land, 4½ acres of it were sown with wheat, and 4½ acres in clover. During the season, all the rest was sown, and all the crops gathered, by the boys, under the charge of an additional Labour Master for the farm, with these exceptions. On taking the additional land, it was thought advisable to keep one horse for carting coals, manure, &c. It seemed also desirable that boys intended chiefly for farm labour, should learn to attend a horse. The season being advanced when the additional land was taken in hand, horse labour was used to some extent in getting in the seed. The hay and the first crop of clover was also mown by hired men, the boys being employed in making hay for hire on neighbouring farms. The second crop of clover was, however, mown by them, and all the other work of the farm done.

Since harvest, fifteen acres have been dug over by them, in preparation for the Spring; in addition to 14A. 1R. 26P. prepared and sown with Winter crops.

The School was visited during the Spring by M. de Metz, who spent a day in examining it with the minute attention to details suggested by his vast experience; and who says of it, in a letter since received—

“Compliment apart, I declare to you that it seems to me impossible to be placed under conditions more favourable to success, either as regards the choice of your Head Master, or of local position.”

To this strong testimony as regards the Head Master, the Managers add their own, founded on another year's experience of his efficiency; and also express their great satisfaction with the way in which the Schoolmaster, Mr. Crowther, and the two Labour Masters, have performed their duties.

From the *Cork Examiner* of April 2nd. we take the following report and Editorial notice. This is really to advance, it is the true way by which to succeed in juvenile Reformation and protection, it is the heart and soul of the Reformatory system—The Patronage Society.

BENEVOLENT APPRENTICING SOCIETY.

The first annual meeting of this Society was held yesterday, at twelve o'clock, in the Dispensary House, Grand Parade. Amongst the gentlemen present were, John F. Maguire, M.P., N. Mahony, Isaac Julian, Professor England, Dr. O'Connor, Dr. Townsend, Robert Scott, George Purcell, W. P. Harris, Edmond McCarthy, R. J. O'Shaughnessy, Thomas Hayes, Patrick Hegarthy, James Hogg, J. T. Cleary, G. Smith, William D'Esterre Parker, Thomas Gallwey, &c.

On the motion of Dr. O'Connor, seconded by Mr. N. Mahony, the chair was taken by.

MR. WM. PRITTIH HARRIS.

Mr. R. J. O'Shaughnessy read the following:—

Report of the Committee of the Benevolent Apprenticing Society for the year ending 31st March, 1858.

In making their first annual report, the Committee of the "Benevolent Apprenticing Society" have great pleasure in being able to congratulate the subscribers on the complete success of their humble undertaking. About twelve months since, a few gentlemen acquainted with the condition of the orphan children reared in the workhouse, their good conduct and intelligence while in school, and their exposure to contamination should they pass to the able-bodied class, conceived the idea of apprenticing these children, while they were still innocent, and of becoming their guardians for a few years, till their acquaintance with the world might enable them to act for themselves. This proposal being warmly advocated by the local press, was readily adopted by the citizens of Cork and its vicinity, and a sufficient sum of money to carry out its objects was soon subscribed.—However, it must be admitted, that many who aided the undertaking, despaired of its success, from a conviction that boys reared in comparative idleness would not be got to submit to systematic labour. We are happy to be enabled to state, that this very natural apprehension has been proved, by experience, to be groundless. Of twenty-one boys apprenticed more than twelve months since, not a single complaint has been hitherto made by their masters. In one instance two apprentices suffered great privations, their master being reduced by domestic misfortune, from comparative affluence to distress. Nevertheless, they were willing to bear everything rather than return to the workhouse, even for the short time in which we might procure for them another master, such was the spirit of independence created in these boys by so short an experience of its value.

These facts are creditable to the guardians for the excellent training and education which procured these results; and they put be-

vond question the practicability, as well as benevolence, of this society. It is probable, however, that slight differences which occasionally arose between master and apprentice would have passed into one open rupture, but for the interference of members of the committee, whose visit at once reconciled the parties. This practice of visiting the homes of the apprentices periodically, we consider the main feature of utility in the society. It ensures justice from the master, and tends to control the conduct of the apprentice, as much by respect for his benefactor, as by his advice and counsel.

This duty has hitherto devolved on a few, but in future it is proposed that it be divided between the whole committee, each two members undertaking the patronage of a certain number of apprentices; and we are convinced that any trouble resulting to them will be compensated by the pleasure of witnessing so much good realised at so small a cost.

Seeing the good which has already resulted from this experiment, we would recommend that a similar effort should be made to rescue the Female Orphans from the lethargy, which a long residence in a workhouse is sure to generate. That they are entitled to consideration at our hands is proved by the fact, that the Inspector of National Schools was so pleased with their answering at a recent examination, that he selected four of their number to become Mistresses of National Schools. Whether the remainder, nearly their equals in school learning, and not their inferiors in good conduct, shall remain prisoners for life in a Workhouse, or purchase their liberty at the expense of virtue, or wait for the arrival of some speculator from Caffraria or Australia to export them as live stock useful to the new colony, depends upon the subscribers to this Society.

The Committee are confident, that by a little personal exertion on the part of some few ladies, aided by a small pecuniary assistance from the Society, many of those children will find a virtuous home in their own country, where their intelligence and industry, as in the case of the boys, may reward the benevolence that gives them shelter. The details of this plan will be submitted by a member of the Committee.

If we failed in everything else, we have succeeded in conferring a *good name*, not undeserved, on the poor children of the workhouse; and if without it the highest in rank are degraded, and the most successful in trade are sure to decay, how can the poor rise out of the difficulties which surround them, when divested of it?

We might urge many arguments derived from principles of economy, to recommend the objects of this Society to public notice, namely, the cost of support in a workhouse, the cost of emigration or the cost of punishing or reforming a criminal; but we would prefer that the citizens of Cork should have the full credit of uniting, from feelings of Christian philanthropy, unmixed even with justifiable selfishness; and we feel confident that from this motive alone, sufficient charity will flow to confer on the Society ample funds for its objects.

Mr. Maguire said that he had been just called upon to propose the adoption of the report; but so full was it of information and of

interest, that it really left nothing for him to add. However, he might be permitted to express his satisfaction at the authoritative proclamation of the fact, which the experience of the last twelve months had established, that although a poor child might have been reared in a workhouse, he yet was not entirely beyond the pale of society, or the hope of social redemption (hear, hear). There was at that moment, and had been for some time, a general and earnest feeling throughout the city, and amongst all classes of its citizens, in favour of Reformatories—a feeling most creditable to the citizens of Cork (hear, hear), who did not despair of redeeming the criminal child, and restoring him to society as a useful and valuable member. And, surely, if they did not despair of reforming the child who had fallen into crime, there was no reason to doubt of the social redemption of the child whose only crime was his poverty, caused perhaps by the loss of a parent, and not by any fault of his own (hear, hear). Crime brought one child to the reformatory; poverty brought the other to the workhouse. They did not despair of the criminal; why, then, despair of the pauper (cries of “hear, hear”)? On every ground, of common sense, economy, humanity, and charity, he was of opinion that the Benevolent Apprenticing Society was one of the most useful, practical, and benevolent institutions that could possibly have been organised in the city. It was right to make some effort to prove that a residence in a workhouse, often compulsory, was not degrading and debasing, or that it unfitted the child for any useful or creditable occupation. The moment the human plant, that was feeble and declining in the barren soil and uncongenial atmosphere of a workhouse, was transplanted to the vigorous soil and the genial atmosphere of freedom, it was certain to expand, and develop itself in health, in strength, and in energy (cries of “hear, hear”). For his part, he had always maintained the opinion, both at the Board of Guardians and elsewhere, that the best money expended was that expended in the industrial and literary education of the children in the workhouse (hear, hear). Some persons might cry out for economy when an attempt was made to improve the training of those children; but the economy which would reduce the number of schoolmasters or schoolmistresses, was a criminal economy,—it was folly—it was madness—it was an injury to the children, an injury to the ratepayers, and a heavy infliction on society (applause). The more that was done to form their habits, to improve their morals, and to add to their knowledge, the more certainly were they rendered discontented with their dependant position, the more anxious were they to leave the house, and, once having quitted its walls, the more determined were they to remain outside, supported by their own industry (hear, hear). The fact that some of the twenty-one boys who had been rescued from the workhouse by the society, had submitted to the severest privations, and perhaps to the harshness or even the tyranny of those to whom they had been apprenticed, proved their anxiety to leave the workhouse. If indeed our respected secretary reported the same of those boys who had not turned out well—if he had to say that there had been four, or six, or even ten failures, we should not still have been surprised, nor ought we have been disappointed

(hear, hear); we should have attributed those failures to the imperfection of our common nature. But there has not been a failure at all (hear, hear). The masters were not perfect, nor were the boys angels; still there was not a single instance in which the society had to record a failure. Under those circumstances, the report was the most cheering that could by possibility be presented to the society; and with such a report before them, the public were bound to assist the present effort, and, by contributions as well as by active co-operation, advance the objects of the society (hear, hear).

Mr. Thomas Hayes briefly seconded the adoption of the report, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. Robert Scott said he had been requested to propose that "The thanks of this meeting are due to the committee for the past year for the attention which they have given to the business of the society, and for the exertions which they have so successfully made to effect the objects for which the society was constituted." It was scarcely necessary for him to say anything in support of that resolution. The report which had been read, spoke sufficiently of the efforts made by the committee; and the success that attended those exertions was a matter of congratulation, and should excite the public to a deeper and greater interest in so laudable an institution (hear, hear). It was a very pleasing fact that after having apprenticed twenty-one poor children, none of them had acted in a way to bring discredit upon themselves or upon those who had taken an interest in them (hear, hear). If twenty-one of a better class of children were apprenticed, it would not be surprising if they turned out unsatisfactory, and when they found a number of boys, who were confined for a considerable period in a workhouse, distributed amongst different parties, and all turn out well, it spoke very highly not only for themselves, but for the description of training that fitted them to fill their situations. The humbler persons were, the more ought their desire for advancement be encouraged (hear, here). The society was worthy the regard of every benevolent person in Cork, and Cork was famous for the exercise of benevolence. There was scarcely any cause worthy of support, that was not assisted (hear). He was sure then the object of the society required only to be known to command a larger share of public interest and subscriptions. He need scarcely dwell upon the importance of taking young persons out of the workhouse and placing them in a position of making a livelihood for themselves and becoming respectable members of society (hear). After some further remarks, Mr. Scott concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. George Purcell seconded it.

It was carried unanimously.

Dr. Townsend said he had been requested to propose that the following gentlemen be the committee for the coming year:—T. G. French, president; R. J. O'Shaughnessy, Hon. Sec.; J. England, Dr. W. C. Townsend, I. Julian, T. Hayes, P. Hegarty, G. Purcell, T. Gallwey, N. Mahony, Francis Lyons, Dr. O'Connor, and Alderman Robert Scott." After the able speeches the meeting had heard, he need not say a word. Any one conversant with the

interior of a workhouse must perceive with great satisfaction the prospect of getting the little boys out of it. He hoped an effort would be shortly made in behalf of the girls as well (hear). He could not see what crime it was to be poor, and he did not see why any one of these poor little boys should not aspire to high positions (hear, hear).

Professor England seconded the proposition which was carried.

Mr. Mahony stated that last year the sum of £90 was expended, leaving a balance of £60. This balance would not exactly pay the instalments coming on, but they would not be due before the end of two years.

Mr. Maguire—What is the amount of the fee?

Mr. Mahony—£5.

Mr. Maguire—Are they all at mechanical employments?

Mr. Mahony—Yes; we have got no suitable offers for farmers.

Mr. Maguire—Mr. Parker says he could get a few on board the Wizard. I got eight or nine from the Dungarvan workhouse on board her.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy—And there were six from our own workhouse.

Mr. Mahony thought that the boys who Mr. Maguire got engaged had a special advantage over the boys of the Cork workhouse.

Mr. Maguire—Well, they were certainly the sons of fishermen.

Mr. Mahony—They weigh the boys before they take them on board those vessels. Mr. French got a little fellow engaged, by putting a piece of lead in his trowsers in order that he might weigh heavier (great laughter). Mr. Mahony continued to say that it was the intention of the society to take up the girls, and they hoped to be able to hire them out as servants by the intervention of the ladies of Cork, whose aid the society solicited (hear, hear). There was to be an examination of the girls on Thursday, at which there would be a large attendance of ladies, and he was certain the moment they saw the little girls, so clean and nice, they would forward the view of the society, (hear, hear).

Mr. Hogg said there was a great want of domestic servants, and from what had been seen and heard of the boys, he was sure any effort to advance the girls would be successful. There was no employment that could be obtained but that contemplated, every mechanical business, such as shirt making, being done away with. He (Mr. Hogg) knew the men to whom the boys had been engaged, and he could say it authoritatively that it was surprising there should be no complaint.

Dr. O'Connor—Though we could not say there was no fault on the part of the boys, still there was no fault on the part of the men, perhaps owing to misfortune. We do not wish to overstate things.

Mr. Mahony said there would not be the same liability of failure on the part of the masters in future as there had been at first, because they were then afraid of the boys.

Mr. Julian—Indeed they turned out better than ourselves expected.

Mr. Mahony—As to the girls, a committee of the Guardians have it in contemplation to give the children of two years old, or just weaned, to well conducted girls in the first class to take as nurse-

lings, and by that means they will be habituated to the care of young children (hear, hear). The particulars have not been arranged yet. There must be a ward for these girls. With regard to the male and female schools, the Christian Brothers are, I believe, the best, but I have never seen a poor school to equal the workhouse schools (hear, hear). As for the funds I have no fear on that point. There were many places that we did not go to at all last year, for instance, the Weigh-house, a very liberal place; and then we did not ask the professional gentlemen living on the South Mall.

Mr. Smith was pleased that the girls had been taken up by the society, for he perceived by the new law that when they came to the age of 15 they were obliged to leave with the able-bodied. This, therefore, was the time to make exertions, previous to the law being carried out.

Dr. O'Connor said he thought that even if the poor law gave the Guardians the power of apprenticing the children, the present charitable and benevolent system was better (hear, hear). It would raise the society beyond mere legislature. Still the poor law was undoubtedly charitable in the extreme. It was written over the work-house entrance, "no man need starve"; it was the citadel of the poor man; the place where the old man may obtain an asylum, where young women could be reared without contamination, where the sick are received and treated admirably (hear). Therefore, the poor law was a grand institution and failed only in one point, and here the society stepped in, and showed that poor children were not out of the pale of society because they were in the workhouse. The training of those children was admirable, but it would be fruitless had not the society stepped in. The ship-builder erected the ship but had not prepared anything to launch her—so the young inmates of the workhouse were trained by excellent instructors, but nothing was done to launch them into society (hear, hear). He was convinced the expenditure this year would be much less than that of last. The guardians would, he was sure, clothe the children to be apprenticed not in paupers' clothing, but as became young persons entering into life. It was the intention to place the girls in respectable tradesmen's families for twelve months without any wages, and ladies would visit them frequently, and ascertain how they conducted themselves. It was a source of astonishment that the farmers did not apply for the boys, because they would be most useful to them, both in keeping their accounts and instructing their children.

Mr. Mahony—The farmers are proverbially slow. Mr. Mahony then stated that last year there were only fifteen guardians on the subscribers' list, but at the board meeting on Wednesday he got eleven new subscribers.

Mr. Hogg—Allow me to ask whether you apply for a donation or subscription?

Mr. Mahony—A donation.

Dr. O'Connor—But it is virtually a subscription.

Mr. Maguire—What is the average cost of maintaining a pauper in the workhouse?

Mr. Mahony—£7 a-year; but that is exclusive of general charges.

Mr. Gallwey having taken the second chair, thanks were given to Mr. Harris, and the meeting adjourned.

THE Benevolent Apprenticing Society has already successfully vindicated its claim to the support of the citizens of Cork, whether they are likely to be influenced by mere motives of prudence and economy, or animated by the loftiest impulses of charity and benevolence. It has already rescued 21 boys from the moral stagnation and social death of the workhouse, and added them as so many useful and self-supporting members to the community. It has rescued these 21 children from the dismal fate that awaited them the moment they reached a certain age, and were drafted from the juvenile to the adult class; and it has relieved the rate-payers of the burden of their support, not for a single year, but in all probability for ever. We admit this latter is the smallest consideration with us; still we by no means deny its importance as an element in the consideration of the rate-payer, and upon pecuniary grounds. For instance, the annual cost of supporting these 21 boys was, at £8 a-head, £168. This cost was, as a matter of course, supplied out of the rates levied on the industry and property of the union, or electoral division, as the case may have been. Let us suppose that no such attempt had been made as that which has turned out so successfully. The result would have been simply this—that these 21 boys would have grown up in apathetic idleness, demoralised and contaminated by association with the broken down class technically termed able-bodied; and that ten years might have past over their heads before they relieved the rate-payers of the burden of their support. What would the cost of their support for these ten years have been? No less a sum than £1,680! Even if they remained but *five* years in the workhouse, the cost of their support, in food and clothing, would be £840. And yet, for a present outlay of £2 or £3 ahead, these boys have been removed from the heavily burdened shoulders of the rate-payers, and planted firmly on their own legs, as self-supporting members of the community. Here, at once, is an economical, a social, and a moral result of the highest importance to the individual, to the rate-payer, and to society. But let the promoters of this wise and most benevolent scheme be supplied with additional means of usefulness, and they will be enabled to diminish the load of the rate-payer's burden in a far greater degree, and add many more members to the ranks of reproductive industry. For every shilling they receive, they will return twenty shillings to the community. Like good seed in a rich soil, it will be certain to bring forth an abundant harvest. Even then, were it only on economical grounds, the society ought to be zealously supported by the public. But read the report, and see how faithfully these 21 poor boys have repaid the prudent bounty of their benefactors. In all cases they have done well—in some instances gallantly battling with misery and privation, the result of depression of trade, and dearth of employment. Now, let us ask, could more than this be said for the sons of people in decent circumstances—for boys delicately brought up, and carefully trained under the eyes of anxious and vigilant parents? Would there have been no single failure in their case? Surely, this almost miraculous success of an experiment which even the sanguine regarded

with anxiety, ought to remove all further doubt from the mind of the public, and satisfy them that here is a practical means of diminishing the dead load of pauperism, and preventing the fatal growth of the pauper child into the pauper adult. It will be seen that the same plan is about being adopted with the female children of the house; and that, in order to render the experiment as certain as possible of success, a probationary training, suited for the future child's maid and domestic servant, is to be given in the establishment, so soon as arrangements to that effect can be carried out. There is one feature, however, in the scheme which we must not omit to notice—namely, the watchful care of the Society over the apprentice during the most trying period of his career—the influence which its members exercise upon the conduct of the master towards the apprentice—and the consciousness that the latter is made to have of his not being without kind and anxious friends in the world. In all other respects the scheme is wise, practical, and humane,—here it rises to the lofty height of Christian charity. We shall only add this single remark, that if the juvenile criminal be worthy, as he clearly is, of the sympathy and succour of the benevolent, who contrive all kinds of institutions for his conversion and restoration to the paths of virtue and the ways of industry; the poor child, who has never committed any offence whatever, and whose only crime is his poverty or his state of orphanage, is not the less worthy of sympathy and succour; and that, of the two, the innocent and guiltless child has the stronger claim upon the assistance and protection of the community.

CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL AND RAGGED SCHOOLS.

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 31st day of December, 1857, by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

Their Lordships having had under consideration the Acts of Parliament relative to *Reformatory Schools*; viz. :—

17 & 18 Vict. c. 86,
18 & 19 Vict. c. 87,
19 & 20 Vict. c. 109,
20 & 21 Vict. c. 55;

also the acts relative to *Industrial Schools*; viz. :—

17 & 18 Vict. c. 74 (Scotland),
20 & 21 Vict. c. 48 (England and Wales).—

Resolved,—

1. To cancel the Minute dated 2nd June, 1856, except so far as that schools already receiving aid under it might continue to do so on the same conditions until the 31st March, 1859, but no longer.

2. That after 31 March, 1859, no *Reformatory School* certified under the Act 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86, should receive grants (except as provided in the 9th section below), from the Parliamentary Fund administered by the Committee of Council on Education, but that *Industrial Schools* certified under the Acts 20 & 21 Vict. c. 48, or 17 and 18 Vict. c. 74, and *Ragged Schools*, might be aided on the conditions set forth in the rest of this present Minute.

3. That their Lordships are prepared to consider applications for certifying Industrial Schools pursuant to the Industrial Schools' Act, 1857.

4. That the promoters of Ragged Schools, in applying for aid under this Minute, must state in detail:

Within what local limits they expect to gather scholars.

What day schools of the ordinary kind are maintained, or are about to be maintained, by charitable subscriptions for the education of children of the labouring and other poorer classes within the same limits. The name and address of a correspondent must be given for each school.

Why the school now proposed to the Committee of Council should be a Ragged School rather than one of the ordinary kind, and why it will not be likely to injure any of the day schools just named.

A map marked so as to illustrate the answers to these inquiries should be transmitted if possible.

5. That Ragged Schools must fulfil the following conditions:—

The title of Ragged School, or some other equivalent name of distinction, must be retained.

Both scholastic and industrial instruction must be given.

No fees must be received from any child attending the school or any of the classes.

Accurate accounts must be kept of all receipts and expenditure; and if the managers attempt other objects besides the daily instruction of children, the expenditure upon such other objects, and upon the instruction, must be separately stated.

The managers must certify and the inspector must report that adequate means are taken to confine the children attending the school to that class which cannot be associated with the children of respectable labouring men; that reading, writing, and arithmetic (as far as the first four rules, simple and compound), are well taught in the school; and that its discipline and moral influence are such as are calculated to benefit the special class of scholars.

6. Certified Industrial and Ragged Schools may receive grants equal per annum to—

One-half of the rent of the premises in which industrial instruction is carried on;

One third of the cost of tools and of raw material for labour;

Five shillings per annum per industrial scholar according to the average number under industrial instruction throughout the year preceding the date of inspection.

The ordinary rate for the purchase of books, maps, and apparatus;

The ordinary rate in augmentation of any certified teacher's salary.

Teachers in workhouse schools, who are rated in the first division of competency, and who, during the last three preceding years, shall have served continuously in such schools with rating not below competency, may take rank without further examination in Ragged or in certified Industrial Schools as certificated teachers, and may in those schools, but in none other, receive such augmentation as their salaries justify, on the usual conditions, up to £20.

Teachers who are at this date employed in Ragged or Industrial Schools, may obtain the like privilege by passing an examination equal to the rating of competency in workhouse schools, provided

that the inspector has reported favourably of their schools during each of three consecutive years.

7. That in schools certified under the Acts 20 & 21 Vict. c. 48, and 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74, there might be granted, in addition to the foregoing forms of aid.—

The sum of £5 for every child received during the year preceding the date of inspection into the establishment, under an order of the justices for its permanent detention, or who shall have been detained therein under such an order throughout the whole of the same year.

The sum of £40 or, in the case of females, £27 in respect of every person boarded, lodged, and trained as a teacher therein during the year preceding the date of inspection, on the following conditions:—

(1.) That the school contain at least 40 inmates.

(2.) That Her Majesty's Inspector make a favourable report upon the means of training and upon the candidates presented by the managers for admission. The candidates will be examined for admission by the inspector in reading, in writing from dictation, and in the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound. The inspector will also report upon the apparent fitness of the candidates in respect of age, previous employment, manners, and physical strength, for the duties of a teacher in Reformatory or Industrial Schools. Candidates must have completed their 18th year.

(3.) That the payments may, on the recommendation of Her Majesty's Inspector, be continued for a second year, but that no fractional payment be allowed.

(4.) That teachers so trained may, on taking service in a Ragged or in a certified Industrial School, and after passing before the inspector, upon the papers given to workhouse school teachers, an examination equal to the rating of competency, receive augmentation pursuant to Section 6 (f), *supra*.

8. That all examinations and inspections made in pursuance of this Minute be, as a general rule, referred to such of Her Majesty's Inspectors as are charged with the inspection of workhouse schools.

9. That Reformatory Schools certified under the Act 17 & 18 Vic. c. 86, be allowed to have the benefit of Section 7 of this Minute so far as it relates to the reception of candidates for training as teachers; the inspector of prisons discharging the same functions as are thereby assigned to the inspector of schools, and making a report to the Secretary of State for transmission to the Committee of Council.

10. That grants for building Ragged Schools be made on the usual terms, so long as they provide for daily instruction only, or for daily instruction in a measure greatly beyond the accommodation for lodging, which latter must not be enough to characterize the buildings as other than those for a daily school.

Grants for building schools intended to be certified under the Industrial Schools' Act, will also be made, on the usual terms as regards the previous approval of plans, specifications, estimates, title, and conveyance in trust, and at a rate not exceeding half the approved expenditure, nor £30 per bed for which proper space is provided.

Grants will be made for building, (instead of an allowance for rent) in those cases only where the permanent provision of premises appears to be thoroughly adequate, and where circumstances in all respects are favourable to the undertaking.

Since the publication of our last Record we received the Rev. John Clay's final *Report* as Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction; he has retired from his office after thirty-six years of duty, discharged with an enlightened zeal which made him the most useful as he was the most distinguished of those able men holding the posts of Prison Chaplains. Mr. Frederick Hill, in his invaluable work on *Crime*, designates Mr. Clay, "the zealous, benevolent, and able chaplain of the prison at Preston." No description could be more true; no man has done more to aid us in solving the difficulties connected with prison discipline and the sources of crime than Mr. Clay, and he retires from his chaplaincy regretted and respected by all in these kingdoms who are interested in the noble work to which his life and genius were devoted. What he has done for social science we shall show in the next number of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. South tells us, "that which makes the clergy glorious is to be knowing in their profession, unspotted in their lives, active and laborious in their charges; and lastly, to be gentle, courteous, and compassionate to all. These are our rolls and our maces, our escutcheons and highest titles of honour"—such a man as this was and is the Reverend John Clay.

The following, from *The Southern Reporter* of April 9th, will show how actively the ladies have taken up the Reformatory question in Cork:—

BENEVOLENT APPRENTICING SOCIETY.

Upon yesterday the inspection and examination of the most advanced class of female orphans in the workhouse, was held. The extreme inclemency of the weather prevented the attendance of the ladies and gentlemen who so kindly interest themselves for these dependent and friendless young girls, from being so general as no doubt it otherwise would have been, but notwithstanding so serious a drawback, there was still a very considerable number present. Amongst the ladies were the Lady Mayoress, Mrs. N. Mahony, Mrs. Maguire, sen.; Mrs. W.C. Townsend, Mrs. O'Brien, Miss Donegan, &c. His Worship the Mayor and several members of the committee and other gentlemen attended, and evinced deep interest in the undertaking. Some erroneous feeling appears to have deterred many from visiting the workhouse. A doubt as to the admissability of strangers in the first place presented itself, but the principal repug-

nance no doubt arose, and even had most control over, the sensibilities of the kind and tender hearted, that they would in their visit discern so much misery which they could not relieve, and be brought in contact with such squalid and miserable beings as would disgust and pain them without being of the slightest avail or benefit to any one. This, at least as far as the juvenile class, that is those under fifteen years of age, is concerned, is quite a mistake. And so far from their condition and their appearance in their school room, leaving an uneasy or painful recollection, we heard upon every side expressions of pleased surprise, at the cheerful looks, the invariably excellent demeanour, the strict neatness of attire, and the intelligence of the children. The ladies were undisguisedly gladdened by the sight, so different from that which they may have anticipated, and, indeed, even the heart of that symbol of moroseness and discontent, "a rate-payer," would have been as light as he represents his purse to have become, had he seen how much contentment and real usefulness had been produced by his money. The school-room, which is a very large oblong department, divided by a barrier in the middle, contained 220 children, ranging from the ages of three to fifteen years. They sat in their places according to their classes, at the left of the entrance, the other division being set apart for the visitors and those under examination. The walls were, in honour of the occasion, festooned with laurels and evergreens, and over the door the word "Welcome" was neatly executed by those for whom we trust a hopeful future will date from this much-desired visit. The pleased and bright looks of the children, who seemed quite to appreciate what was going forward, relieved them from any appearance of forced constraint; yet they preserved the most complete order and unbroken silence, except when at the desire of their teachers, they stood up in file, and then their wooden shoes pattered along the floor as they marched off to be examined. One or two of the very young infants fell asleep, and we noticed that then the nearest class-fellow quietly and fondly wrapped its tiny arms about the little sleeper, and, although scarcely bigger than its nurseling, watched over its repose with all the gravity and affection of a parent. The greatest goodwill and generosity seems to exist among the pupils, and having drawn experience from the bitterest teachings of adversity, they have learned the worth of every little act of kindness, were it only conveyed in a gentle look or word. One of the assistant schoolmistresses, who seemed the personification of good humour herself, and who had an encouraging whisper for each of her little charge, pointed out one strong example of the yearning for the bonds of relationship which nature has implanted in our breasts. Two little girls, of about five years of age, were sitting side by side, very neat and happy, and apparently in love with each other, and such we found was indeed the case. They were both christened "Minnie," and although without any tie of kindred to bind them, save that they were both orphans, they have become so devoted to each other, that they are inseparable, at school or at play, bed or board. Providence has found even for these lone ones some compensation for the want of that fatherly protection and mother's love which they have never known.

The principal class consisted of nineteen girls, all approaching the prescribed age of fifteen, when they must be transferred to another part of the Asylum, away from their innocent companions and friends. They were ranged in a semicircle fronting the visitors, and Mr. O'Brien, Poor Law Inspector, clearly and cleverly tested their acquirements in the various branches of their educational course. In short, it was quite evident that they had received a well grounded, solid, English education. Some specimens of the writing were particularly beautiful, and such as the first in the land might be satisfied to emulate. In arithmetic also they displayed very considerable proficiency. The head teacher, who in turn examined them, and appeared most sollicitous to advance her pupils in position, as she had already to her credit, improved them by her instructions, informed the ladies that several of the girls embroidered and worked in a very superior manner. These girls then left the room, and after a few minutes the audience was invited to their laundry: where they were busily engaged in the different operations of washing their clothes, ironing them, &c., doing their work assiduously and tidily. Some junior classes were afterwards examined, but for the present we shall confine our remarks to those whose fortunes are peculiarly concerned. There appear to us two great reasons which should induce employers to take these girls into their service; first, because they will, by so doing, consult their own interest; and secondly, because they will be conferring an immense benefit upon those whom they release from living to maturity, and, perhaps old age, in the workhouse. It is for the good of one desiring a capable and quiet servant to have a person trained to do everything by rule, and at all times to be orderly and neat; and the long habit of acting at once upon being directed, has made them docile and attentive. We need not dilate upon the advantages which they must possess from their excellent education, which is such as may be looked for in vain in any ordinary servant. We are assured that equal reliance may be placed upon the excellence of their moral characters; indeed these orphans have, in many instances, been reared from the cradle in the workhouse, and have not been subject even to the chance of vicious companionship or the contamination of evil advisers. But were the value of these candidates for employment less approved than it is, yet their position should move the benevolent even at a risk to make an effort to protect them from the trials which they must otherwise now be subjected to. We have not overcoloured the amiability, skill, or good conduct of these young creatures, who are inmates of a workhouse without any fault of theirs, and were they always to remain amongst their present associates, although their energies might be thrown away, yet they might escape from the more dreadful evils which now, if they be not employed, will beset them. According to law they must at fifteen pass into the division of "able-bodied paupers." These are the originals from whom every picture of the vice, sloth, filth, and ignorance that surround the professional vagrant has been drawn. Thanklessly and doggedly they go to the workhouse as a lair in which they may escape from the cold and hunger of the sharp winter days, but they will be away, as incorrigible vagabonds as ever, to tramp and thief through the long

days of summer. There are fearful wards in this part of the house, to which the dark destiny of the orphan girls will probably lead them, if they be not now assisted. The companionship of such coarse and violent women must soon break down the purity and delicacy of their minds, for being constantly exposed to the influence "of sights and sounds unholy," the firmest determination must give way in despair. In this department there are two black solitary cells which, we are informed, are not unfrequently tenanted, yet amongst these vile viragoes must these modest children now pass to undergo a terrible probation if no hand be stretched to save them. Doubtless, the minds of our readers will suggest many other recommendations which would entitle these desolate girls to the protection and care of an uncoerced charity, and if they consult their hearts they will find promptings there which it will be well for them to follow.

From *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, of Monday, April 12th, we take the following most interesting passages :—

WARWICKSHIRE EASTER SESSIONS.

The County Reformatory.—The Committee of this Reformatory reported that the Institution continued to progress satisfactorily. It contained thirty-six boys, being within four of the number for which accommodation was provided. Since last Quarter Sessions they had obtained the admission of six boys convicted at the various Petty Sessions in the county into the under-mentioned Schools, viz. :—Three to Saltley, one to Red Hill, one to Milbourne Reformatory Schools, Dorset, and one to Hardwicke, Gloucestershire. —Mr. Bolton King, M.P., remarked upon the expense of maintaining the boys, which was greater per head than that incurred by keeping pauper lunatics ; and urged that several persons had contributed to the Reformatory upon the understanding that it should be confined to boys committed from the rural parts of the county, while at the present time out of thirty-six boys in the Institution twenty were from Birmingham, while some boys from their own rural population were sent to Saltley and some as far as Dorsetshire. It did appear to him that this was not exactly the intention of the contributors to this Institution when it was first founded.—Lord Leigh contended that the only way to meet the existing evil was to take the juvenile criminals from towns.—E. GRAVES, Esq., urged that the cost of maintaining the inmates was regulated upon a most moderate scale, and one that could not reasonably be diminished.—Lord Leigh said the Birmingham Gaol contained a large number of poor boys from ten to fourteen years of age who could not be accommodated at Saltley. He thought they were bound to receive the juvenile criminals from Birmingham, the largest manufacturing town in the county.—W. JAMES, Esq., testified to the value of sending boys as far from their friends and associates as possible. He could not look at the question in such a narrow point of view as to say that Birmingham must take care of Birmingham, and the county take care of the county. He contended that in reforming these boys they were doing good to the whole country, and he thought one of

the first steps to be pursued was their removal from old associates and haunts.—J. O. BACCHUS, Esq., would be sorry that Birmingham should consider itself left out, for when there was a deficiency in their funds he canvassed the Birmingham people, who readily gave £100, and he could go, with equal confidence, to them again when necessary. Of the twenty boys Mr. King had spoken of as coming from Birmingham, four were committed from Erdington and Saltley.—Some further discussion ensued, in which Bolton King, C. H. Bracebridge, H. T. Chamberlayne, and others took part, and the Report was then adopted.

BIRMINGHAM GIRLS' REFORMATORY.

The annual general meeting of the supporters of this Institution was held on Tuesday afternoon last, at Dee's Hotel, Mr. J. W. WHATELEY presiding. There were present Mrs. Whateley, Mrs. Kynnersley, Mrs. Hardy, Mrs. James, Mrs. Kekewich, Mrs. J. T. Chance, Mrs. Kempson, Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. J. Sturge, and Miss Albright; Mr. Sampson Hanbury, Secretary, the Rev. Sydney Gedge, the Rev. F. Morse, Chaplain, Mr. W. Morgan, and Mr. T. Kekewich.

The Report, which was read by the Rev. F. MORSE, stated that the number of girls in the Reformatory was 33. The state of the Institution was in every respect satisfactory. The work of education was gradually and steadily advancing, and it was hoped that no girl would leave the Institution without being able to read, write, and add up a sum, nor without being acquainted with at least the elementary truths of the Holy Scriptures. The state of the house afforded a gratifying indication of the girls' attention to house-work, and there was a great improvement in the girls' needle-work. The Institution had during the year been visited by Mr Bowyer, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and also by Mr. Sidney Turner, one of the Inspectors of Reformatories; and the remarks of both these gentlemen upon its condition had been very gratifying. The sanitary state of the Reformatory had also been satisfactory, there having been unusually little illness; and this immunity, as was stated by Mr. TOWNSEND, the surgeon, was owing not more to the advantage of the locality than the admirable arrangements of the Institution. With respect to the eleven removals, seven had been placed in situations, one had died, one had been sent to prison, one had absconded, and one had been taken away by her friends. Five out of the seven in employment had been most exemplary in their conduct, had kept their places, and were doing well. These results, the Report observed, could not but encourage the supporters of the Institution to persevere in their exertions with good hope for continued success.

The CHAIRMAN moved the adoption of the Report, and in doing so congratulated the meeting on the very satisfactory state of the Institution.—The Rev. Sydney GEDGE, in seconding the motion, took occasion to observe that the Report was one which could not fail to be gratifying to all of them. They had the testimony of Miss Carpenter

to the fact that in dealing with criminal girls they were dealing with a most difficult class, inasmuch as they were more depraved and hardened than criminal boys. At the same time it was obvious that the influence of girls in after-life for good or evil was far greater than that of boys. Therefore they had a harder and more important work to do, and he did feel deeply thankful to God that they were enabled to hear that five out of the eleven who had left the Institution had given such a satisfactory proof of having derived substantial benefit from the moral and religious instruction and training they had received in the Institution.

The financial statement, which was read by Mr. HANBURY, showed that the income of the Institution from all sources had amounted to £968 9s 3d. (including a balance of £115 from the previous year), whilst after defraying all household and other expenses, there remained a balance in hand of £97 17s 10d. Mr. Hanbury stated that there was an item of expenditure for furniture which would not occur again, the Institution being now complete for forty girls.—Mr. MORGAN said that although there was a balance in favour of the Institution, it would be well not to relax their efforts, inasmuch as it was uncertain whether the Government grant might not be diminished.—Mr. HANBURY said he should be sorry if any impression got abroad that Government intended to withdraw or diminish the grant. He had made some enquiries and believed Government aid had been promised until March, 1859. He also believed, though he could not state it with certainty, that there was a disposition on the part of the Home Office to contribute some support if the Privy Council refused.

The Committees and officers were re-elected, and thanks were voted to them for their services, as well as to Mr. and Mrs. Hanbury for their devotion to the interests of the Reformatory, and to Mrs. Morse, on her retirement from the office of Secretary, to the Ladies' Committee.—The proceedings then terminated.

SALTLEY REFORMATORY INSTITUTION.

The annual meeting of the subscribers and friends of the Training College at Saltley was held on Wednesday evening last, at Dee's Royal Hotel, under the presidency of Lord LYTTELTON. Amongst those present were the Earl of Lichfield, John Ratcliff, Esq., Mayor, C. Shaw, O. H. Bracebridge, T. Bagnall, and T. C. S. Kyndersley, Esqrs., Dr. Melson, the Revds. Dr. Miller, I. Spooner, Sydney Gedge, A. A. Ellis, R. F. Williams, and J. T. Burt, Mr. Charles Ratcliff, Mr. W. Morgan, and Mr. W. R. Lloyd. Letters of apology were announced by Mr. Charles Ratcliff from Lord Calthorpe, Lord Leigh, the Right Hon. C. B. Adderley, M. P., the Right Hon. Sir John Parkington, M. P., Sir T. Winnington, the Revds. D. Melville, Sydney Turner, and W. Gover, and Mr. J. S. Wright.

Lord LYTTELTON, in opening the proceedings, said the meeting had been convened not so much to stimulate public sympathy to the Reformatory cause generally, as to make known the peculiar claims and

great progress of the Institution at Saltley. Although it was not easy to estimate the actual results of the system, there was no doubt that much good had resulted and would continue to result from the establishment of Reformatories. The legislature had wisely provided that the boys should remain inmates of such Institutions for a very considerable time before being sent forth into the world. From Saltley very few boys had as yet been discharged, whose conduct and course of life could be traced with clearness after leaving school. Many of them would probably attain to respectable positions in the colonies, and for his own part he believed that with reasonably good management and favourable circumstances, the best thing that could be done for these boys was to send them abroad. But whatever might be the apparent local results of the Saltley Institution, he (Lord Lyttelton) knew that in some parts of Great Britain the most remarkable results had been achieved through the working of Reformatories—(hear, hear). In Montrose, as they all knew, the experiment had succeeded, and the establishment of a Reformatory at Hardwicke had almost put an end to juvenile crime in the city and county of Gloucester. There were some grounds for believing that the Saltley Reformatory had not been without a good effect in this locality. The circumstance which occurred a short time back in this town, when there was not a single prisoner for trial, and a pair of white gloves were presented to Mr. Kynnersley, was a most unusual one, and augured well for the moral improvement of the inhabitants. He at one time had grave doubts whether two Reformatories could be supported in this county, but he now found that a sufficient number of juveniles were sent to fill both the establishment at Saltley and the county Reformatory, under the auspices of Lord Leigh. The alterations in the Saltley Institution would, he had no doubt, greatly promote its efficiency, while the improvement in the management would tend still further to diminish juvenile crime. Mr. Adderley had displayed the warmest interest in the Institution, and had given it the most substantial support, and to his enlightened views on this question they owed much of the success which had attended their efforts to benefit the members of the Institution—(applause.) His Lordship concluded by calling upon

Mr. W. MORGAN to read the Report. This document stated that the buildings at Saltley had been enlarged so as to afford accommodation for fifty boys, twenty of whom would be sent, under a contract with the Committee, by the Magistrates of Staffordshire. To complete the buildings Mr. Adderley had kindly advanced the sum of 500*l.* to the Committee, and a balance of 204*l.* was likewise due to the contractor. An additional two and a half acres of land, adjoining the school, had been placed under cultivation, in order to find employment for the increased number of inmates. The Report will be found in *extenso* in our advertising columns. Mr. Charles RAYCLIFF then read a financial statement showing a deficiency of 500*l.* in the building fund.

The MAYOR, in moving the adoption of the Report, said the rapid progress which had been made at Saltley must be encouraging and satisfactory to all who felt an interest in the Reformatory movement. For his own part, he was delighted, on visiting the Institution

that day, to observe the careful management of the Superintendent, Mr. Humphreys, and the general good order that prevailed. It was interesting also to remark the cheerfulness of the inmates, and the interest they displayed in the proper execution of the work entrusted to them. The children seemed to look upon the Institution as a home rather than a place of detention. He believed that much good had already resulted from these institutions, and that much more would be achieved, he could not doubt after observing the excellent manner in which the School at Saltley was conducted.

C. H. BRACEBRIDGE, Esq., said he had watched the working of the Institution for some time past, and was glad to perceive a gradual and progressive improvement. He denied that there was any fear of exciting the envy of the children of the honest poor, or of arousing a desire in their minds to become inmates of such institutions; and in reference to the ultimate restoration of the boys to the world as useful members of society, strongly recommended emigration to Canada, where, he had reason to believe, a large number could find employment in agricultural pursuits. Mr. Bracebridge concluded by seconding the adoption of the Report, which was unanimously agreed to.

T. C. S. KINNERSLEY, Esq., then moved "that this meeting gladly acknowledges that the experience of the five years which have elapsed since the establishment of the Reformatory School at Saltley, has fully proved that the Institution presents strong claims on the sympathy and support of all who recognise not only the necessity and importance, but also the duty and privilege of endeavouring to rescue and instruct children who from destitution or other causes have become vicious and depraved." He thought the experience of the past few years left no doubt as to the strong claims of Reformatory Institutions on the sympathy and support of all classes. Of the Saltley Reformatory he knew less, perhaps, than of many others throughout the country, inasmuch as during the time he had acted with the Magistrates of the borough, but few vacancies had occurred at Saltley, and the boys had therefore been sent to other institutions. He believed that at Christmas there were only ten Warwickshire boys in the school. Out of fifty boys committed at the Birmingham Police Court, four were sent to Saltley, and the conduct of these was reported as on the whole good. Seventeen boys had been sent to the Roman Catholic Reformatory, and of these the conduct of twelve was reported to have been either good or tolerably good. The results at other Reformatories had been equally satisfactory. A great object gained was the removal of the ringleaders of the gangs of thieves that infested our large towns. With reference to the recent "Maiden Sessions," he thought that might be attributed to a variety of causes, and the same might be said with respect to the comparatively light character of the crimes that appeared in the calendars at our Sessions and Assizes. The removal of so many juvenile offenders to Reformatory Schools, and the large extent to which recruiting had been carried on, had no doubt tended to diminish crime, but it was in the highest degree creditable to the working people of the town, that in a time of depressed trade and great suffering the calendars had been

much lighter than had been known in prosperous times. Mr. Kynnersley concluded, amidst loud applause, by commending the working of the Institution, observing that all the Reports he received as to the influence of such establishments on the future of young criminals strengthened his conviction to their usefulness and in the propriety of greatly extending their operations.—C SHAW, Esq., seconded the resolution. He said that after nearly fifty years' experience amongst working people, he had no hesitation in commending the Saltley Institution as a most valuable agency for cultivating an honest spirit of independence in the minds of youths who had unfortunately been led into crime. He concurred in the suggestion of Mr. Bracebridge as to the advantages of emigration to Canada. In none of our Colonies was there a greater demand for agricultural labour. On the general question he thought that the removal of the persons trained in these Schools to one of our Colonies was the best means of securing their ultimate and permanent reformation. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. I. SPOONER moved a vote of thanks to the Committee for their services during the past year. Mr. Spooner urged that while a mild system should be adopted in Reformatories, the penal element should not be lost sight of. The boys should be made to feel that they were sent there for crime.—The Rev. A.A. ELLIS seconded it, and in doing so urged that while preserving the penal aspect of Reformatories, the feeling of self-respect should be encouraged, and indiscriminate punishments avoided.

On the motion of Dr. MELSON, seconded by the Rev. F. WILLIAMS, thanks were voted to Messrs Charles Ratcliff and W. Morgan, the Honorary Secretaries.

The Rev. Dr. MILLER moved a vote of thanks to the Honorary Chaplain, the Rev. F. Williams, and in doing so urged the importance of founding reformatory training on the basis of religion, and contended that it was necessary to maintain the penal element, and to train the children to hard work and plain food. The child must know that he had done wrong, and that to a certain extent he was suffering for that wrong. But it was not to be expected, however efficient these institutions might be, that the results would be palpable and immediate; they must not yield to the morbid desire for immediate results. In order to be thoroughly effective the movement must be gradual. Let it be remembered, too, that although there were but fifty boys in the Saltley Reformatory, each lad was a centre of crime, and therefore it was not improbable that 500 lads were represented by them—(hear, hear.)—Mr BAGNALL seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Thanks were then voted to Mr. Tarleton, the Honorary Surgeon, on the motion of Mr. W. R. LLORD, seconded by the Rev. J. T. BUAT. The first named gentlemen urged that greater attention should be paid to the education of children in the workhouse, many of whom, owing to early neglect there, afterwards became inmates of the gaol and the Reformatory.

The Earl of LITCHFIELD proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Charles Ratcliff, for his able and unwearied services as Treasurer of the

Institution—(cheers). The noble Earl passed a very warm eulogium upon Mr. Ratcliff whom, he said, he had always found ready to work with the utmost zeal and energy for the benefit of the College. He (Lord Litchfield) had inspected the accounts, which Mr. Ratcliff had made his especial care, and he must say that the admirable state in which he found them proved to his mind that their Treasurer took a strong interest in the College, and desired by every means in his power to advance its interests and prosperity—(applause). The accounts continually received of the career of former inmates of Reformatories amply proved the necessity for extending their good influences. He would suggest that the Committee should in their future Reports include some particulars of the career of the boys after leaving Saltley. Such facts would be not only deeply interesting but of the highest importance, as showing the real value of the Institution. The movement, he thought, stood pre-eminent for its practical utility in lessening crime and elevating the moral tone of the lowest class of the community, but whether they were in the right track to work it out fully it was not for him to say. He felt convinced, however, that great good would result from the system at present adopted, and he hoped therefore that in his own county, Staffordshire, one or two Institutions, similar to the one at Saltley, would ere long be established.—Mr. BRACKENRIDGE seconded the proposition, and warmly eulogised the unwearied devotion of Mr. Ratcliff to the interests of the College. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. S. GEDDIE next proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Harwood and the Teachers of the School, which was seconded by Mr. MORGAN, and carried unanimously.

The Earl of LITCHFIELD having taken the chair, Mr. Charles RATCLIFF moved, and C. SHAW Esq., seconded, a vote of thanks to Lord Littleton for presiding.—His Lordship briefly acknowledged the vote, and the proceedings then terminated.

REPORT.

The Committee of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution have great pleasure in presenting to their subscribers and friends the Fifth Annual Report of their proceedings.

Their work was formerly divided into two branches, namely, the Reformatory for Boys, at Saltley, and the Reformatory for Girls, in Camden-street; but the latter Institution has been transferred to the management of a separate Society, and is now carried on at the Coppice, at Smethwick. Your Committee have therefore been enabled to devote their whole attention to the School, at Saltley, which they are happy to report as being in a higher state of efficiency than at any previous period.

The experience of another year has, however, still further shown that the work is surrounded by difficulty, and that what has been called, "the extirpation of regular juvenile crime," is a social problem of no easy solution.

Reformatory Institutions are contributing to work out the pre-

blers, but many other agencies are required. Among these your Committee would earnestly press upon the consideration of all local authorities, employers of labour, and shopkeepers, particularly in a town like Birmingham, the duty of removing temptations to crime out of the way, while on the other hand the seeds of virtue and industry are sedulously cultivated, so that under God's blessing a reputable character may be attained by multitudes of those who now belong to the "perishing and dangerous class."

In their last Report your Committee referred to the inadequacy of the buildings at Saltley, which have been enlarged to furnish accommodation for fifty boys, thus enabling the Institution not only to provide for cases furnished by the town of Birmingham and elsewhere, but also to carry out the contract which had been made with the Staffordshire Magistrates to receive twenty boys committed from that county in preference to other applicants.

This enlargement of the institution has been now fully completed, and the buildings have been made as perfect as possible. Mr. Adderley kindly lent the sum of £500 towards defraying the cost of the erection, for which loan the Committee pay interest at the rate of £5 per cent. per annum. There is also a balance of £204 12s. due to the contractor. The Committee respectfully solicit contributions towards the discharge of these debts.

The enlargement has materially contributed to the efficiency of the Institution, not only by enabling the Committee to receive an increased number of inmates, but also by providing accommodation on the premises for a gardiner and a resident schoolmaster, neither of whom formerly lived at the school.

The officers of the school are the superintendent and Matron, two domestic Servants, the Schoolmaster, Gardiner, Shoemaker, and Tailor.

With the increase of the number of inmates has arisen a necessity for more land on which they may be employed. This want has been supplied by the Committee becoming yearly tenants of two and a half acres of the garden land adjoining the School at the same annual rent as the other land in the neighbourhood, so that the boys have seven acres and a half of land now under cultivation. Your Committee are satisfied that agricultural labour is the best of all employments, when used as a means for the moral discipline of lads committed to a Reformatory; and they anticipate that ere long a still further extension of the boundaries of the Institution must be sought. They are therefore glad to be able to state that they have secured the option of taking additional land at Michaelmas next.

There are at the present time 50 boys in the School, and in reference to the principles in which they are trained, and general details of management, the Committee have much pleasure in submitting to the subscribers the following extracts from the Report by Mr. Humphreys, the Superintendent.

On the subject of discipline Mr. Humphreys says—

"It will be readily conceded, I think, that in a place where a number of the worst boys, taken from the most degraded class of

society, are collected together, discipline is of the first importance. I don't mean the mere soldier's discipline of enforcing unquestioning obedience to all commands however trivial, though even that would of itself be in many instances a great inroad upon the disorderly habits to which such boys have been accustomed. By discipline I mean all those influences, mental and physical, arising from position, teaching in School, regular work, wholesome and sufficient diet, cleanliness of rooms, persons, and clothing, &c., and the constant inculcation of the principle that it is more the practice of what is right which is desired, than the mere knowledge of it. Knowledge—what is often called religious knowledge—many of them are not so devoid of as some people imagine, but they are without the feeling which would constrain them to use that knowledge as a guide for their daily life. Conscience has been stifled in them instead of being cultivated. They can steal and lie without remorse—without that horribly miserable feeling which even the suggestion of crime brings to the heart of a being properly educated.

"I by no means say that reformatory discipline is all that is necessary to work an enduring change in their dispositions. Unquestionably all our efforts depend for success upon a higher power and a holier influence than any belonging to this world. Still we must not expect success without the efforts, nor without the boy's own will being to some extent enlisted in the attempt to free him from the moral trammels in which vice has entangled him. I have heard it disputed whether Reformatories should not be to some extent penal in character. A little thought would have shown that such a question is not open to discussion. In one feature they are undoubtedly penal—they are places of detention. In every other respect they are purely and simply schools, industrial or trade schools, where every one must work. There is nothing penal in that.

"However much it may suit the purpose of some people to sneer and call them 'places of reward for criminals,' the recipients of the so called reward think otherwise. Some of them would rather be in prison, where they would have nothing to do. Some are contented and thankful for the care taken of them and the kindness shown them. Generally scarcely one in ten would remain in the School voluntarily. Even those who have a real desire for a reformation of life, still desire liberty under the idea that they shall be able henceforth to resist temptation; and I do not think that, after a reasonable period of probation, this feeling ought to be discouraged. Certainly our Schools ought not to be conducted so that boys could attach to them the feeling or notion of a permanent home; nor on the other hand ought they purposely be uncomfortably homely, for in that case any boy of the *cuteness* pertaining to the class would quickly exercise his privilege of choosing his residence in one of our country prisons, where he would be in that delightful (to him) state of having 'nothing to do.'

"A dislike of regular work, either in school or shop, arising from the want of early training in habits of usefulness, is a leading feature in juvenile criminals, only equalled by their dislike of plain food. They would rather have one stuffing of dainties than three good plain meals.

"Many of them are the children of parents who live on the fat of the land, or who feast one day and starve the next. In short, there are three things in Reformatories which will effectually prevent their being looked upon as rewards by young thieves, namely, 'restraint of liberty, hard work, and plain living.'"—The Committee would adopt these views, only pointing out that though it is true that, abstractedly considered, there is nothing penal in an industrial school regularly conducted; still the remarks of the Superintendent show that in the estimation of the class on which the Reformatory Institution is intended to operate the School does present a penal aspect. Speaking in reference to the opinions of the working classes about the Reformatory, Mr. Humphreys says—

"I never yet heard an honest working man speak of our boys as objects of his envy, but I have again and again heard mothers and fathers caution their children against crime, when they have seen our lads hard at work on the land, or walking two and two to Church. I have often heard such expressions as the following:—'They look well off enough, but I should not like my lad to go there.' And again—'Eh! poor children, what sort of fathers and mothers must they have had?' Not one word or look of envy."

As to the most suitable employment for the inmates, Mr. Humphreys reports as follows:—

"I have good reason to be of opinion that land work is the natural antidote to town-poison: that it is in every respect, whether of discipline, moral regeneration, or financially, the most advantageous of all occupations—provided always that there be proper superintendence, a fair proportion of land to the number of hands, and a constant market for produce. It is this last advantage which makes the trades in large Reformatories so much more flourishing than in small ones. They are their own customers. The large numbers find work the one for the other in shoeing, clothing, feeding, &c. A boy with a trade in his fingers will at the expiration of his term of detention almost to a certainty seek employment in town. He will have to live in a neighbourhood densely populated and abounding in gin-palaces, beer-houses, and other houses which I need not mention, and marine-store shops. Is there, can there be a reasonable hope that a youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age would stand against the temptations of such circumstances? Country or colonial life is unquestionably the most suitable for some years at least after leaving the Reformatory. It gives opportunity for good resolutions to strengthen, and industrious habits to be confirmed. With a view to these results I wish we had more land: what we have has been worked into capital condition for the current year, so that we hope to make up a little for the small return of the past. The gardener's wages fall heavily upon so small a quantity of land as the five acres now under cultivation. If we could have the next two fields we should have about eleven acres altogether, to be managed as a garden, not as a farm."

In reference to the instruction of the boys in the trades of tailor and shoemaker now carried on at Sullley, Mr. Humphreys says—

"The great difficulty is to find an outlet for the productions of the shops. We have now a considerable stock of boots and shoes on hand, also a quantity of men's trousers. It is very desirable that all these should be sold."

Statistics.—There were 39 boys in the School on the 31st of December, 1857. 20 had been convicted once, 8 twice, 5 thrice, 2 four times, 1 five, 1 six, 1 nine, 1 ten—total, 39. 11 had received no education at all, 8 just knew the alphabet, 9 could read a little, 10 could read and write imperfectly, 1 could read and write well—total, 39. 15 had both parents living, 7 had the father only, 11 mother only, 6 neither parents—total, 39. 7 were from Lancashire, 9 from Middlesex, 10 from Staffordshire, 10 from Warwickshire, 1 from Worcestershire, 1 from Cheshire, 1 from Gloucestershire—total, 39. "Since the 31st of December 12 more boys have been admitted, and one left to go to the Akbar Ship Reformatory, leaving us altogether 50 inmates now in the School."

In his report Mr. Humphreys further says—"I have great pleasure in acknowledging the interest which the monthly Visitors have manifested in everything connected with the efficiency of the Institution, as also the kindness of several friends who have given us very tangible evidence of their good-will in the form of presents, namely, H. Yates, Esq., two dozen spades and two dozen garden forks; Messrs. Mapplebeck and Lowe, a culinary digester; C. Ratcliff, Esq., a hamper of fruit; Mr. W. Redding, a set of boys' shoe-making tools.

"You will be glad to learn that Mr. T. J. Haworth and several students from the College continue to conduct the Sunday afternoon School, and that their efforts are of great service, and highly appreciated by the boys. No boy ever attempts to shirk the Sunday School—always the reverse. What progress is being made in that which is the main aim and object of the Institution time alone can show. It is a work requiring patience as well as faith."

To these extracts the Committee will add only a few words. Their thanks are due to the Honorary Surgeon and other officers, whose services have been cheerfully rendered during the past year, and they recommend that these gentlemen, and the Sunday School Teachers who have regularly visited the Institution, receive the best thanks of the subscribers for the zeal and interest they have displayed.

The restoration of the inmates to the world as useful members of society will complete the work which your Committee seek to accomplish. Happily the prejudices against the employment of criminals, arising from the imperfection of former systems of prison reformation, are rapidly dying out, and it is found that employment can be obtained both in England and her Colonies for young persons who have been trained in such Institutions as the one at Saltley. Your Committee are anxious to take full advantage of this favourable state of things. They are able to look with satisfaction upon many instances of boys who, on the completion of their several terms of detention at Saltley, have been placed out in eligible situations in and about Birmingham, where they are now creditably em-

played, and of others who have emigrated with good prospects of achieving a fair start in life.

In closing their review of the past the Committee feel assured that society at large will cheerfully sympathise in the desire which all those who have worked in this cause now feel, to offer humble and hearty acknowledgments to Him from whom all good comes for the measure of success which has attended their labours, and to derive encouragement to persevere in this work of love, because He has emphatically declared that His Word, the Word which this Institution constantly sets up as its standard of faith and conduct, shall not return unto Him void.

In the early part of April, a petition to parliament was circulated for signature amongst the inhabitants of Londonderry, the objects of which the following letter will explain, and it, to our mind, but half exposes the injurious results which would surely follow if the state should concede the changes prayed for by the petitioners :—

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS IN UNION WORKHOUSES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN.

1, Upper Pembroke-street,

April 6th, 1858.

SIR,—I trust you will permit me to offer, through the medium of your paper, a few observations upon the Derry petition to parliament, praying for the establishment of reformatory schools in union workhouses. The petition consists of four paragraphs. The first is a palpable truism, the other three are founded upon a total misconception, or ignorance, of what the reformatory principle is, and of the system, on which—and on which only—reformatory agency can be successfully developed. The first paragraph tells us that no provision is made in Ireland for the Reformation of juvenile offenders, and that jail association but corrupts the more deeply. Most true in each particular. The second paragraph declares that state reformatories for juvenile offenders are expensive, and that a stigma hangs in after life about those who may have been confined in such institutions. If by a state reformatory is meant an “overgrown young jail” the petitioners are right, but no one thinks of such an awful abuse. But, if they mean that a reformatory, founded by local self-imposed rates, or by local charity, and aided by government inspection and a state subvention, then they are wrong—as wrong as in their statements that a stigma hangs in after years around those who have been confined in reformatories. This statement is simple absurd and without the slightest proof, whilst France, Holland, Belgium, America, Scotland, and England furnish us with countless proofs that exactly the opposite is the result. By the third paragraph the legislature is told that “the existing machinery of the Irish poor-law system might be advantageously employed for the collateral reformation of juvenile offenders, the only changes

required being the allocation of a ward in each union workhouse for a reformatory school, and the appointment of a schoolmaster and schoolmistress to take charge of its male and female department respectively." It would be impossible to show in so few words a more complete ignorance of all the facts bearing on juvenile reformation than is exhibited in this paragraph. The family principle is ignored; individualisation is ignored; separation of religions is ignored; all the proved wisdom of the systems advocated by Mary Carpenter, by Recorder Hill, by Frederic Hill, by Demetz, and by the Rev. John Clay, is ignored; all those beautiful teachings in which all—from Demetz to Barwick Baker—from Pol to De Gasparin—from Mary Carpenter to the Nuns of Arno's Court agree—are ignored, and in their place is substituted a scheme as ill designed as it would be mischievous—as absurd as it would be inoperative, and which would teach neither self dependence nor self respect—not even self control—a scheme which could never arise the soul of "the city Arab, the home Heathen" to its God—which could never wake in his heart the energy and the spirit of a man. It could do none of these things, but it would leave him the poor worthless human weed—as all know the vast majority of our workhouse reared children if a boy, with no home save the workhouse and the jail—if a girl, with no home save the cruel street, and no refuge but the hospital or the asylum. You know, sir, and we all know, that these workhouse children are a disgrace to any civilized nation. If you doubt it, the jail records, the hospital books, and the workhouse officers will prove it. Above all the fifty girls whom the Sisters of Mercy, in Baggot-street, are attempting to reclaim will furnish a fair sample of the inmates of the proposed allocated wards of the workhouse, where "collateral reformation" is to be carried out through the agency of "the existing machinery" of the Irish poor-law system. The fourth paragraph of the petition is entirely wrong in the assumption that the English reformatory acts at all contemplate such a scheme as the petitioners desire to see carried out; and in praying for the extension of the English acts to Ireland they pray for that which would be unsuited to our people, and which would in no way aid the petitioners in securing the objects they desire. It is much to be regretted that 400 of the chief inhabitants of Derry should have signed this petition—a petition which must excite the most profound astonishment of Mr. Adderley, of Sir John Pakington, of Lord Stanley, and of the other members of the present government who are old, and active, and intelligent friends of the reformatory movement. Pardon this trespass on your space; but I trust you will excuse an old and continuous worker in the cause, if I thus endeavour to expose serious errors—more especially when a reformatory schools bill for Ireland, which has received the assent of all in this country and in England capable, from a knowledge of facts and principles, of giving a sound judgment, is about to be introduced to the House of Commons by Mr. Sergeant Deasy and Mr. John Bagwell.

I am, Sir,

Very truly yours,

PATRICK JOSEPH MURRAY.

MEMORANDUM of a Conversation I held to-day with Rev. Mr.

M'CALLUM, the Chaplain and Master of the Boys' Refuge, Glasgow.

Glasgow, Good Friday, April 2nd, 1858.

I called to-day on Mr. M'Callum at the Refuge. On entering I saw a boy standing about in the hall.

Mr. M'Callum received me very cordially, and I had an interesting and valuable conversation with him.

Decrease of Crime in Glasgow.—Mr. M'Callum mentioned that he is bringing out a report (now in the press) which shows that since the Reformatory system has been introduced here, there has been a great diminution of the number of inmates in the City Bridewell. Seven years ago the number of prisoners was 700 odd. Now, though the population of the city has much increased, the numbers of prisoners is only 300 odd; this Mr. M'C. attributes to the combined action of the Refuges and the Industrial School, but he thinks the Refuges have been the most important causes of the diminution as they are much larger than the Industrial Schools.

Runaways.—Mr. M'C. says he was sometime ago much plagued by boys escaping. They used to be recommitted to prison as a punishment. This, however, did more harm than good. The boys would say on their return that they were better off in gaol than in the Refuge, in that they rose at 7 o'clock instead of 6, that their food was better, &c. &c. Mr. M'C. thinks the present gaol treatment far too mild. Mr. M'C. has given over having the boys re-committed to prison and punishes them himself by the "towse" and by separation from their fellows for a considerable time. There has been no escape for six months past, though the boys go out. They went to the panorama a little while ago (at least 300 of them) and one hundred go each Sunday to Church, 100 one Sunday, another 100 another Sunday, and so on. Some also go to the land which is cultivated. The school play grounds, workshops, &c. are encompassed by a wall, and the door is locked, so that they may be said to be usually in a state of confinement.

Admission.—I asked Mr. M'C. what he did with a boy when first admitted, whether he placed him at once with the others. Mr. M'C. said, certainly not. The boy whom I saw in the hall was a new comer. Mr. M'C. keeps each new comer thus for some days, talks to him, and endeavours to bring him to a sense of his condition. When Mr. M'C. thinks a good effect has been produced, he places the boy under the care of a very good boy, directing the former to speak only to the latter, and this is continued until Mr. M'C. thinks the new comer may be safely trusted to mix with his fellows generally. Formerly much mischief was done by new comers talking of their misdeeds to their companions. The above system tends to prevent the practice, which is also forbidden under severe punishment.

Trades.—Mr. M'C. thinks it desirable to have a multiplicity of employments, as he finds that a boy does much better at what he chooses himself. A certain proportion of his boys choose agriculture, but the major part do not like it; when the school is placed in pos-

session of a farm which will be soon, in addition to their present ground, he intends to employ about a hundred in husbandry, which is about as many as he expects will prefer that occupation. The whole number in the school is more than 400, most of whom are town boys, who do not generally like husbandry though some of them do.

Mr. M'C. is about to have a large smithy erected, where he will be able to employ many boys as smiths. Many prefer this trade which is in much request both in Glasgow and the colonies.

Marks.—A bad mark is placed against a boy's name, and three bad marks disqualifies a boy for the next treat, such as going to any sight to which the boys are taken sometimes or joining the excursion to the sea side which is taken annually by steamboat.

Miscellaneous.—Sixteen boys have just left the Refuge, being sent to Montreal consigned to a benevolent gentleman there who undertakes to get them employment.

Mr. M'C. does not agree with Mr. Baker of Hardwicke, that boys should not be committed to Reformatories on their first convictions. He thinks that each case should be dealt with on its individual merits, and where a boy is likely to become a regular offender he should be sent to a Reformatory, on his first conviction. He showed me the history which the boy I saw in the hall, who was convicted for the first time, had given of himself, which clearly shewed that he would in all probability have become a thief had he not been sent to a Reformatory.

(Signed)

ALFRED HILL.

We are indebted to Mr. Alfred Hill, for his kindness in supplying these notes; and we are very happy to find that the Glasgow House of Refuge is making that progress in usefulness predicted for it by the Recorder of Birmingham, and our worthy friend, the Rev., Dr. Craik. How long are we to be without such institutions in Ireland, how long are we to be astounded by such police reports as the following, taken from *The Limerick Reporter* of April 13th?

"SHOPLIFTING.—John Hanly, a juvenile, who is within the statute age of whipping, 14 years, was brought up for the *thirty-sixth* time by Constable Nash, who charged him with stealing 3lbs. of tea off the counter in Mr. Quinn's shop and walking off with it, but was detected in the street; and, this fact being established, the magistrates sentenced him to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour and two whippings."

When *Peachum* sings, in *The Beggar's Opera*, "I wonder any man alive would ever rear a daughter!" we all laugh, but really it appears to us that sons are generally more troublesome, and we have, under our system, no means of checking their evil

propensities if the youths stop short of the committal of that which is actual crime in the contemplation of the law. It is otherwise in France, and in this phase of Juvenile Reformation (more especially as regards the sons of persons in affluent circumstances,) M. Demetz is as successful in his efforts as in these cases coming more fully within the scope of Mettray. From the *Midland Counties Herald* of April 8th we take the following, from the pen of one to whom the country and all interested in the Reformatory Question owe the deepest debts of gratitude :—

Our readers will perhaps recollect that a translation of the Report for 1856 of the Reformatory at Mettray, appeared in the *Midland Counties Herald* towards the close of that year. We have now the pleasure to present to them the Report for 1857; and in doing so we desire to draw their attention to a new feature in that important institution.

We must premise that in France a power, entitled *Correction Paternelle*, is lodged in the hands of parents to procure, by application before an appointed tribunal, the imprisonment for short periods of their unruly offspring. By virtue of articles 375 and 376 of the *Code civil*, children under sixteen years of age may be thus imprisoned for one month, while those between sixteen and twenty-one years of age are liable to six month's confinement.

In a late edition of his pamphlet upon Mettray, M. Cochin, quoting from its annual reports, states that formerly there existed in Paris alone any institution suited to the reception of children of the upper classes who had rendered themselves liable to *Correction Paternelle*. Elsewhere the gaol was the only place in which the sentence of the Court upon them could be carried into execution, and the dread of exposing them to the contaminating influences of promiscuous imprisonment naturally deterred parents from resorting to such means of repression. Those who could afford to do so preferred to send their unmanageable sons abroad, in the hope of thus removing them from pernicious associates, and breaking their bad habits. But by this course they often only substituted one form of dissipation for another, and by interrupting the youths' studies, and placing them beyond their control, not unfrequently aggravated the evil they sought to cure. Detention in agricultural colonies similar to that which ordinary young offenders undergo would be found unsuited to the class now under consideration. The system pursued in these establishments is not calculated to effect a cure within so limited a time as that for which alone such youths can by law be imprisoned; and they would, moreover, be liable to form intimacies among their companions which would be most injurious in after life. By placing them, however, in separate confinement while there every objection is obviated. * "Its effects must have been witnessed,

* Notice sur Mettray, par Augustin Cochin.

says M. Demetz, "for the happy influence it exercises on the moral being of the youth to be justly appreciated. A thorough change takes place in him. With no amusements or diversion to distract his attention, there is nothing which can drive from his mind the exhortation and advice he receives. Meditation brings his past life constantly before him. In solitude his pride and self-love vanish. His thoughts necessarily are turned inward. He is no longer ashamed to listen to the whispers of conscience, which have been most justly called, 'The voice of God.' By degrees he becomes open to religious impressions. Work is welcome, first, as affording him something to do, while very soon he comes to regard it as a pleasure. He eagerly applies himself to it, and what until then he had looked upon as an irksome task, he learns to consider a source of consolation, and even so great a necessary that the heaviest punishment it is possible to inflict upon him is to deprive him of all occupation. The short duration of his imprisonment must remove every apprehension from the minds of those who might be disposed to dread the ill effects of separate confinement."

Three years ago, it would appear, M. Demetz began to receive under his care the sons of wealthy parents, whose unruly conduct rendered them unmanageable at home or in ordinary schools. The maintenance and education of these pupils is, of course, paid for by their friends. This extension of his enterprise has been attended, we are informed in the present report, with such happy results that M. Demetz contemplates enlarging the accommodation devoted to these youths, in order to receive more than the very limited number he has hitherto been able to admit. As it is a part of his system to separate pupils of this class completely from each other, and indeed to keep the fact of their presence in the institution a secret from all but the officers and their own families, while at the same time ample provision is made for preserving their health, and conducting their education in a manner befitting their position in society, it is obvious that the buildings appropriated to their use must be elaborate, and consequently costly. Hitherto the few pupils belonging to the upper classes that have yet been received at Mettray have not been lodged, we believe, in a house specially built for them, but M. Demetz is now desirous that one should be forthwith prepared. We have seen the design for the edifice he contemplates erecting. Each youth will have a distinct dwelling, consisting of three rooms, with a small garden attached for the purposes of exercise and recreation. Though these dwellings are so arranged as to render communication between the inhabitants impossible, they are yet completely under the surveillance of the officers. Professors and a chaplain will reside at the establishment, while each boy will, we understand, be under the care of a separate tutor. M. Demetz himself will watch over all.

We gather from the report before us that the need for such an institution is more strongly felt in France than we should hope it is

* Rapport sur les Colonies Agricoles; lu à la Réunion Internationale de Charité, par M. Demetz.—1855.

in England. We cannot but fear, however, that numerous instances may be met with even in our own country in which such discipline as that of Mettray would afford the only hope of reclaiming the lad whom natural infirmities of character, over-indulgence, or other untoward circumstances have rendered the bane of his family, to become at a later period a curse to society. It is this conviction which has elicited our remarks. We have been informed that M. Demetz would willingly admit English youths, and should their friends desire to conceal the fact of their being in a Reformatory it would not be difficult to do so, for as the custom already prevails amongst us of sending our sons abroad for education, there would be nothing to attract attention in thus placing a lad at school in France, supposing the name of the school were suppressed. Mettray is a Roman Catholic Institution, and a boy of that creed would doubtless feel more at home there than a Protestant. The religious education of the latter, however, would of course invariably be entrusted to a minister of his own faith; an arrangement for which the proximity of Tours, where not only a large number of English reside, but, we believe, a clergyman of the Anglican establishment officiates, affords probably peculiar facilities. That any attempt to proselytise would be permitted in an institution of which M. Demetz is at the head, no one acquainted with his character would for a moment believe.

REPORT OF M. DEMETZ,

Director of the Agricultural Colony of Mettray.

To the Société Paternelle.—1857.

GENTLEMEN,—After eighteen years of existence, and, we may add, of success, we might be excused from again coming before the public, in order to set forth the results obtained at Mettray; the more so that our institution, from the very day of its commencement, has always been open to those most competent to judge of it, with a view to its advantages being fairly appreciated.

Still, when the object of the enterprise under consideration is to throw light on one of the most complex problems of social economy—the improvement of the human race; when the most efficacious means of preparing a happier future for our country are being sought in arresting the progress of demoralisation, the last word can never be uttered. Scarcely is one evil obviated than another is discovered, to which a remedy must be applied. Thus it is that after devoting your attention to the poor and criminal children you found sunk in misery, you have resolutely undertaken the case—according to the plan indicated by the law, which decrees the establishment of Penitentiary Colonies*—of those young persons belonging

* See the Law of August 5th, 1850, and the very remarkable Report of M. Corne which precedes it. This may be considered the most important document which has been published relating to young *détenus*, whose precise position is not fully understood by the public.

[In the law here alluded to, besides the above and various other

to the middle and upper classes who, without absolutely infringing the penal laws, are not the less deserving of correction. We speak of children detained by virtue of *correction paternelle*.

That spirit of resistance to all control which, spreading from one to another, has infected every rank of society, has penetrated from public life even into the domestic circle; and there are at this time parents among us who, to their astonishment, have encountered on the part of their children a degree of insubordination, often even of audacity—for the expression is not too strong—of which their predecessors would never have dreamt. We cannot help quoting, in illustration of this opinion, an answer made to us very lately by one of our pupils whom we had reproofed for most outrageous conduct towards his widowed mother. He replied—"Why what could you expect?" My school-fellows always told me it was degrading to obey a woman." The lad was scarcely sixteen years old, and the woman was his mother!

And if paternal authority is but too often despised, it must be admitted that the authority of mothers is still more disregarded; we mean of those widowed mothers whose children, aware that they will one day inherit a large fortune, think only of the time when they will be able to spend it. These are the individuals whom we more especially desire to deal with. They require, more than any other class, that some check should be applied to their spirit of insubordination; they imagine, poor children, that by their precocious depravity they raise themselves to the dignity of manhood. The mother

provisions, it is decreed that "Colonies Correctionnelles," of a more penal character than the "Colonies Agricoles," shall be established for the reception of the worst class of juvenile offenders, including those who, after being admitted into a Reformatory School, prove themselves by their insubordinate conduct to be unworthy of its advantages, and are certain to exercise an evil influence over their companions. Unfortunately, no such colonies have yet been founded: but that the want of them is sorely felt may be inferred from the earnestness with which M. Demetz, in a report recently addressed to the Minister of the Interior, urges that the decree should be carried into execution.

The managers of various Reformatories in our own country have latterly expressed a strong opinion in favour of the establishment of Penal Schools, to which they could send unmanageable children, to be dealt with more severely than the discipline of their own institutions permits. At present the only alternative to retaining inmates whose depravity and insubordination exercise a most injurious influence over their better disposed companions, is to send them to gaol, from which, after a short incarceration, the managers are compelled to receive them back, whether they have been benefited or further corrupted by their imprisonment; and when the utter unsuitableness of a gaol to the right treatment of children is remembered, it can scarcely be doubted that they usually come out worse than they go in.]—*Trans.*

of one of these, not long since, wrote to us, as mothers alone can write:—"I see clearly that it is my weakness which has caused all the mischief, and that I deserve to be consigned to a cell by the side of that which my child occupies. Will you aid me to regain that authority which Providence entrusted me with, but which I knew not how to maintain?" We gladly acceded to such a request; and strengthened by this touching appeal we addressed her ungrateful son in these words, "You have cruelly treated her whom it was your duty to cherish and respect; you have shamefully abused her kindness. A mother's heart is far more deeply wounded by the bad conduct of her son than it could be even by stabs from a poniard; and yet yours would willingly have said to you, 'Strike but listen.' But now the time for indulgence is past. I am become the depository of that authority you have too long despised, and it is with me you will have to deal. I have two hands—the one wears a gauntlet of iron, the other a velvet glove. It depends upon your behaviour which I shall use. Do not attempt to struggle; you can never outdo me in strength. Besides, why struggle with your friends? I wage war with your faults only, not with yourself: but to bring you back into the right path I shall not hesitate to use the utmost severity should it be necessary; power and authority are combined in my hands."

This language, which indicates to our pupils the line of conduct we intend to pursue towards them, never fails to make an impression on their young minds; and we must admit that, with very few exceptions, we find they yield to our exhortations. It is true that we neglect no means of convincing them that we never exercise severity towards them but with regret. Without such a conviction our efforts would be fruitless. Thus no lad comes to us without our having written to him some time before, to urge him to alter his behaviour. This letter is transmitted by the *President du Tribunal* to his parents, who return it to us, that we may modify it to suit the character of the child. It is usually couched in some such terms as the following:—

"I learn with regret that by your conduct you give your excellent family serious cause of complaint, and that the exhortations of your parents have produced no effect. The time for severity has arrived. An order issued by the *President du Tribunal*, will deprive you of your liberty, and in the cell to which you are about to be consigned, you will have to reflect upon the melancholy consequences which have resulted from forgetting your duty. Charged with executing this severe sentence, which will immediately be passed upon you, I earnestly wish to mediate between your family and yourself, and obtain for you a reprieve. Profit by the time afforded you, and implore from your parents pardon for your past conduct; as yet, disgrace attaches only to yourself, but hereafter it will recoil on a name you ought to honour. From the very day on which you receive this letter, cultivate industrious habits, be submissive and respectful, seek to revive in your heart those feelings of religion which were the joy of your early childhood, and which you have so soon forgotten; show yourself grateful to God, who has prompted me to

save you from the punishment awarded to your guilty conduct. If neglecting this fatherly warning, you persist in the unhappy course you have adopted, do not reproach him who has done his utmost to spare you the severe treatment which you will then fully deserve. But there is yet time. Give me the gratification of having aided in leading you back into the path of duty, and of restoring that happiness to your family which you ought never to have disturbed."

We have the satisfaction of informing you that in some instances this warning has sufficed to arrest the youth in his downward progress. If, notwithstanding this endeavour, he persist in his evil conduct, and he is brought here, we say to him, "My dear boy, how is it that you are come here? I did all in my power to save you from being sent to a place of punishment; but I warned you that if you persisted in grieving your family, I should treat you with severity. I must keep my word, or you would not believe me in future; but if you behave well, if you amend your habits, if you exhibit the slightest symptom of repentance, and of returning to a right course, you may be assured of the eagerness with which I shall give you credit for a desire to improve." In general the success of an undertaking depends on the manner in which it is begun; and it is consequently very important that the first impression made on the lad's mind should be a favourable one.

Their authority is, for a time at least, placed in our hands by the parents, who give their word of honour to leave us to act on all points as we shall deem best. We require this concession for two reasons. First:—We are testing an entirely new system of education. If we are hampered in its application by interposition on the part of the family, it will not be possible to discover whether the system has been ill applied, or whether it is bad in itself, and public opinion will proscribe it for ever. Secondly:—In assuming as regards the child the whole responsibility of the rigorous measures adopted towards him, we avoid the risk of destroying what little affection for his family may yet survive in his heart. What little affection! Painful indeed must these words be to parents when they feel but too often that it is the very excess of their tenderness which has brought about this miserable result; truly instructive are they for the future! But were we to attempt to trace effects to their causes, we might, Gentlemen, publish a volume instead of a report. We will leave it to time to supply us with fresh arguments.

You may, perhaps, be surprised that we should have, to some extent, thrown into a dialogue form, the narrative we have just related, instead of contenting ourselves with a simple analysis. We believed, however, that this was the best method of explaining our system. In thus bringing it into operation before you, so to speak, you could better appreciate both its advantages and drawbacks. It now remains for us only to state a few details which will throw light upon this department as a whole.

The approach of the holidays increases the number of applications from parents for admission—a fact easily explained.

It is obvious to the heads of families that at such a season they run a risk of rewarding the child whose conduct during the whole past

year has been bad, for it is impossible to change home into a place of punishment at a time when all is joy and festivity, especially where there are other children who deserve nothing but praise. On the other hand, at some schools pupils are not permitted to remain during the holidays; and in all the discipline, at this period of rest from work, is sure to be relaxed. Removing to Mettray obviates all these difficulties; one inconvenience alone remaining, namely, that at this season we cannot arrange for our lads to compete in writing exercises with the lads of the [neighbouring] Public School, as they are accustomed to do during the session. We must acknowledge that in so far they lose a motive to emulation; but at the same time our discipline is the more felt at this period of the year, when the child's thoughts naturally revert to the enjoyments from which he is cut off.*

But though we can thus deprive those lads of their holiday who do not deserve it, we reserve the means of enabling such among our pupils to enjoy it as during their stay with us have shown a desire to do well.

It is by this potent alternative—everything to hope if they behave well, and everything to fear if they behave ill—that men are kept in the path of duty, and *a fortiori* the child.

We have met with much sympathy and aid from some excellent clergymen in our neighbourhood. Desiring to promote our undertaking, they agree to receive our pupils as boarders, whenever we are of opinion that the strict discipline of Mettray has sufficiently operated on their young hearts. Thus we afford these lads an opportunity of exercising their liberty under certain restrictions.

In this intermediate stage we can judge how far we have influenced their disposition. It is a species of moral quarantine, which indicates what we have to hope or to fear from the future.

We will conclude this explanation of our system by an observation which we trust may bear fruit in making parents understand how important it is not to delay entrusting their children to us, until they have become utterly unmanageable. Hitherto success has crowned our efforts, even when we had to deal with individuals from sixteen to eighteen years old; though we must confess that we had serious misgivings with respect to them. Our task, however, has been far easier, and attended with the happiest results when our pupils have been under fourteen years of age.

It is easy to understand why, when the only alternative was to consign the child to gaol, the step was delayed until the case became extreme, just as amputation is adopted only when gangrene has set in. But now the remedy consists in sending the youth not to prison, but

* We must not omit to express our sincere gratitude to the Principal and the Professors of the Lycée at Tours, who have been good enough to permit our pupils to write exercises with theirs, they informing us of the subject of the composition. Our pupils never sign their names to their exercises, in order that their *incognito* may be preserved. Thus they are benefited by the spirit of emulation, without the seclusion in which it is desirable to keep them, for a time at least, being interrupted.

to what may be called a strict school, where, however, he goes out of doors every day with the person who superintends his education, and is even permitted occasionally to make longer excursions, provided his conduct be very satisfactory. It is impossible, therefore, to explain the neglect on the parts of heads of families of the Reformatory means we place at their disposal, and the efficiency of which no longer admits of doubt.*

Being now convinced, by three years' experience, of the advantages of our new department, we would gladly see its benefits shared by a larger number. For this reason we have thought of admitting children from foreign countries who cause their parents anxiety and trouble. The distance, instead of being a drawback, should rather be considered an advantage, as it would aid to keep the lad's secret. Moreover, when entirely removed from the scenes among which he has lived, and where doubtless he has too often found persons ready to indulge his evil tendencies, the youth will be driven by the isolation in which he will be placed to endeavour to gain our affection, certain of winning it if he behave well.

We are aware that national manners differ, and that in some countries paternal authority maintains its ascendancy; but the means of preserving this happy state of things in the midst of the spirit of insubordination which threatens to spread throughout the world, lies in convincing young persons that should the evil appear it will be immediately suppressed.

Our house, which is even now too small to meet the applications for admission which come to us from our own country, would not permit of our receiving foreigners, and we contemplate, therefore, erecting additional buildings, in order that our undertaking may be carried into execution on the extended scale which appears desirable.†

Notwithstanding the deep interest we take in the new department whose advantages we have just pointed out, and notwithstanding the gratification it affords us in restoring happiness to many a domestic circle whence it has long been banished, let us assure you, gentlemen, we neglect no duty demanded of us by the Colony of Mettray properly so called—that enterprise which first brought us into co-operation, and which receives the uninterrupted aid and approval of this country.

We have on the present occasion no incidents to relate which have given to our colons an opportunity of proving their courage, and to

* It is also most important not to delay sending the lad to us until he has been expelled from school, for if he sees his future thus blasted, there is reason to fear he will be discouraged. We have had a youth under our care whose father, hoping thereby to intimidate him, had made him believe that his name had been erased from the register of his former school. He lost all hope, saying, "What is the use of working?" Having afterwards learnt that he had not undergone the disgrace of expulsion, he applied himself to his tasks with ardour, and won a position among the best scholars.

† For fuller explanation, see the details contained in the "Notice Cochín" on the Colony at Mettray.

a great city one of testifying its appreciation of it, such as the inundation of the Loire afforded last year.*

Twice over, however, they have helped to extinguish fires which broke forth in the neighbourhood, but in neither instance did anything occur worth recording, nor, happily, any accident to deplore. On a former similar occasion one of our colons perished, the victim to zeal and self-devotion, of which one of our Magistrates has been pleased publicly to express his admiration.

The past year has slipped tranquilly away. Thus we must depend on the interest you feel in our children, when we narrate facts which, to persons less favourably inclined, would appear not worth the trouble of relating; but we are aware that nothing connected with Mettray can be indifferent to you.

At the very moment of writing these words, one of our lads has died in consequence of a kick from a horse, received while in the service of the farmer with whom we had placed him. He was quite aware of his danger, and knowing that the Colony is always open to her children when in need of aid, he begged that he might be laid on a mattress in a cart, and so be conveyed to our Infirmary. The journey was not accomplished without the poor fellow suffering acutely from the jolting of the vehicle. Nevertheless, he said to the driver, "Pray drive faster, or I never shall get there in time." The man did not fully understand what these words implied, but the Colony was no sooner reached than their meaning was made plain. The poor lad immediately asked for the chaplain with whom he had always kept up intercourse, and made his confession. The wound was mortal. Two days had scarcely elapsed when our poor colon breathed his last sigh, surrounded by his school-fellows, who were deeply impressed by his fervour and resignation. He said to us, "I have given you a great deal of trouble, but I could not die among strangers,"—words which revealed the position which Mettray holds in the hearts of her children.

If our colons appreciate the debt they owe to Mettray, their parents do not appear less impressed by it. For instance, a poor woman, whose only means of subsistence is her labour, offered to the Minister of the Interior to take upon herself the expense of the maintenance and education of her son, then confined in a gaol where he cost her nothing, solely on condition that he should be received at Mettray. An engagement such as this, contracted at the price of the severest privation, imposes a heavy responsibility upon us, rendering it our duty to return to such a mother a son who, by his good conduct, shall indemnify her for all her sacrifices.

To this very touching proof of confidence we may add a striking mark of approbation emanating from one of the great departments of the State.

* The Town Council of Tours has been pleased to cause a medal to be struck bearing this legend:—"A la Colonie de Mettray, la ville de Tours reconnaissante." [Some of these medals were exhibited in Birmingham, at the Bazaar held in 1856, in aid of the Ad-derley Park Fund.—*Trans.*]

In the report on the budget for 1858 occurs the following words:—

“The Colony of Mettray has especially excited our interest, and we recommend it to the favourable attention of the Minister of Agriculture. We are of opinion that a permanent and liberal grant would be justifiable to an institution deserving of praise under three several aspects—moral, agricultural, and penitential. It benefits our own country, and affords a model to foreign lands.”*

Such praise is flattering indeed. We venture, however, to accept it, for we believe it to be deserved; and we trust that the Minister will share the favourable opinion of the Commission on the Budget, and will do his utmost in future to render his grant commensurate with the importance of your services, for we have had much difficulty in meeting our expenses latterly, through the great rise in the price of provisions.

Through the kind attention of a very kind reverend friend we lately had the pleasure and advantage of a long conversation with the Rev. Father Caccia, Rector of the Catholic Reformatory School near Market-Weighton, Yorkshire. We found him a disciple of M. Demetz, and one of the most accomplished and thorough scholars, in every point connected with the Reformatory System, it has been our good fortune to meet. We beg attention to the following documents supplied us by Father Caccia:—

Annual Report of the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, read at the Meeting held at Leeds, on the 18th of November, 1857.

The Bishop of Beverley having taken the Chair, and addressed the Meeting in support of the Institution which he had lately visited, the following Report was read by the Rev. Father Caccia.

The task, which it is my duty to perform, is doubtless a difficult one, either if you consider the delicate nature of the Report you expect, concerning our work in a field, previously ploughed and sown by other hands; or, the necessity of speaking of results, which, although the effect of Divine assistance, are generally attributed to human exertion.

In order to free myself as much as possible from these difficulties, I formed the resolution of submitting to your consideration, a few extracts, taken from our Diary, which, containing all the occurrences of our School, and being destined only for private use, will prove a faithful witness of the results already attained, as well as a pledge of the most sanguine hopes for the future.

* In the first instance we received as a grant from the Minister of Agriculture the sum of 12,000 francs, (£480..) which has been reduced to 4,000 francs. Small though the amount be, our gratitude is not the less due for this proof of sympathy from his Excellency, who has been so good as to express his regret that he cannot do more.

Before beginning, I beg you will favour me with your indulgence for my imperfect elocution.

As soon as the agreement, which entrusted your Reformatory School to the care of the Institute of Charity was signed, I being appointed to the work, perceived at a glance its importance since the education of youth had been my principal occupation for twenty years, in my native country. Consequently, I sought and obtained for my staff of brothers, those whom I knew to be the best suited for the work; went to St. Bernard's with the two principal brothers, the Prefect, and the Schoolmaster, where they remained for three weeks, in order to become acquainted with the practical details of a school conducted on a large scale: afterwards, I went with the first mentioned brother, to Blythe House, Hammersmith, to compare the working of the different systems; and commenced on 1st June, the charge entrusted to us.

I shall never forget the trials we had to endure at the beginning! The boys shewed most unmistakeable signs of insubordination; arrangements were made amongst them for running away; mocking and looks of defiance were seen at every turn; grumbling and discontent were the order of the day; all which, as we afterwards learnt, had been previously planned, in order to try our strength and patience.

One morning it rained, and the boys, on being set to make mats, began to grumble, and even refused to perform this prison-like work. One of the bigger boys, in particular, showed a most determined obstinacy, and arming himself with a stick, he excited others to imitate him. As it was absolutely necessary to quell these disorderly proceedings, Br. Prefect considered it his duty to make an example of the ringleader. Whilst chastising him, another of the boys, reputed the strongest and the leader of the worst, undertook to defend his companion, and attempted to strike the Brother, who, however, aware of the importance of the issue of the affair, with great presence of mind, seized his assailant by the collar, flung him flat to the ground several times, and to the great amazement of the rest, walked him off to the dark cell, in which place he remained till dinner time.

The boy, afterwards, acknowledged to me, that, he was fully aware of his fault, and confessed his readiness to perform whatever penance I should impose upon him, which readiness was confirmed by his asking pardon publicly, on his knees.

Another source of anxiety, was the appearance, near, and upon our premises, of men, recognized by some of the boys, as belonging to notorious gangs in this town, (Leeds.) They had the audacity to speak to some of the boys, in order to persuade them to run away, and even to set fire to the house. In the mean time, having acquired a sufficient knowledge of the peculiar nature of our work, I proceeded to put in practice my own plan of direction. My first step was to fit up a more suitable altar for the preserving of the Blessed Sacrament, and to adorn the house with such pictures as are calculated to convey a religious impression to the minds of the boys. At the same time I began a course of daily catechetical instructions,

intermixed with moral reflections and striking practical consequences, whilst endeavouring, also, to win their hearts by kindness and marks of affection, without, however, allowing any breach of discipline to pass unnoticed.

The simple notice of my readiness to speak with them in private, concerning their spiritual necessities, induced them all, without exception, to profit by the opportunity, although I did not enforce it upon them, as an obligation. By this means I sounded the depth of their religious knowledge, which, I found to be very superficial, if anything at all; and moreover I succeeded in gaining their confidence, by appealing to their better feelings.

The clear, simple, and practical preaching on the Gospel every Sunday morning, and, on the Eternal Truths in the afternoon, with reflections upon the same, after the service in a conference of the Brothers with the boys, I have found to produce excellent fruits.

Towards the end of the first month, an occurrence took place, which, though painful in itself, has been in the hands of Divine Providence, the cause of a great moral improvement. A heinous moral fault, calling for a severe and public chastisement, was committed. The offender was lodged in the dark cell, where he remained all day with bread and water for his meals. Before evening prayers, having been previously prepared to submit to punishment for his guilt, he was brought into the presence of all the boys and the superiors, with the exception of myself, and severely chastised: all being exhorted to take warning by this example. The sensation produced was so great, that the majority of the boys mingled their tears with those of the culprit, and evidently appreciated the rigour of the chastisement. The lesson proved effectual, as from that time no great moral fault has ever been detected; on the contrary, the boys have since amended so much, that I had the consolation of not only re-admitting to Holy Communion eight of them, but also of choosing eight others for First Communion.

Another cause, and the last of general disturbance, was the running away at the end of the same first month of one of the boys who was very cunning, and received only just previous to our coming, and consequently always seeking an opportunity to escape. Only a fortnight before he had attempted to put his project in practice, having also enticed another boy to accompany him. His plan of proceeding was this:—he purloined a suit of old clothes belonging to another boy, secreted them in an empty cask, and made up his mind to jump from his window during the night. The detection of the clothes discovered his plan; he was but slightly punished, this being his first offence. On the 27th June, having been punished for telling a lie, he about mid-day concealed himself in the ditch near the house without his coat and cap, and made off as soon as he perceived that no particular attempt was made to find him. The boys were surprised at seeing no bustling or any apparent trouble being taken respecting the fugitive, and were at a loss what to think when we told them to pray for him, and that in a few days he would again be amongst them. Indeed things went on as usual; letters, however, descriptive of the boy were written to the police inspectors

of the neighbouring towns, and only two days after, we received the notice that he was apprehended in this very town, (Leeds.) The surprise of the boys on his appearing amongst them so soon, can scarcely be expressed. He was threatened with the exemplary punishment of a month's imprisonment in a public gaol, but owing to the visit of the Fr. General of the Institute, the punishment was commuted to a few days' confinement in the dark cell, upon bread and water diet.

Until the beginning of July, our efforts were chiefly directed to enforce discipline, and we found many of the bigger boys had begun to lead quite a different life, showing a great affection for us, and a consoling spirit of docility, with the determination of becoming good. The daily instructions were listened to with attention and an evident desire of learning. The teaching of music, and the singing of pious hymns in the chapel, accompanied with the harmonium, a precious gift of Capt. Stapleton, co-operated much to move their hearts and make them exceedingly pleased with their new system of life. At this period, we found it necessary to cause the best boys to co-operate with us in subduing their still stubborn companions. The boys were consequently divided into three classes, according to their size. In each class the better boys were chosen as sergeants or corporals charged with the observance of discipline, whilst military drill contributed also to enforce the spirit of order in every thing. To carry out better this family system, we resolved to take our meals in the same room with the boys, and arranged the horary and occupations in such a manner as to have the boys always within sight. The following is the winter horary. At half-past five o'clock, rise, wash, and clean themselves; six, Morning Prayers and Mass; half-past six, school; half-past seven, breakfast; eight, work as follows, three boys with the cook, for kitchen and housework; three with the shoemaker; five with the tailor; two with the carpenter; two as stable boys; and twenty in the fields, with the Prefect of field labour. I always feel moved when, at the beginning of work, from the different shops and the fields, I hear the boys singing their simple prayer in these few, but touching words, repeated thrice, "My Jesus, I do this for the love of Thee." At a quarter to twelve, work is discontinued and all prepare for dinner; twelve, Angelus and dinner. At all the meals, one of the boys reads some instructive book; after dinner, a visit to the B. Sacrament, and recreation; half-past one, work as before; five, school; six, supper and recreation; half-past seven, school again; half-past eight, Evening Prayers, Hymn, and retire to rest. The greater part of the evening recreation is spent by some, in learning vocal music, and by others, in practising the fife and drum; whilst the remaining boys listen, with pleasure, to the reading of some amusing and instructive book, by one of the brothers.

As regards their improvement in elementary knowledge, you will easily understand the difficulty of teaching such boys, if you reflect that the stages of their education are almost as numerous as are the boys themselves, which, of course, renders it difficult to organise them in classes. Nevertheless the patience and zeal of the school-

master had a witness in the satisfaction which Mr. Morrell expressed at his official visit, on the last of July. Perhaps, if I were to inform you, that now, many of the boys are able to sing in Latin the Psalms for Vespers, and one of Webbe's Masses, you might form some idea of their improvement. In addition to a sense of duty, they are encouraged to study from the persuasion, that in after life, theirs will be a very poor condition, if dependent upon others in the management of their business, from a want of elementary knowledge.

Since July, the boys have shewn such a gradually increasing good conduct, as to encourage us to establish a Section of Honour, for those who had not only not given any trouble by misconduct, but who on all occasions had conducted themselves in a satisfactory manner: the Feast of St. Charles, (Nov. 4th,) was chosen for the inauguration of it. On the morning of the Feast, the flags were hoisted, the boys were attired in new tunics, those who had been chosen unanimously by the Brothers, were distinguished by stripes of red braid upon their collar, and the Tablet of Honour upon which their names, eight in number, were written, was placed in a conspicuous part of the house. The Hon. Chas. Langdale having kindly consented to honour the boys by his presence, arrived in time for High Mass. After Vespers, all the boys and Superiors, together with other friends come for the occasion, assembled in the school-room, and the Section of Honour was presented to the Hon. Gentleman, who kindly addressed them at some length in a very exhortative manner. The impression made by the solemnity of the day will no doubt produce good fruits by emulation, and encourage others to strive for the same honour on a future occasion.

With these happy results, you may be tempted to think that we never more find it necessary to have recourse to punishment. No, *our* boys are far from being angels. Punishment is inflicted, but never at the moment of the fault, except in very rare and particular occasions, and this in order to be assisted by reflection, and to give time for repentance, so that, when the punishment is inflicted, the culprit is fully aware beforehand, that it is deserved, and its justice is, of course, acknowledged.

Each Brother keeps an account of all the offences, as well as the good deeds of the boys under his charge. Every Sunday morning, both Superiors and boys meet together, when each brother gives an account of each of his boys, whose good conduct or misbehaviour is commended or reprehended as deserved. If it be found necessary to inflict chastisement for the repetition of a fault, it is administered during the course of the following week. Bread and water diet for one or more days; silence, solitude, or work, during recreation; taking meals apart, or some strokes on the hand, are the ordinary punishments; the dark cell, since the beginning of July, has only once been occupied. At the Sunday's Report, after the communion of the 16 boys, not a fault was laid to the charge of any of the boys, and in general, punishment at the present time is reserved for the little boys, upon whom religion and mental persuasion have too little influence to dispense them from sensible warnings.

Up to the present date we have received eight new boys, making a total of thirty-five, leaving only four vacancies in the present building. Our plan is to keep the new boys apart for a few days under the tuition of a boy with the rank of sergeant, during which time, their character and natural inclinations are studied by us, whilst they themselves learn the duties of external discipline, in order that when they join the class assigned them, they may naturally fall into the general good behaviour of the others, who, by their cheerfulness and affection to the Superiors, point out for their encouragement, a source of real happiness never before tasted.

I expect to see a great moral improvement in the school, as twenty-nine boys received the Sacrament of Confirmation on Saturday last. I, with great pleasure, take this opportunity of mentioning that we are indebted to our venerable Chairman, for the foundation of a Reformatory School in this country. He, for this purpose, generously appropriated a beautiful building, together with 70 acres of land; well knowing, that if the education of children, next to the conversion of sinners, was the principal object of our Redeemer's love, both these objects are obtained in a Reformatory School for juvenile delinquents. The interest he has taken, and the encouragement he has given us, in our work of reforming this precious, but unfortunate portion of his flock, increased with the good conduct of the boys, and as soon as they were prepared, he kindly condescended to visit them, and administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. The Hon. C. Langdale, having, with truly paternal affection, constantly inquired about their progress and wants, and frequently visited them, kindly accepted the duties of godfather, thus acquiring a new title to their reverence and affection.

A continual watchfulness over the moral development of the boys, in order to ascertain if it be the effect of a good disposition, rather than hypocrisy; a rigorous prohibition to speak to each other of their past lives; the enforcing of silence during work and in the ranks; readiness to attend to their wants, and to assist them in overcoming their temptations; the encouragement to confidence in the good dispositions of their superiors, and the example of paternal care and sacrifice for their sake: these are the means most calculated to win every heart, to check every bad habit, and to enforce every religious or social virtue.

The moral improvement of our boys is such, at present, that we may greatly increase their numbers, not only without danger to them, but with the advantage of making them the standard and promoters of the reformation of the new comers, who, being admitted at different periods, and singly, cannot but follow the general discipline, and be benefited by the good example of the older inmates.

This is the present condition of your Reformatory School. Thanks be to God, above all, for His evident assistance in a work, which redounds particularly to His glory, and after God, thanks be to you my Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen, and especially to the Members of the Committee, for the kind encouragement and effectual support you have given to our endeavours, as well as for the generous assistance I hope you will give for the enlargement of the establishment, which will be the principal object of your present deliberation.

The following Financial Report of the Committee, and Abstract of Accounts, were read by R. J. Gainsford, Esq.

On the 1st of June, 1857, the Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School passed under the conduct of the Religious Community, with whom your Committee succeeded in effecting an arrangement for their undertaking that duty. The annexed accounts are therefore made up to that period, comprising about a year and a half since the Institution was commenced, but it will be observed, that these accounts include a payment of £237 10s. 0d. to the Religious Community, which may be considered to appertain less to the past than to the future.

These accounts shew that £898 6s. 6d. have been received in Donations, £173 3s. 0d. in Subscriptions, for 1856, and £207 12s. 6d. in Subscriptions for 1857, whilst £45 3s. 0d. of the Subscriptions for the latter year are still in arrear, and will, we trust, be at once remitted to the treasurer, as it must be obvious that they are much wanted.* Should the additional sum of £1100 afterwards mentioned as requisite to enlarge the Building, be promptly raised, and the Annual Subscriptions be maintained for a few years, then there seems every reason to expect that the Institution will be in a position to receive and train, during the period of detention, all the Catholic boys who may be dealt with as criminal, in Yorkshire, with little or no occasion to draw further upon the resources of Catholic Charity, for their maintenance, during the period of detention. The subsequent Annual Subscriptions might then, perhaps, be most suitably devoted to an endeavour to find suitable employment for these boys after their reformatory training had expired.

The Reformatory School is at present adapted to receive only 33 boys; it is rapidly filling; and we shall soon be under the necessity of declining to receive boys suitable for admission, unless additions be at once made to the buildings, so as to increase the extent of accommodation. During the first year we have 33 boys, whose average period of detention exceeds four years, and we must therefore consider it requisite to provide accommodation for at least 132 boys for Yorkshire alone. It is estimated that a further outlay of £1100 would suffice to give increased accommodation for 70 more boys. The present body of religious, who have undertaken the superintendence of the school, are sufficiently numerous to manage the large as well as the smaller number, and, as Government allows at the rate of £18 5s. per annum, for each boy in the school, it is obviously desirable, on the mere ground of economy, to have as many inmates as the staff of religious may be able to attend to. Under such circumstances, an additional number of inmates would involve no additional charge upon the subscribers beyond the first cost of enlarging the building, so as to be capable of receiving them. It is confidently hoped, therefore, that this explanation may lead to further Donations and Subscriptions being at once handed in, so as to enable the enlargement of the buildings to be commenced immediately, and completed in time to prevent the necessity of refusing to receive more of the poor boys, for want of room.

* Many of these arrears have been paid since this Report and abstract of accounts was prepared.

It may even be respectfully suggested, for the consideration of our Catholic Brethren, in the more Northern Counties of Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, whether they could in any other way, so advantageously provide for the reception and proper care and training of the Catholic Criminal Boys, from those Counties, as by subscribing a still further sum for the purpose of making a yet further addition to the Reformatory School, near Market Weighton, so as to make it capable of receiving the boys from those four Northern Counties, as well as from Yorkshire. The first cost to them of such an addition, would be far less than the cost of building a separate institution, for their own juvenile criminals: and even if they could meet with another body of Religious, ready to undertake the conduct of it, the current expenditure of the two distinct, would be far greater, than if combined in one, since two Communities must be maintained, either of which would suffice to manage and attend to all the inmates in both Institutions. The advantage, we admit, would be mutual, since one result of the combination would be to diminish the average annual cost of each Yorkshire, as well as of each more Northern inmate. We trust, therefore, that our Catholic Brethren, in the four Northern Counties, will give this suggestion a favourable consideration, and if they concur in our views, promptly act upon it.

Mr. Gainsford also explained that the periods of Committal of the 33 boys were as follows:—12 for 5 years, 16 for 4 years, 3 for 3 years, and 2 for 2 years; shewing an average of more than four years, and that they were committed from the following places:—Leeds 9, Sheffield 7, Bradford 5, Huddersfield 3, Scarborough 3, York 2, Hull 2, Dewsbury 1, Beverley 1.

CIRCULAR.

YORKSHIRE CATHOLIC REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

At the Annual Meeting at Leeds, of the Subscribers of this Reformatory School, on November 18th, the proposition to enlarge the establishment for the accommodation of 70 other boys from Yorkshire, making a total of 110, was unanimously agreed to, and the raising of the necessary funds was immediately undertaken.

In Spring, the new building will be commenced, which will be fit for habitation by the end of Summer. As we have already 87 boys, we have found it necessary to prepare temporary accommodation for those committed up to that period.

During the last two months, we have received many applications from other counties, and especially from the towns of London, Liverpool, and Birmingham, as the two Catholic Reformatories, viz. St. Bernard's Leicestershire, and Blythe House, Hammersmith, London, are full, although the first has accommodation for 300 boys, and the other for 75. As no further accommodation as far as I know, is about to be prepared for Catholic juvenile delinquents, I think that some steps ought to be taken to carry on a work so successfully begun, consequently I have obtained the permission of the Bishop of this diocese, to whom our premises belong, to receive boys

from other counties, provided no expense whatever fall upon this diocese on their amount, and also, that no Yorkshire boy be ever refused.

These two conditions are but just ; and therefore I cannot receive other boys, unless I am enabled to raise a fund to build for their accommodation. I think I am not asking too much, if for each boy I demand the sum of £10, to be paid upon his reception ; this sum is calculated as scarcely sufficient for raising the building and providing the bedding. If any Committee will make arrangements for a determinate number of boys, the same number of boys will of course be received in succession without payment, so that £10 will always give a claim for one inmate, £100 for 10, and so on.

For the encouragement of private individuals who may take interest in some particular boy, I am inclined to accommodate such boy upon payment of £2 10s. a year in advance, during the period of his detention, provided there is a vacancy.

I wish to make known, that the situation of this Reformatory School, with 70 acres of land, and workshops for the more useful trades attached, together with the large staff of Brothers of the Institute of Charity, who have charge of the establishment, afford ample means for the education of juvenile delinquents.

I take the liberty of informing of these details of this Reformatory School, hoping that the great interest you take in this work of charity, will suggest the means, either by Committee or by private assistance, to carry out the reformation of the unfortunate portion of our Catholic boys. It is certain that without suitable accommodation for all the Catholic boys, they will either be persuaded to declare themselves Protestants, in order to be sent to Protestant Institutions, or otherwise, to be allowed to return to their criminal habits.

It is worthy of remark, that up to the present, which is to say during a little more than one year, we have in the three Catholic Reformatory Schools 420 boys, and consequently taking an average of 4 years for the time of detention, we ought to have accommodation for at least 1600 boys.

I feel persuaded that many persons interested in this work of Charity, are deterred from undertaking it by the great difficulties connected with the opening of new Reformatory Schools, both as regards the expenses of building, as well as the obtaining of a competent staff to conduct it ; consequently, I hope to meet with the encouragement and assistance of all charitable persons for carrying out my proposition, which implies the attainment of the same end with comparatively little trouble or expense.

If any Committee agree to adopt my proposition, I beg to be informed of it as soon as convenient, in order to be able to make arrangements with the Yorkshire Committee, for carrying on the necessary buildings, together with those to be erected for the Yorkshire boys, next Spring.

All correspondence connected with this subject should be directed to me.

Rev. C. CACCIA, Rector, Catholic Reformatory School.
Near Market Weighton, Yorkshire.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

The Fourth Annual Report, that for 1857, of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland is now before us, and from it we learn that the accommodation for convicts in the Government Prisons on the 1st January, 1858, may be estimated as amounting to 3,486.

GOVERNMENT PRISONS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on 1st Jan., 1858,	1,603	674	2,277
Accommodation on 1st January, 1858,	2,750	736	3,486

COUNTY AND CITY GAOLS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on 1st Jan., 1858,	13	8	21
Gross Total of Convicts in Ireland,	2,298.		

NUMBER OF CONVICTS SENTENCED DURING THE YEAR 1857.

MALES.			
TRANSPORTATION.		PENAL SERVITUDE.	
14 years,	1	3 years,	31
15 "	14	4 "	167
Life,	14	5 "	2
		6 "	23
		7 "	7
		8 "	3
		10 "	22
		15 "	3
		Life,	8
29		266	

Total Males, 295.

FEMALES.			
TRANSPORTATION.		PENAL SERVITUDE.	
14 years,	2	3 years,	29
15 "	5	4 "	88
Life,	1	6 "	4
		7 "	2
8		123	

Total Females, 131.

Gross Total of Convicts sentenced in Ireland in 1857, 426.

Disposal of Convicts.

Discharged unconditionally,	590
Ditto on petition, sentences having been commuted	22
Released on "Orders of Licence,"	298
	<hr/>
Total,	910

The most important portion of the *Report* is that which relates to the INTERMEDIATE PRISONS, as Lusk, and Smithfield. Referring to these and to the Female Prisons, the Directors write as follows:—

"We have the satisfaction of reporting, that during the past year we have found the results of the special treatment of convicts in intermediate prisons, on a system explained in our two former Reports, to have quite equalled our expectations. The conduct of the prisoners, both under detention and after liberation, confirm this statement. We believe it would be difficult to find any body of men who would behave themselves more submissively to the rules, or give their labour more freely to the public service than we have found to be the case with the convicts who, since the commencement of this system, have been placed in the intermediate prisons.

In April last we located as many convicts as were at our disposal for the purpose, (60), in two iron huts, on Lusk Common. They were at first employed in levelling the portion of the common on which the huts stand, and forming it into a parade ground and vegetable garden. When this was finished, they were employed in draining the commons, and at spade labour in the fields; the former work, about which they will yet be occupied some time, is excessively heavy, and the Superintendent of Drainage reports most favourably of the willing labour of the prisoners. We have before explained that the common is to form a portion of the farm to be attached to the juvenile prison which it is contemplated shortly to erect. There will be means of employment there for some time considerably in excess of the labour we shall have at our disposal.

The discharges on licence from the intermediate prisons have, we are happy to state, outnumbered our expectations; the consequence has been, however, that the number of selected convicts on public works has much decreased. We have, therefore, been obliged to allot Carlisle Fort to a class of convicts in an earlier stage of their imprisonment, and have, of course, withdrawn the privileges and rules applicable to it as an intermediate prison.

The iron buildings erected at Lusk appear to fully answer the purpose for which they were required. In a memorandum published by the Chairman of our Board, in October last, and which is appended to this Report, a calculation has been made of the cost and value of productive labour of 100 prisoners located and employed as at Lusk, based on the experience there obtained.

It will be observed how profitable and convenient such labour may be rendered for the public service.

Between 1st January, 1856, and 1st January, 1858, there have been 547 male convicts discharged on licence, and 478 discharged unconditionally, from the intermediate prisons.

Ninety-eight female convicts have also been discharged on licence.

During that period the number of licences revoked have been twenty-five, viz., twenty-two males and three females, eight of which have been for neglect of conditions.

The male and female convicts on licence pardoned, subsequently for good conduct on probation, have been 105, viz., sixty-six male and thirty-nine females.

Very many inquiries have been made respecting prisoners discharged absolutely from the intermediate prisons in 1856 and 1857, and also those discharged on licence during 1856, before the new rules for efficient supervision were established. These inquiries, necessarily limited in their extent, (about 300), and which are recorded for inspection at Smithfield Depôt, have been very generally satisfactory, especially when taken into connexion with the circumstance, that only four of the 1,025 have been re-committed to the convict prisons in addition to the twenty-five whose licences have been revoked. We are not disposed to place too much value on this statement as conclusive evidence of their having quitted their evil courses. We prefer resting on the more positive and reliable data we are, through the amended rules of subversion, enabled to produce concerning those discharged in 1857. We may remark, however, that fifteen male convicts discharged on licence in 1856 are still employed in this city, and are giving satisfaction to their employers.

We have, during 1857, discharged the following number of prisoners from the intermediate prisons and refuges :—

	TRANSPORTATION.		PENAL SERVITUDE.
	On Licence.	Absolute Discharge.	Absolute Discharge.
Smithfield and Lusk,	159	108	27
Forts, &c.,	93	174	13
Female Refuges, . . .	46	—	—

The convicts discharged on licence are accounted for in the following return :—

RETURN of CONVICTS DISCHARGED ON LICENCE from SMITHFIELD and LUSK, &c., during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Discharged, 159

How disposed of—

Favourably reported on in Dublin, . . . 31
 Pardoned and subsequently gone abroad, . . 34
 Favourably reported on by Constabulary, . . 75
 Left for England and Scotland, ten having
 been heard from, 15
 Licences revoked, 3
 Died, 1—159

The Forts.

Discharged, 91

How disposed of—

Favourably reported on by Constabulary, . . .	83
Pardoned and subsequently gone abroad, . . .	4
Licences revoked,	4—91

Total discharged on licence in 1857, and accounted for, 250

This return has reference to male convicts only. All convicts on licence are reported on, if in Dublin, by the lecturer, if in the country, by the constabulary, until they receive a pardon, or quit the country.

Of those discharged since January 1, 1857, a period during which the constabulary supervision has been exercised over the convicts discharged on licence, and therefore more positive and reliable information obtained, only seven licenses have, as yet, been revoked: of these, three were for wilful omissions and breaches of conditions, &c.

RULES FOR THE REGISTRATION AND SUPERVISION OF CONVICTS ON TICKET OF LICENCE.

January 1, 1857.

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant being desirous of accurately testing the practical working of the ticket of licence system, by a well organised system of registration of licensed convicts, whereby they may be brought under special supervision and a check be laid upon the evil disposed, has been pleased to sanction the following regulations, which are, therefore, circulated for the information and guidance of the constabulary.—

I. When an offer of employment for a prisoner is accepted, a notification thereof will be made by the Directors of Government Prisons Inspector-General of Constabulary, by whom it will be transmitted to the constabulary of the locality in which the employment is to be given, with all necessary particulars, for the purpose of being entered in a Register at the constabulary station.

II. Each convict so to be employed will report himself at the appointed constabulary station (the name of which will be given to him) on his arrival in the district, and, subsequently, on the first of each month.

III. A special report is to be made to head quarters by the constabulary whenever they shall observe a convict on licence guilty of misconduct or leading an irregular life.

IV. A convict is not to change his locality without notifying the circumstance at the constabulary station, in order that his registration may be transferred to the place to which he is about to proceed. On his arrival he must report himself to the nearest constabulary station (of the name of which he is to be informed), and such transfer is to be reported to head quarters for the information of the Directors of Government Prisons.

V. An infringement of these rules by the convict will cause it to be assumed that he is leading an idle, irregular life, and, therefore, entail the revocation of his licence.

VI. Further regulations may hereafter be added to the foregoing should they become necessary.

We submit that, taking into consideration the stringent supervision exercised, this is a most satisfactory state of things, and, when taken in connexion with some returns drawn out for a special purpose (to be hereafter explained), is of high value with reference to the future treatment of our criminals.

We have found the proportion of criminals that could be discharged through the intermediate prisons to be what we anticipated, viz., about 75 per cent.

As a testimony to the beneficial effects of special training and individualizing, there are cases of prisoners who, before their committal to prison, have been a terror to their localities, the authorities in which had strongly deprecated their being returned to their own neighbourhood on licence. We have discharged such men elsewhere, and have had opportunities, subsequently, of hearing through their employers of their well-doing, and saving enough money to quit the country.

We submit that the experience of the last two years in Ireland proves the advantage of special and individual treatment to the adult criminal. The experience of the last twelve months (during which the machinery of supervision has been made more perfect) demonstrates, by the returns, what may be done for and with criminals, based on the best possible foundation, their own exertions, under a probation in which there is a maximum of work, and only such food allowed as the medical officer certifies to be absolutely necessary for them. This period includes a number sentenced to penal servitude, and with whom we expected greater difficulty. It will be found that, though their sentence would not be shortened by good conduct or by disguising their sentiments, they have as yet strongly manifested a desire to do well on discharge.

We do not ascribe these alterations in conduct and character exclusively to religious influences. The prisoners, have in addition, the strong motive of self-interest prompting them to do right.

It has been the labour of those connected with the intermediate establishments to inculcate in the mind of the convicts (already somewhat prepared by habits of order and discipline in their previous prisons) that honesty is the best policy. That it is so is a fact beyond question. A proper and an improving police system making punishment more certain, legislation approving of longer sentences, an increasing feeling that there should be a unity of action against crime, all tend to bring this home to the prisoner's mind. The task is to convince the criminal. The more patent we make the fact by an improved police system, and the lengthening of sentences, showing that crime cannot be committed with impunity, so much lighter in proportion will be the task of reformation.

There are, of course, other and higher motives placed before the criminal; but a fact made as clear as here described will always be estimated as an important aid to the cause of reformation by those conversant with the criminal classes in and out of prison.

The mind of the criminal having thus been prepared—i.e., his former pursuits having been shown to be not only unholy but unprofitable, and being himself now led to believe, and to feel, that honesty is his best policy—he is then shown what he may, by extra industry, accomplish towards restoring himself to society; his special education informs him that, although in his own country he may be too weak to resist old associates and their temptations, there are other fields in which employment is abundant, where his unhappy antecedents will not appear against him, and where active industry and steady perseverance in well-doing will meet with their reward. It is evident what effect many months of such training would be likely to produce on the minds of a large number of criminals, many of whom are more willing to receive this doctrine favourably than would be supposed, inasmuch as they have already found crime to be unprofitable. When the will to emigrate, and, in most cases, to join their friends, is accompanied by the power afforded through their extra industry, it is not surprising to find that a large and an increasing number have left and are leaving the country, the limited amount of their means alone being the impediment.

Although we cannot too highly prize, as an important element of reformation, the voluntary emigration of the well-disposed criminals when free, to lands where labour is scarce, or advocate too strongly its beneficial effects, we are aware that a large number will still remain in their own country, with equal intention of well-doing. The experience afforded by two years of many prisoners on licence in this city, and of the whole number at present under supervision, induce the most satisfactory conclusions. The fact of employers of high respectability, after long experience, retaining those men in their situations, and still offering work to others of the same class, is the strongest, and perhaps the most satisfactory testimony we can adduce in favour of the system. Many prisoners, sentenced to penal servitude, and discharged from Smithfield, have, by means of their gratuity, bound themselves to tradesmen to be made more perfect in their calling. Although these men are free, a system of visitation voluntarily submitted to by them has been kept up, which has been found to be productive of good.

We believe that, if discharged prisoners conduct themselves as we find them to do when surrounded by the temptations of a city, and as, through the constabulary, we hear they do in the rural districts of this country, we have good grounds for confidence in the future well-doing of those who have gone to other fields of labour.

FIRST REPORT ON MEN ON LICENCE in the City and County of Dublin, for month of January, 1858, made fortnightly by the Lecturer.
—The date indicates when the men were released.

Sept. 8, 1856, D. L. Chapelizod, Employer J. N., Labourer, 10s. a-week. A most exemplary man.

Sept. 15, 1856, D. K. Crumlin, Employer M. C., Labourer, 8s. a-week. A most exemplary man.

Nov. 11, 1856, D. R. Saggart, Employer J. M'D, Labourer, 7s. a-week. In hospital.

- Nov. 11, 1856, M. M'L. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7a. a-week. Doing well.
- Feb. 20, 1857, M. G. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well as regards his public duties.
- Nov. 6, 1856, P. M'N. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well.
- Oct. 28, 1857, P. W. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Doing well.
- Dec. 3, 1856, D. R. South King-street, Employers G. and R., Labourer, 9s. 6d. a-week. Retained in employment when three of his fellow-labourers were discharged a few days since.
- May 13, 1856, M. R. Poolbeg-street, Employer M. B., Labourer, 9s. a-week. Doing well.
- July 22, 1857, P. M'G. Fade-street. In hospital.
- July 13, 1857, J. S. Francis-street, Employer M. M., Labourer, 12s. a-week. No better character.
- July 13, 1857, O. M'C. Fade-street, Employer M. R., Labourer, 8s. a-week. I cannot speak too highly of this man.
- Aug. 10, 1857, P. M. Old Bawn, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 10s. a-week. I cannot speak too highly of this man.
- Aug. 6, 1857, W. W. Ryder's-aow, Employer W. L., Shoemaker, Piece work. Doing well.
- Nov. 27, 1857, M. B. North King-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Going on well ; got married a few days since.
- Oct. 14, 1857, T. R. Bride-street, Employer P. M'L., Tailor, 3s. a-week and board. A proper young man.
- Nov. 16, 1857, J. M. Longford-street, Employer M. G., Shoemaker, Wages varying. An excellent character.
- Nov. 13, 1857, J. M. Mary's-lane, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. Going on well, he was dealing in fowl, but has become a bankrupt.
- Dec. 18, 1857, M. L. Bedford-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. Going on well.
- Sept. 24, 1857, P. D. Gloucester-place, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. An industrious, sober, and well-inclined young man, and, what is more, a good son to his aged mother.
- Sept. 24, 1857, E. H. Clarke's-court, Employer M. W., Shoemaker, 3s. a-week and board. Doing very well.
- Sept. 24, 1857, J. D. Swords. This man is going on well I hear, but have not seen him very lately. I sent a person to inquire and make out his residence for me.
- March, 31, 1856, J. N. Linen Hall-street, Employer J. K., Shopman, 10s. a-week. A man who fully appreciates self-respect.
- May 23, 1856, T. K. Fade-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 10s. a-week. A sober, industrious man.
- April 1, 1856, F. B. Bishop-street, Own account, Shoemaker, 16s. a-week. Doing very well ; married.
- May 29, 1856, T. C. Linen Hall-street. I am informed that this man is going on well, but cannot ascertain his residence.
- Nov. 8, 1856, P. H. Pigtown-land, Employer M. T., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Doing very well.

- June 21, 1857, P. M. Mount Brown, Employer M. K., Shoemaker, 12s. a-week. What may be termed a pushing fellow, not likely to want while he can get employment.
- June 22, 1857, P. K. Ballynascorney, Employer B. H., Labourer, £4 per annum and board and lodging. - Rather a miracle in the reformatory world.
- March 5, 1857, P. Q. Church-street, Employer C. D., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing very well.
- April 30, 1857, M. C. Poolbeg-street, Employer C. D., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing very well.
- Sept. 9, 1857, W. R. Glasnevin, Employer M. H., Stonecutter, 10s. a-week. Doing very well; married.
- Sept. 9, 1856, J. G. Beresford-place, Employer J. C., Bricklayer, £1 6s. a-week. A most exemplary character; married to a very respectable girl.
- Sept. 10, 1857, P. C. Swords, Employer M. W., Labourer, 8s. a-week. This man was not in employment when I last saw him, but expects employment in a few days.
- Aug. 9, 1857, M. W. Church-street, Employer M. D., Labourer, 8s. a-week. No complaints.
- Sept. 9, 1857, J. M^cG. Francis-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing very well now.
- Nov. 28, 1857, J. F. Haddington-road. Residing with his father, who is a respectable man.
- Sept. 7, 1856, M. C. Chapelizod, Employer M. B., Tailor, 8s. a-week and board. Doing very well.
- Jan. 4, 1858, P. M. North King-street, Own account, Dealing. Doing very well.
- Dec. 24, 1857, P. N. Church-street. Expects employment immediately.
- P. K. Blackberry-lane, Rathmines, Employer M. K., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing well; his home wears the aspect of comfort.
- J. S. Phoenix-street, Employer B. H., Labourer, 10s. a-week. An excellent man; very frugal.
- J. H. Church-lane, Employer M. M., Labourer, 10s. a-week. Doing well; very temperate and industrious.
- J. T. Cabra, Employer M. B., Labourer, 8s. a-week and house. A most industrious and self-dependant man.
- T. L. Moore-street, Employer M. F., Stonecutter, £1 6s. a-week. Doing very well.
- R. Clare-lane, Employer M. H., Paper-ruler, 10s. a-week. No complaints; still with Mr. H.
- B. or A. Drury-lane, Porter. Working now and then on the Quay.
- P. B. Bow-street, Employer M. B., Labourer, 9s. a-week. When working he gets 9s. per week; he is not constantly employed; he is industrious and sober.
- W. T. Golden-lane, Employer J. G., Porter, 10s. a-week. An excellent young man.
- J. O'N. Kingstown. This man left the employment of Mr. S. I have not seen him for the last eight days.
- Oct. 27, 1857, B. J. Longford-street, Employer W. G., Shoemaker, 3s. a-week and board. Doing very well.

- June 9, 1857, W. K. North King-street, Employer M. L., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Doing very well.
 July 6, 1857, P. H. Francis-street, Employer M. C., Labourer, 9s. a-week. A most exemplary man.
 Dec. 14, 1857, P. T. Francis-street, Employer M. K., Painter, 8s. a-week. Doing well; but I think he is not altogether fond of hard work.
 Dec. 14, 1857, J. P. Fade-street, Employer M. R., Labourer. Enlisted.
 Dec. 14, 1857, J. K. Fade-street, Employer M. R., Labourer, 8s. a-week. Doing well.
 Dec. 18, 1857, P. C. Bedford-street, Employer M. C. Labourer, 9s. a-week. Doing well.

NOT ON LICENCE.—Penal Servitude Discharged Prisoners.

- Oct. 6, 1857, M. T. Saggart, Employer J. M'D., Labourer, 7s. a-week. Giving satisfaction to employer.
 Oct. 22, 1857, J. G. Poolbeg-street, Employer M. C., Stonecutter, 10s. a-week. No complaints. My hopes of this man's future welfare are not very sanguine.
 Oct. 23, 1857, J. B. Usher's-quay, Employer M. G., Servant, wages, cannot say. Going on very satisfactorily.
 Dec. 24, 1857, E. N. Enlisted.
 Dec. 16, 1857, P. H. Longford-street, Employer M. G., Shoemaker. Going on well.

J. ORGAN.

We have taken some pains to compile, at Smithfield, the returns appended and marked A, B, and C, for the sake of comparison, and in order that conclusions may be drawn of much value for future guidance.

The return, marked A, represents prisoners under sentence of transportation, and discharged on licence.

The return, marked B, represents prisoners under sentence of transportation, and discharged unconditionally after a longer period of service.

The return, marked C, represents prisoners under sentence of penal servitude, and discharged at the termination of their sentences.

All these classes of prisoners have been discharged from the intermediate prisons of Lusk and Smithfield, and have been subjected to the same treatment.

With reference to class A, a reference to the appended rules for the supervision of convicts on licence, page 13, will show the value of the constabulary report.

The returns B and C have been collected with the greatest industry and pains, and are as complete as they are ever likely to be made concerning a class of prisoners over which there is no legal control.

A.

RETURN of CONVICTS DISCHARGED ON LICENCE from SMITHFIELD and Lusk, during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Number discharged, 159

How disposed of—

Favourably reported on in Dublin,	31
Pardoned and subsequently gone abroad,	34
Favourably reported on by Constabulary,	75
Left for England and Scotland, ten having been heard from,	15
Licences revoked,	3
Died,	1—159

B.

RETURN of CONVICTS DISCHARGED (unconditional pardon) from SMITHFIELD and Lusk, during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Number discharged, 108

How disposed of—

Heard of and doing well,	21
Gone abroad,	37
Died,	1
Do. (supposed),	3
Not heard of,	46—108*

C.

RETURN of CONVICTS SENTENCED to PENAL SERVITUDE, who were DISCHARGED from SMITHFIELD and Lusk on TERMINATION of their SENTENCES during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Smithfield and Lusk.

Number discharged, 27

How disposed of—

Heard of and doing well,	7
Gone abroad,	9
Not heard of, some of whom were only a few days at liberty previous to 31st December, 1857, 11—27	

It will be at once observed, and should be particularly noted, how far more complete is the Return A, which is applicable to convicts conditionally pardoned (discharged on licence), and that it is incomplete only as regards those gone to England and Scotland, to which

* In return B, it will be observed, that there are forty-six unaccounted for; and although none of them have yet been committed to the Convict Depot, it is possible that some of them may be in the country prisons. It is a fair assumption, that if reconvicted at all, some reference would have been made to this department; this is, however, a mere assumption.

countries our police supervision does not extend. How instructive for future guidance the comparison may be made is obvious. To appreciate its value, however, and fully to recognise the importance of adopting means to produce such a return as A, it will be necessary to advert to an error, and a very fatal error, prevailing in the United Kingdom at the present day, on the subject of crime, viz., that conclusions are drawn from statistics in connexion with the number of detected offences committed by discharged prisoners. We rest satisfied or dissatisfied with a certain per centage of convictions. We ignore the undetected offences, and thereby paralyze the action which should be brought to bear against crime. Until we make the criminal statistics of the United Kingdom more positive and more perfect, as in other countries they are made, crime will flourish, and the utmost efforts at reforming the criminal prove but a partial good. We must not rest satisfied with the discharge of the criminal of many years' growth as a well-conducted prisoner. If the prisoner's training has been of the right description, it will show itself beyond the prison walls. For our sake and for his own we should follow him; his training is incomplete unless we do. We must exercise such a supervision as shall aid him in his good, and restrain him from his evil intentions. The objection, that such a course would be an interference with the liberty of the subject, appears to us to make the liberty of the criminal the bondage of the free man. Such a supervision, acting detrimentally to the well-intentioned and newly-released convict, would be by the abuse, and not the use, of an important police duty. It is a momentous subject, the key-stone of all our troubles, and should not be rejected on light and insufficient grounds. Crime is rampant. Criminals tell us of offences committed with impunity before detection, of which statistics give no account. We have now but one colony that will take out convicts, and it has become necessary, absolutely necessary, that our discharged and professed criminals should henceforward no longer be allowed to prosecute their callings comparatively unrestrained.

It has been proved, in this country, that such supervision acts beneficially to the community as well as to the well-conducted criminal, and we have yet to learn that the Irish convict has any greater predilection in favour of police and law than those of other nations. The duty of supervision should be, in fact, a continuance of the system, and could be performed by well-selected officers of police in communication with the prison department.

There is yet another reflection for those who hesitate about the adoption of such supervision. The countries that are the most distinguished in their efforts to reform their criminals have, in all cases, instituted a judicious supervision over them when discharged. They judge, and rightly judge, such a system to be a powerful element in aid of their reformation. The more we surround the commission of crime with difficulties, the fewer offenders we shall naturally have.

We believe that the Penal Servitude Act of 1857, enunciating as it does, the necessity of passing longer sentences, will also have an important effect on reducing crime in the country. The way in which these sentences are to be passed is fully explained in a circular

from the Home Secretary to the judges, in which it appears that it is not a necessary consequence that the whole time will be enforced; but that it will depend on the eligibility of the convict for release. No hesitation need therefore be felt in passing sentences sufficiently long to operate beneficially towards the criminal and the community. With proper machinery to carry out this principle in its integrity, it will be observed that the corrigible can be aided, and the desperate restrained. In the event of lapse of time and discipline of the prison having failed to improve the latter class, there does not appear to be any conceivable reason why, on the termination of his sentence, society is not to be further protected from his misdeeds by such supervision on the part of the police through information from the prison department (so long and well conversant with his character) as shall restrain him from his evil courses.

We place great value on the favourable field for the reformation of the criminal afforded by the only colony that will now receive our convicts. Under judiciously extended arrangements Western Australia will probably, ultimately, be enabled to receive from 600 to 800 convicts annually from the United Kingdom. In addition to this, it is certain that a large number of well-disposed criminals will voluntarily emigrate to different colonies on their discharge: the gratuity obtained in prison, through industry, affording them the means of so doing. That prisoner is ill instructed for his future welfare who has not, in prison, learned that a new field for his labour and the severance of bad associations are the first and the most important steps towards his gaining a respectable position in society.

We have placed forty-six female convicts on licence in Refuges during the past year; this, with fifty-two, in 1836, makes a total of ninety-eight; and we have thus been afforded a good opportunity of judging of the effects of the system. Thirty-nine of these have been subsequently discharged and respectably located; two licences have been revoked, and eight transferred on licence to other situations. The remainder are still in the refuges; and from time to time, as they can be recommended, will receive employment obtained for them by the Lady Managers.

The number (ninety-eight) of female convicts placed in Refuges has been small, and caused by the limited number under sentence of transportation restricting the issues of ticket licence. The beneficial advantages which have accrued, through the special treatment of the ninety-eight, indicates very strongly the necessity of extending the privilege to those under sentence of penal servitude. By these means the area of selection will be enlarged, and we may hope for results, if possible, more favourable than those already obtained through the earnest zeal and indefatigable exertion of the ladies who have devoted themselves to this cause.

We believe this system exercises an influence for good, not only over the women, who are thus rescued from their evil courses, but also on the inmates of our prisons, who certainly generally appear to be most desirous of becoming honest members of the community, although the probationary period through which they must pass at the Refuges necessarily, and very properly, entails the exercise of much industry, perseverance, and patience.

The result of our experience of the Refuge induces the supposition, that by judicious and careful treatment the great majority of our female convicts may be reclaimed from a life of vice; and even many of those, whose evil habits might have been supposed to have been confirmed, are, at the termination of their sentences, willing to spend the remainder of their days in an asylum, should such be provided. We are glad to state that the Lady Managers of Goldenbridge Refuge have founded an asylum, supported by voluntary contributions, at Kingstown, to receive a certain number on discharge from the Refuge at the end of their sentences; and the Ladies of Charity at Drumcondra will provide accommodation for others for whom there is no room at Kingstown. The remaining classes of convicts, who are healthy, well-disposed, and able to work, can, it is hoped, be provided for either at home or abroad.

There can be no question that, as with the men so with the women, it is desirable that after discharge, and a certain probation, they should voluntarily emigrate. This is, with few exceptions, the desire of all; and before long it is probable that they may be enabled to carry out their wishes by means of their industry.

RETURN B.

RETURN OF FEMALE CONVICTS DISCHARGED ON LICENCE during 1857, and the way they are accounted for.

Grangegegan, Newgate, and Cork Prisons.

Number discharged,	...	...	...	48
How disposed of—				
In Refuges,	...	...	...	31
Pardoned, and have obtained situations,	...	...	...	13
* Licences revoked,	...	...	...	2-46

The sentences of transportation, and the application of the tickets of licence, to them are now rapidly drawing to a close, and but few prisoners are now left who can receive this privilege. Our reports from time to time, and facts patent to all, have shown its beneficial working in this country. The ticket of licence has been in practice what it essayed to be in theory, a protection to the community; it has served to restrain and assist the criminal, and to protect his employer. From the return A, page 18, it will be observed how complete a well-regulated supervision might be made; and although the cases of penal servitude to be discharged, for some time to come, will not receive tickets of licence, we observe a power given to recur to the practice (rules for working out the Act of 1857), where found desirable, and cannot but consider it as a great advantage to the community which, instead of having the safeguard provided by supervision, would have the criminal discharged at the same period of time (be it remembered), without this precaution.

The following is the Scale of Remissions proposed by the Home Secretary, with reference to the act of 1857:—

* Revoked for irregular conduct in the Refuge.

Sentence, Penal Servitude.	Proportion to be Undergone.	Proportion which may be Remitted in case of good conduct.
3 years, ...	Five-sixths, — 2 years 6 mths.	One-sixth.
4 „ ...	Four-fifths, — 3 „ 3 „	One-fifth.
5 „ ...	Ditto, — 4 „	Ditto.
6 „ ...	Three-fourths, — 4 „ 6 „	One-fourth.
7 „ ...	Ditto, — 5 „ 3 „	Ditto.
8 „ ...	Ditto, — 6 „	Ditto.
10 „ ...	Ditto, — 7 „ 6 „	Ditto.
12 „ ...	Ditto, — 9 „	Ditto.
15 yrs. & upwards, ...	Two-thirds,	One-third.

It appears to us to be of the utmost importance, that the pardons extending over the difference between the minimum and maximum periods in these rules should be conditional.

This course need not fetter the criminal desirous of leaving the country, as if his conduct is reported to be good when at large, and worthy of the indulgence, his free pardon could subsequently be granted. This question has been tried in all its phases in this country, and the results are now before the public. The beneficial effects of dealing with men and women in small numbers for a period previous to their discharge is too evident to be lightly considered. Whether the future practice be to discharge conditionally or unconditionally, this system should be ever paramount: so much do we appreciate its advantages, so wide do we, in common with the Chaplains, Superintendents, &c., find to be the distinction between those criminals who have been subjected to its treatment, and those who have not, that we have very recently established in our ordinary prisons, preparatory classes for the intermediate establishments, and have located therein prisoners who have worked themselves into the "Advanced class," and who are by these means subjected as far as practicable to individualizing influences. The wide-spreading machinery for reforming the young, and the wise tendency of present legislation to inflict long sentences on the habitual offender, induce the supposition that if the provisions we have recommended for the supervision of the discharged criminal be carried out through the prison department, by testing, as it were, the effects of the system on the only ground on which it can be proved,—and if, after scattering the seed, we note the harvest (a duty hitherto deemed a work of supererogation), we may have reasonable confidence that crime will, in a great degree, be arrested, and the majority of criminals reformed or restrained.

In conclusion, we believe the prison system now pursued in the Convict Department in this country, to be as opposed to any encouragement of the evil-doer, as it is favourable to the assistance of the criminal who has suffered a sufficient penalty for his offence, and who desires henceforward to live on the proceeds of his own industry,

instead of on that of the community. He needs but the means so to do, and these are acquired through the extra industry, and by the sweat of the brow, of the offender.

The objection to the system of its offering a premium to crime, if ever made, can have no place here. The early stages of discipline are sufficient to convince an inquirer that the objection would be quite invalid. The dietary, from the commencement to the termination of the sentence, is the lowest the Medical Officers will permit. The enforced order, cleanliness, and regularity, however impressive of an air of comfort to the casual observer, is, be it remembered, most repugnant to the previous habits of the criminal, and most thoroughly opposed to his ideas of enjoyment. We have stated that about seventy-five per cent. pass through the intermediate prisons; twenty-five per cent. are at present discharged directly from the ordinary prisons, misconduct and offences having precluded their removal. It is satisfactory, however, to us to be able to observe that this percentage of prisoners cannot be deemed incorrigible. We have many reasons for knowing that after their discharge, when too late, many of these have seen their error, and have endeavoured, though often in vain, to regain the path of honest livelihood. They have left the prison under the ban of misconduct; they have neglected their opportunities, and have joined the world without means to exist, or to obtain employment.

These may be called an unimpressible class, which will decrease in number as light advances into the prisons, and as the prisoner's future career becomes an object of anxiety to him.

A portion, however, of the twenty-five per cent. may fairly be called incorrigible. Whether in prison, or at large, their object is the same; they pursue an unmistakable line of conduct, which must be dealt with strictly and vigorously. The public mind is shocked, from time to time, by the commission of some outrageous crime. If a capital sentence is not carried out, the offenders are, for the most part, to be found in the convict prisons, and it will require but little argument to prove, that as with the impressible, so with the incorrigible, special treatment must be used. We are of opinion that they should, whilst in prison, be employed, as far as possible, at such labour as will not give them the means of injuring their fellow-prisoners and officers. They should be placed under the special and continual watching of their Chaplain. It may be that the supposed incorrigible may become, and prove himself to be, corrigible. If not, he should be retained to the last hour of his sentence, and when discharged should be placed under such observation as will protect the public from his outrages.

The intermediate stages so beneficial to the prisoners morally, and in practice so well regulating their future career, are those during which it has been proved that their labour can be made most convenient and remunerative to the public service. Whether these stages be trade, depot, or movable prisons, there is no doubt that a well-regulated establishment with a proper complement of prisoners could and should be made self-supporting.

We do not advocate their adoption solely on the experience gained by two years' trial in this country, or on a certain amount of statis-

tical results for that period. We do not ourselves place too much reliance on the permanency of the good resolutions of so many trained in crime as they have been from their infancy, more especially in a country where the demand for labour is so fluctuating, and in which as yet there are no Patronage Societies to assist the weak. We do feel, however, the utmost confidence in a supplementary stage of prison treatment, which can individualize criminals before they are discharged—conduce to regulate their future conduct—and, whilst under detention, employ them profitably for the public service. We are not sanguine enough to expect that all criminals so treated will be reformed, far from it; but we believe that many will thus be returned to the community, to follow an honest and an industrious course.

We have heard some objections made to this system of supervision, here described and advocated, but we think them ill-founded, and we hope in time we shall see, as in France, that in the case of known offenders, a sentence of police surveillance, for greater or lesser periods, according to the offence or bad character of the criminal, shall be added to the sentence of imprisonment. Our honoured friend, the Recorder of Birmingham, and Mr. Frederic Hill, would go further, and compel the known thief to shew that he had honest means of support, or could procure security for his good conduct, and failing in either of these, they would commit him to prison. Mr. Recorder Hill stated his views to the grand jury at Birmingham, so long ago as October, 1850, and his suggestions were approved by *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Liverpool Mercury*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Spectator*, and partially by *The Times*. The whole matter is thus shortly stated in *The Edinburgh Review*, in a paper from, we believe, the able pen of Mr. John Greg: "Mr. Hill's proposal merely amounts to this—that a certain amount of specified surveillance, after liberation, shall be a portion of the punishment to which every convicted offender is sentenced; or if you prefer so to express it, a condition of his release: that when once a man has been proved to belong to the criminal population, i. e., to that class which habitually preys upon the community, he shall forfeit that portion of his civil rights which consists in the assumption of his innocence; that whereas in the case of untainted citizens, the *onus probandi* lies upon their accusers, in the case of liberated convicts the onus should lie with the defendant. In principle we see no objection to Mr. Hill's suggestions. The plea of the liberty of the subject has no force here. When once a man has made himself, by crime, amenable to the laws of his country, he may

justly be deprived of his liberty, to any degree, and for any period which the law deems fit and necessary. Society, which he has menaced and outraged, is obviously just as competent to condemn him to imprisonment for a given term, and to surveillance afterwards, as to imprisonment for a longer term, followed by no surveillance; to a total deprivation of his liberty for a time, (that is) and to a partial curtailment of it subsequently, as to a total deprivation of it for a year or a life. The convicted criminal has forfeited his social position; henceforth he is entitled only to that amount of freedom, and to freedom on those terms which offended society may please to dictate."

We fully agree with this deep thinker, and believe that if Mr. Hill's suggestions, and also his suggestion as to the licensing and supervision of Marine-store dealers were adopted, we should find a speedy and wonderful decrease in thieving of all grades. We are most happy to find that the "Irish experiment" is succeeding so perfectly; we have studied the system of management pursued by the Directors since their appointment, and knowing the men and the measures thoroughly, we can declare that their success is the pure result of earnest thoughts, of never-flinching industry, of constant supervision of their subordinate officers, and of perfect unanimity in discharging their duty to the state.

At page lv. of our last QUARTERLY RECORD, we inserted, from *The Midland Counties' Herald*, the first portion of a translation of the Eighteenth Annual Report of M. Demetz, on Mettray: we now, from the same journal, present the second and concluding portion of the translation.

REPORT OF M. DEMETZ.

[CONCLUDED FROM THE HERALD OF APRIL 8.]

The work you have undertaken, gentlemen, demanding as it does both self-devotion and much pecuniary outlay, can never be otherwise than costly; at least, it will appear to be so unless we place to its credit side the evil that it prevents and the good it produces, the persons whom it rescues from our prisons, our criminal courts, and our hospitals, and restores to agriculture and to other honest labour. Then indeed does the advantage to society of our system become manifest; though it is still one which cannot be estimated in figures so as to be brought into our yearly account. If it were possible to do this, it would be easy to show that, as a question of economy even, Mettray is a very profitable undertaking to the country. We adduce some of the numerous facts and figures which support our opinion.

The number of youths discharged from the colony since its foundation up to January 1st, 1857, amounts to 1,220. The most unremitting

and efficient surveillance has been exercised over these lads by our excellent patrons, whose solicitude never diminishes, notwithstanding the increasing number of the wards.*

Our *récidivistes*, [individuals who relapse into crime,] who formerly amounted to ten per cent., reach now—according to the last Report on Criminal Justice, published by the Minister of Justice—only 8½ per cent., and we have well-founded hopes of seeing them decrease to a yet lower proportion.

These results, on which we may justly congratulate ourselves, may be in part attributed to the longer time that the lads now stay with us. Our magistrates are aware how important it is that the period of leaving Mettray should accord with the age at which the *colons* become eligible for conscription, in order that no interval may occur between the exercise over them of our discipline and of that of the army;† and they accordingly sentence them almost always to remain at the Colony until they are twenty years of age. They are likewise aware that those youths who are not drawn for the army are equally benefited by remaining long at the Colony, as they thus have time to acquire the skill in their trade necessary to enable them to support themselves honestly by it.‡ The greater number of our *récidivistes*

* By *patrons* are meant those excellent individuals who, in France as well as in various other continental countries, and in some parts of the United States, voluntarily undertake to watch over, and aid with sympathy and advice, individuals leaving prisons and reformatories.—*Trans.*

† A large proportion of the Mettray lads enter the army.—*Trans.*

‡ The Procureur-Général expressed himself in the following terms in a circular which he addressed November 26, 1847, to the Procureurs du ressort:—

“MONSIEUR LE PROCUREUR DU ROI,—A circular issued by the Minister of Justice, dated April 6, 1842, defined in these words the character of the detention which our criminal courts are competent to adjudge in virtue of the 66th Article of the Penal code:—‘The fact must not be lost sight of that the young *detentes* have been acquitted,—that it is not punishment they have to undergo, and that the 66th article, in authorising their detention, has formally declared that they are to be so detained in order that they may be well brought up, that is to say, that they may receive care and instruction proper not only to correct their evil habits, but also to provide them with the means of hereafter supporting themselves by their labour.’

“The circular further states that the legislator has had the good of the children solely in view, and that their benefit alone should be aimed at by every measure undertaken with regard to them.

“MM. Demetz and de Courteilles, the Founders and Directors of the Agricultural and Penitentiary Colony, at Mettray, acting on the same principle, addressed some remarks upon the application of the 66th Article of the Penal Code, to the Garde des Sceaux, which appeared to his Excellency worthy the attention of magistrates, and of which the following is an abstract:—

are from among the lads who have left Mettray under sixteen years of age, whose moral nature we had not had time to operate upon sufficiently, and who could not earn enough to support themselves.

Our average of names inserted upon the Tablet of Honour—75 per cent.—has been maintained, and the proportion of punishments has not increased, notwithstanding the addition to our numbers.

The conduct of our lads after their departure from the Colony continues to give us the greatest satisfaction. This is a most important point, as it furnishes us with ascertained results, and proves the success of our enterprise. It is the touchstone by the aid of which the public are enabled to estimate the value of our institution.

“ ‘They think that a short detention imposed by virtue of the 66th Article operates against the intention of the legislator ; that for the detention to be beneficial, its duration must be regulated not by the greater or less degree of criminality in the offence with which the young persons are charged, but according to the time required for their education. The effect of too short a detention is, in their opinion, to add to the miseries of these children, who are thus set at liberty and abandoned to themselves at an age when it is impossible for them to gain a livelihood, owing to both their physical weakness and their want of skill in the trade which they have just begun to learn. If, on the contrary, they have thoroughly learnt their trade before leaving the Reformatory, they are fit for regular employment, and will have no difficulty in obtaining work, when the daily wages they will receive will reward their diligence and foster a love of labour. Moreover, their moral training, all the less defective for their longer detention, strengthens them to resist the temptations which accompany their newly-regained liberty. By the youths remaining under the guardianship of the State until they are twenty years of age, when they become eligible for recruits, their relapse into crime is rendered almost impossible. MM. Demetz and de Courteilles are therefore desirous that the period of discharge should be fixed at that age. They are convinced that this regulation would exercise the happiest influence on the moral conduct of the lads. The option of apprenticing them, or of returning them provisionally to their parents before the expiration of their sentence, or even allowing them to enlist at the age of seventeen, when they display aptitude for a military career, appears to MM. Demetz and de Courteilles satisfactorily to answer the objections of those who are unwilling that the liberty of these young persons should be abrogated for so long a time.’

“ The Garde des Sceaux has thought that, the experience of MM. Demetz and de Courteilles investing their opinion on this subject with authority, it would be useful to communicate that opinion to you ; inviting you at the same time to bring their remarks, whenever opportunity offers, under the notice of magistrates charged with the duty of administering the 66th Article of the Penal Code.

“ You will have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt of this circular.

“ Accept, &c., &c.,

“ DELANGLE, Procureur-General.”

An incident in which a *colon* was concerned occurred very lately, which affected us too deeply for us to pass it over now in silence. He came to ask us as a mark of our esteem to lay the first stone of a house he was about to build at the village of Pernay, (Indre et Loire,) where he has resided for a long time past with his family. We most willingly yielded to his request, and on the appointed day found all the authorities of the district assembled on the spot. The clergyman, although suffering from illness, had exerted himself to be present at this interesting ceremony, and the eulogium he was pleased to pronounce on our pupil, joined to that of the Mayor, proved that our former *colon* is both a good Christian and an excellent citizen. The inhabitants of the place confirmed these praises by their applause, and every one withdrew deeply moved by this most touching scene. That evening when we again beheld the asylum where our young *colon* had acquired those habits of industry, order, and economy, whose happy results we had just witnessed, we could not refrain from once more thanking PROVIDENCE for the joy we had experienced.

We endeavour as much as possible to place our lads in situations near us, that our influence over them may be the more direct and effective.

The little vessels which never go far from the shore, have less to fear from tempests than the ships which traverse the ocean; still when our lads wish to take a bolder flight we have no right to oppose them; and sometimes family circumstances make it even desirable. Thus it happened that young Dolbeau, by the desire of his father, went to New Orleans. This poor lad died soon after he landed, but he survived long enough for his excellent qualities to be appreciated. We subjoin a letter received from his father. He had previously written a most touching one to M. Blanchard, Inspecteur de la Colonie, in which he expresses his gratitude to all our excellent officers. But let the father speak:—

“New Orleans, January 11th, 1857.

“MONSIEUR LE DIRECTEUR,—This will inform you of the melancholy loss we have just sustained in the death of Mathieu Dolbeau, your pupil. After an excellent passage of forty days he appeared among us for a moment, and then vanished for ever. He lived fifty-six days in the colony, and died, after six days illness, of yellow fever. God has not willed that supreme happiness should exist on earth, and ours was of that kind which is not permitted here below.

“I never can sufficiently thank you for the good principles you gave him; he was a good son, a good brother, and a good friend; and had already made himself beloved by all who knew him. Now he is with his MAKER, and prays for his friends; let his many school-fellows remember him in their prayers, and from the depths of their hearts say for him a *Pater* and an *Ave*.

“Ever grateful for your care of him during his captivity, my son told me it was his wish to be inscribed as a Founder of the Colony.”

* A donor to the Institution of 100 francs (£4) or upwards, has his name inscribed on the list of the Founders of Mettray, which is placed in the chapel of the institution.—*Trans.*

He intended to have earned the amount of this little gift himself; but since he is now removed from among us I beg to fulfil his promise. Please to tell me what it is which will serve to recall him always to the memory of the institution.

"Monsieur le Directeur be so good as to honour me with a reply, and believe me, for life,

"Your very humble servant,

"DOLBEAU,

"His most unhappy father."

Notwithstanding the gratification we feel, gentlemen, in publishing these letters, of which we possess a great number, we know we must limit ourselves, and will therefore conclude our extracts with the obliging communication of our worthy colleague, M. Marion, respecting the *colon* Mauny, who wished to renew his subscription.* With pleasure we remind you of the fact that Mauny, having gone to Lima to make his fortune, sent, three years ago, two purses to M. Marion, each containing 100 francs. The packet bore this touching inscription:—"For my two mothers." Thus in the esteem and gratitude of this excellent young man, Mettray holds a similar position with her to whom he owes his life:—

"MY DEAR DIRECTOR.—I hasten to forward to you the enclosed letter from your worthy *colon* Mauny. It has just been delivered by his mother-in-law, who also brought one for me. I am delighted to find that Mauny and his young family are in good health, and that their circumstances otherwise continue to be prosperous. He commissions me to present to the Colony the sum of 100 francs—a fresh proof of his gratitude, which cannot fail to touch you; it is intended also—so his letter expresses it—as a pious thankoffering to God for the health vouchsafed to himself and his family. The memory of Mettray, and the conviction of the benefit derived from his sojourn there, are deeply engraved in his heart, and when expressing to his mother-in-law his hope of returning to France, in two years' time, he spoke of the pleasure of visiting Mettray, as one of the greatest gratifications awaiting him. He is glad and proud to be reckoned among her former pupils. Mettray may as justly boast of the conduct of so worthy a fellow, who, thanks to your care, has been restored to an honest and industrious life.

"The 100 francs from Mauny are, then, at your disposal. Will you have the kindness to inform me how to transmit them.

"Always yours, my dear Director,

"MARION.

"Nantes, July 26, 1857."

Although as regards the moral aspect of the Colony, we cannot but rejoice at the happy results obtained during the present year, PROVIDENCE has been pleased to inflict severe and heavy trials upon us, in the illness of our children.

Frequent cases of dysentery have occurred, brought on by the

* From the report for 1854 it appears that M. Marion is the patron of Mauny.—*Trans.*

extreme heat which has prevailed ever since the beginning of summer, and especially during the harvest season. The only effectual remedy for this disorder consists in a strict attention to diet, and our lads, rather than submit to the necessary regimen, concealed their indisposition, and would not go into our infirmary until there was but little hope left of cure. No malady makes it so imperative as this does, to avoid any excess with regard to food, and our boys are generally temperate; but, urged by hunger, they sought all possible means to escape our vigilance in order to procure victuals, sometimes of the most injurious kind.

Notwithstanding the devoted care of our medical attendants, whose zeal we cannot sufficiently praise, and of which M. Parchappe, Inspector-General for the Minister of the Interior, has been pleased to express his high appreciation, we have with regret to inform you that fourteen of our *colons* have died. This is, indeed, a heavy affliction, and, with you, we deplore so sad a loss. Still, it is small when it is considered how many were attacked by the disorder. The same epidemic committed much more fearful ravages in a neighbouring district, so that we may be thankful to Heaven that the scourge did not strike down a far larger number.

This mournful occurrence, like all in which courage and self-denial can be evinced, afforded our brave officers a new opportunity for distinguishing themselves. They would not permit a single strange nurse to be employed, and several of them voluntarily took up their abode in our hospital, quitting it only when the disorder had lost its virulence.

Our harvest operations were seriously affected by the unfortunate illness prevailing among our lads, whose strength we were obliged to economise. Nevertheless, we have the pleasure of informing you that the yield was most abundant.

We cannot touch upon the subject of agriculture, without profiting by the opportunity thus given us for expressing our well-founded gratitude to him to whom our success in this department must be attributed; we mean, of course, our excellent President, Count de Gasparin. He has written to inform us that notwithstanding the deep interest he takes in Mettray, he fears the state of his health will not permit of his continuing to perform the duties of President of the *Société Paternelle*. Doubtless, you, gentlemen, will feel with us, that we cannot but make every effort rather than yield to a decision so mournful as this. Let us hope that our prayers may be heard, and that soon, restored to health, our beloved President will return, again to enlighten us with his counsels and rejoice us with his presence.

Our manufacture of agricultural implements, which affords such important aid to our field operations, has, during the past year, been considerably augmented.

In conclusion, our esteemed treasurer has stated to you with his accustomed clearness, what our various workshops have produced, explaining also our financial position generally. By his very full report, you are enabled to estimate to their utmost extent the heavy expenses which weigh upon the Colony. Could they be less serious

after the calamities of the last three years? Nevertheless we cannot but believe that, aware of the good effected by Mettray, the country will not permit you to be losers. Who could be indifferent to our appeal, when its object is to obtain the means of restoring to an honest life those unhappy children who have been deprived of it from their very birth, and of converting to the welfare of society the lives of those who before treasured its dearest interests?

May our words serve to augment the satisfaction you must feel in having established so useful an institution; for if there be no gratification more exquisite than that derived from doing good, so neither is there any which has a more just foundation.

Directeur de la Colonie,

DEMETZ,

Conseiller Honoraire à la Cour Impériale de Paris,
Vice-Président de la Société Paternelle.

[The original of the following little poem which is added to the Report, and illustrates an incident referred to therein, is from the pen of M. Paul Huot, a member of the French Bar, and author of "Trois Jours à Mettray."]

THE COLON OF METTRAY.

He was but eighteen years; that age so bright,
When life seems one long day-dream of delight,
And shows the future like a magic strand,
With golden fruit all ready for our hand.
What ecstasy the youthful bosom knows,
When, like a brimming goblet, it o'erflows
With hope and joy! When happiness appears
A debt of heaven, due to those glad years!
When we seek all, love, glory, mistress, friend;
When we believe that youth can never end,
And that some fairy with her magic powers
Will guide our steps and scatter them with flowers.

The child of poverty knows no such dreams;
His fate is lightened by no golden beams:
Upon the tide of life's dark ocean flung,
The child of poverty is never young!
Gnawed by the ulcer of perpetual care.—
Scorned by that world which seems to us
so fair,—
Each day the wearying task he must renew;
For if *work* fail him, *bread* will fail him too.
Happy the man who fearlessly can dare
This cruel doom, nor sink beneath despair;
Who, greater than whatever woes befall,
Retains unscathed his virtue 'mid them all!
But if his brain beneath the load has
reeled,—
If, maddened, he should totter, nay, should
yield;
With hunger worn, with nameless ills beset,
If virtue's laws one moment he forget,
Oh ye who hold the balance and the sword,
Remember mercy in your just award!
Think! He has struggled, friendless and
alone,
Against temptations ye have never known.

Punish his crime, but do not let your hand
With endless shame the wretched culprit
brand.
When the just penalty has once been paid
Let all be ready to afford their aid,—
To link afresh the bonds his sin has riven,
To lead the way to penitence and heaven.
And if this culprit be a child in years,
With no maternal hand to wipe his tears,—
If he has never heard the ALMIGHTY'S
name,—
If from the dark abyss of sin and shame
No pitying voice has ever warned him
back,—
If none have guided him on virtue's track,
Say who will dare upon his brow to trace
A stigma time itself can ne'er efface!
No! rather teach him what he ne'er could
learn,
Teach him the good from evil to discern,
Teach him that e'en without a home or
friend,
The honest man will struggle to the end.
Ye whom kind fortune with her gifts has
blest,
Of wealth, of knowledge, and of power
possess,
This be your part; your generous care will
win
From misery and disgrace this child of sin.
For such was Joseph. What avails to tell
All that his boyhood and his youth befell;
How early vice with its destructive blight
Sank on his soul and plunged it into night—
Who cares to listen to the weary tale?
No! better o'er the past to cast a veil.
Enough, he sinned; the judge pronounced
his doom,
Shut up at first in solitude and gloom,
In the shade of misery and crime,
With one to tell him that, with toil and
time,

He yet his early errors might redeem;
That 'mid the darkness there remained a gleam

Of hope; that at his age we conquer fate
If we but learn to labour and to wait!
That for him, too, might dawn far happier days,
When he would dare his drooping head to raise.

At length one morn the dungeon's gates unclosed;
Reckless of what awaits him forth he goes.
Mettray receives him. Here how changed his fate!

No more does he behold the prison gate,
Which shut upon him grimly every night,
Excluding hope, and liberty, and light.
Now, when day dawns, the joyous matin breeze,

Waving and rustling 'mid the tall green trees,
Restores the virgin freshness to his heart,
Blighted and seared. The walls which seemed to part

Him from the world are gone. His eye may rove
Unfettered o'er hill, and dale, and grove,—
Over the wide fields, henceforward his domain,
Where his own hand may sow the golden grain

With which he will be fed. Soon will the day arrive
When he with honest pride may say,
"This bread my hand has sown, and reaped, and ground."
No surly gaolers now his steps surround,
But kindly guardians pointing out the road
That leads alike to virtue and to God.

Such is Mettray. He dwelt there five long years.
But well employed, how short each day appears!
From bad he changed to good; from weak to strong.

At length it came, the hour hoped for so long,
The hour which even *there* still seemed so sweet,
The hour of liberty; entire, complete.
The very master chosen. It was not ease
That Joseph sought; when some unknown disease

Fell on the boy; the seeds, perhaps, were sown
In his sad childhood, or his dungeon lone.

Stretched on the bed of sickness he lay;
Sisters of Mercy, ever prompt to aid
The wretched, bathe his brow of livid hue,
And his pale cheeks with pitying tears bedew;

Praying kind Heaven the sufferer to restore;—
The prayer is heard, and Joseph breathes once more.

The weary days of convalescence past,
His comrades gladly welcome him at last.
Once more at Mass his accents doth he raise
To Heaven in humble worship—grateful praise;

When, like the thunder in the distant storm,
The tocsin sounds! Silent the child: on firm
Their ranks; they march, with calm, determined will;

They reach the spot; their courage and their skill

Rescue the lives, the fortunes, which the flames

Had threatened to devour! How many names
Deserve record! But 'mid the heroic band
Foremost in daring doth young Joseph stand.

Exhausted with fatigue, with sudden pain
He sinks,—this time never to rise again.

He died at eighteen years—that age so bright,
When life seems one long day-dream of delight;

Showing the future like a magic strand,
With golden fruit all ready for our hand.
The ecstasy the youthful bosom knows
When, like a brimming goblet, it o'erflows
With hope and joy,—when happiness appears

A debt of heaven due to those gladsome years.

He never knew! His life was rent away
Just at the moment when a brighter day
Dawned on his fate; just as his heart began
To feel, to know the duties of a man.

Upon his tomb, where many a blossom fair
With its soft perfume fills the summer air,
There bends the Angel of repentant love—
And Mettray counts its martyr too above.

At page xxiii. of our last RECORD will be found the Report of the Calder Farm Reformatory for 1857. We have lately received a copy of the "System of Marks, Diet, and Time Tables," used in the school, and we place the document before our readers, believing that it will be found of very considerable importance in aiding those in Ireland who are about to establish Reformatory Institutions.

SYSTEM OF MARKS.

THE behaviour of each boy is estimated every day in the Three Departments of

		MARKS.	
I.—Labour	} as	<i>Very Good</i>	5
		<i>Good</i>	4
II.—Schoolwork		<i>Moderate</i>	3
		<i>Indifferent</i>	2
		<i>Bad</i>	1
III.—General Conduct		<i>Very Bad</i>	0*

and recorded in a book kept for each department, by the number of marks attached to each degree.

Hence, for the six working days, each boy may obtain, as a maximum, 30 marks in each department, or 90 in all.

On Sunday, there being neither labour nor school-work, the marks for general conduct are doubled, giving 10 as a maximum for that day.

The maximum of marks for the week is therefore—

LABOUR.		SCHOOL.		GENERAL CONDUCT.	
30.	+	30	+	40	= 100†

The number of marks gained by each boy, gives an expression for his conduct by way of per centage.

The number gained by all, divided by the number of boys, gives a like expression for the average conduct in the House.

The boys in each House are divided monthly into two parties called Sides, as follows :—

* The whole system is based on the daily marks, and its success depends on those marks being assigned in exact proportion to the real merit of every day's conduct. High marks should not be given to any boy as a matter of course, for then he would soon come to regard them as a matter of right, and think himself injured if they were withheld.

That the boys may clearly understand the real import of the marks, the following full statement is hung up in the School Room :—

EXPLANATION OF MARKS.

1 means BAD.

2 „ INDIFFERENT (thoughtless or careless).

3 „ MODERATE (not deserving praise).

4 „ GOOD :—that is, a boy readily and willingly does all that is required by the rules of the School :—

5 „ VERY GOOD :—that is, he not only observes the rules, doing all which is clearly his duty, but does it cheerfully, and shews some *thoughtful anxiety* for the general good of the School, by endeavouring to prevent others from doing wrong, and by assisting the Masters to the utmost of his power.

† For Mode of keeping Register of Marks, seen Appendix, Table II.

Excluding the General Monitors, the two boys who had the highest marks during the preceding week, become Heads of Sides for the month ensuing.

Each of the two, beginning with him who has the highest marks, chooses, in turn, boys to form his Side, till all are included in one or the other.

When the number of boys is odd, the last boy being rejected by both Sides, goes to the Second Table for the month.

The Head Master in his discretion may make the number of boys to be chosen, odd or even, by placing, if necessary for that result, the boy with highest marks at the First Table without competition.

The marks gained by all the boys on each Side, being added up at the end of every week, the Side which has the highest aggregate, has the First Table during the week following.*

But any boy, though on the gaining Side, who has not at least 20 marks for labour, 20 for school, and 25 for general conduct, is excluded from the First Table.

On the other hand, any boy who has earned a total of 90 marks, though on the losing Side, is admitted to the First Table.

The object sought in giving the First Table to the aggregate marks of a Side, instead of to the individual marks of each boy, is, to induce boys to endeavour to keep each other right, as they profit by the good conduct of others, and lose by their misconduct.

The admission to the First Table of any boy whose marks reach a certain high standard, removes the sense of unfairness which was felt by boys whose conduct having been *very good*, were yet excluded from it by the misconduct of others.

The exclusion of a boy on the gaining Side, who falls short of a certain standard in each department, prevents boys who are grossly negligent from enjoying privileges due entirely to the merits of others.

Thus excluding the extremes of good and bad, the community of interest helps and encourages the intermediate class of those who both need and deserve it.

The object of the division by Sides is :—

To eliminate, as much as possible, the inequality which is more or less inevitable, in the assignment of marks by different masters, or by the same masters to different boys :

To accustom boys to choose their companions among the well-disposed, rather than those of the opposite character.

The Head of a Side generally consulting with the boys first chosen as to whom he shall choose next in turn, the order in which they stand on the list of the Sides, in an indication of the opinion which the boys entertain of each other. A useful index to the character of a new comer is often thus obtained ; boys having very quick perception of each other's character, and having opportunities for judging which the Masters have not.

* See Appendix, Table I.

MONEY REWARDS FOR LABOUR.

As the boys must look forward to gain, in their future life, their wages by their labour, a money value is also given to the marks for Labour.

For this purpose the boys are divided into Three Classes, according to their strength and ability for labour.

Boys in the First Class gain 1d. for 10 Marks.

"	Second	"	1d. for 20	"
"	Third	"	1d. for 30	"

Each boy is credited with the amount thus gained in a book called Savings' Bank Book, of which he has a copy, and debited by fines for disorder, damage, &c., and money which, in the discretion of the Head Master, he is allowed to spend.

COMPENSATION MARKS.

In case of a boy's sickness, Compensation Marks are given, so that he may neither lose in credit, nor his side in the aggregate of marks, through his absence from School or Labour, from a cause involving no demerit. They are estimated according to the average of his conduct for the previous month, and are placed to his credit in the list, but have no money value.

EXTRA MARKS.

In the longer days of Summer, task-work is given where practicable, and for over-work extra marks are given for Labour. These are not reckoned in the weekly list, but their money value at the same rate as other labour marks is carried to the credit of the boy in his Bank-Book.

DISORDER MARKS.

Negative marks may be given to any boy for disorder—that is, slovenliness in person, or clothes, or other minor breaches of good order. These are deducted from the sum of his good marks, at the end of the week.

They subject him to a money fine, reckoned in the same way as the rewards for Labour, according to his class for Labour, and as they are exhibited in the weekly list, become a disgrace.

THE MONITORS.

The Monitors are appointed and removed by the Head Master, in his discretion.

As the general conduct of the boys depends much on the General Monitor, he is paid according to *their* conduct as represented by the average per centage for the whole House:— $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for every 1 per cent. above 75.

A General Monitor has always the First Table without competition.

Temporary Monitors may also be appointed for labour, or School teaching.

When a Monitor teaches in School, he is paid for school work, 1d. for 10 marks as assigned by the Schoolmaster.

The marks of Labour Monitor when so employed, have a double money value.*

QUARTERLY REWARDS.

Rewards may be gained by the boys, individually and collectively in each house, according to the following scale:—

If the average of the House be		The School shall have a	Each boy shall receive for his average of Marks.	
ABOVE.	BELOW.			
—	70	" "	For 80 marks 3d. & 4d per mark above 80.	
70	75	" "		
75	80	" "		
80	85	Half-holiday.		
85	—	Whole do.		

Any boy whose average marks for the quarter shall be less than 65, will not be allowed to share the holiday.

The average of 80 in 100 is equivalent to 4 in 5, which in the daily marks is Good, and therefore represents general good conduct for the quarter.

This brings a reward in money, on the principle that, though a boy must not look to be rewarded in school, or in life, for acts of good, moral conduct, but only for services rendered, yet, that the *character* which is the result of good conduct continued for length of time, has a material value.

Yet, the granting such rewards being a mere act of grace, and their withdrawal no hardship, they are made dependent on the general conduct of the House as represented by the general average; that each boy may feel his interest not only in maintaining his own conduct good, but also that of every other boy; and be led to realize his responsibility not only as an individual, but as one of a body in which "the members should have the same care one for another: and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."—1 Cor. xii. 25, 26.

On this principle, *competitive* rewards are for the most part excluded; because when they are given, the gain of one is the loss of another, and a boy becomes interested in another's being worse than himself. Thus they tend directly to selfishness and jealousy.

The exceptions are—

1st. The competition for the First Table. In this case, the competition being not between individuals, but two bodies, a wholesome

* See disposal of Labour Marks, Appendix, Table 2.

emulation for good is created. Jealousy, and suspicion of partiality, are obviated by the free choice of sides.

2nd. Occasional rewards given to the boy who has the best character for truthfulness, diligence, &c. In this case, the boys themselves are left to determine by vote which among them best deserves the reward.

3rd. Competitive rewards for progress in any branch of instruction or work not depending on moral conduct, but on grounds which are evident, such as Writing, Arithmetic, Garden Management, &c. For this purpose, a number of small prizes seem better than few larger ones; because they come within the possible reach of a greater number, and therefore induce exertion in those who would otherwise abandon it as hopeless.

DIET TABLES.

FIRST TABLE.—FOR GOOD CONDUCT.

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
Sunday	1½ pint Milk and Water, sweetened, 8oz. Bread, and a little Butter or Dripping.	4oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water sweetened, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint Milk and Water, sweetened, 8oz. Bread, and a little Butter or Dripping.	4oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water sweetened, and 8oz. Bread.
Monday	1½ pint Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1 pint of Soup, 2oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.
Tuesday	Do.	1lb. Suet Pudding.	Do.	Do.	2oz. Cheese, and 8 oz. Bread.	Do.
Wednesday	Do.	1 pint of Soup, 2oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	1 Pint of Soup and 8oz. Bread.	Do.
Thursday	Do.	1 lb. of Potatoes, 2oz. Meat, and 4oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	1lb. of Potatoes, 2oz. Meat, and 4oz. Bread.	Do.
Friday	Do.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.
Saturday	Do.	8oz. Cheese or a little Butter, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.	Do.	2oz. Cheese, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.

The Soup on Monday is made on the Broth from Monday's Meat, with Carrots, Turnips, The Soup on Wednesday and Friday, contains Meat also.

Onions, and Peas, added.

TABLE I.

SECOND TABLE.—ORDINARY.

Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
1½ pint Milk and Water, sweetened, 8oz. Bread, and a little Butter or Dripping.	4oz. Meat, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water sweetened, and 8oz. Bread.
1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	1½ pint of Milk and Water, and 8oz. Bread.
Do.	2oz. Cheese, and 8 oz. Bread.	Do.
Do.	1 Pint of Soup and 8oz. Bread.	Do.
Do.	1lb. of Potatoes, 2oz. Meat, and 4oz. Bread.	Do.
Do.	1 pint of Soup, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.
Do.	2oz. Cheese, and 8oz. Bread.	Do.

At eleven o'clock, when at work, each boy receives 2oz. of Bread.

TABLE II.
WEEKLY REGISTER.—MARKS AWARDED DURING WEEK ENDING FEB. 19TH, 1838.

BOR.	Date.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
		W. W.	D. R.	J. R.	B. T.	R. T.	W. T.	G. W.	R. W.	J. N.	S. S.	J. W.	M. W.	J. C.	G. S.	W. R.	W. K.	G. N.	C. R.	B. M.	W. G.
Monday	13	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Tuesday	15	5	5	5	3	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
Wednesday	16	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Thursday	17	5	5	5	3	5	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	3	5	5	5	5	5
Friday	18	5	5	5	3	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
Saturday	19	5	5	5	3	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5
Disorder Marks		30	30	30	20	—	28	10	28	30	30	30	27	30	30	28	25	30	30	30	30
		—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL... (Monitor's and Disorder Marks)		30	27	30	19	—	28	10	28	29	30	30	25	30	29	28	22	30	30	30	30
		30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Station Marks (Inns, &c.)		60	27	30	19	—	28	10	28	29	30	30	25	30	29	28	22	30	30	30	35
		—	—	—	—	30	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Total carried to Disposal Table.

SCHOOL.

Monday	13	5	5	5	4	5	3	5	4	4	3	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	5
Tuesday	15	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	5	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	5	5
Wednesday	16	5	5	5	4	5	3	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	5
Thursday	17	5	3	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	5
Friday	18	5	5	5	5	5	2	5	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	c2	4	4	5	5	5
Saturday	19	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	4	5	4	4	5	3	4	5	5	5
TOTAL		30	28	30	27	30	19	30	24	29	28	26	27	24	27	21	24	28	30	30	30

GENERAL CONDUCT.

Monday	13	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	9	4	5	5	5	5
Tuesday	14	10	10	8	8	10	7	10	8	9	c4	8	8	9	8	8	9	10	10	10	10
Wednesday	15	5	4	4	5	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	4	5	4	4	5	4	5	5	5
Thursday	16	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5
Friday	17	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
Saturday	18	5	5	3	4	5	4	5	5	4	5	4	4	5	5	c	5	4	5	5	5
Sunday	19	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5
TOTAL		40	36	34	32	40	32	40	35	37	33	33	32	36	38	32	27	37	38	40	40
Grand TOTAL		100	91	94	78	100	79	100	87	95	91	89	84	90	94	87	70	91	96	100	100

—1816 ÷ 20 = 90.4

DISPOSAL OF LABOUR MARKS.

from last week	—	1	2	—	1	—	3	3	2	2	4	2	—	2	3	4	3	3	3	—
Earnings	60	27	30	19	—	28	10	28	29	30	30	25	30	29	28	22	30	30	30	35
TOTAL	60	28	32	19	1	28	13	31	31	32	34	27	30	31	31	26	33	33	33	35
Charged	60	25	30	15	—	25	10	30	30	30	30	25	3	30	30	22	30	30	30	35
to next week	—	3	2	4	1	3	3	1	1	2	4	2	—	1	1	4	3	3	3	—

M—General Monitor.

m—Monitor.

s—Sick.

c—Punishment.

SIDES COMPETING FOR FIRST TABLE.

W. W.	100	B. M.	108
D. R.	91	C. R.	96
S. S.	91	G. N.	91
J. W.	89	G. S.	94
R. W.	87	J. C.	90
W. R.	87	W. T.	79
W. K.	70	R. T.	100
W. G.	100	B. T.	78
J. N.	93	J. R.	94

TABLE III.
WEEKLY LIST, shewing the Position gained by each Boy during the
Week ending February 19th, 1858.*

		LABOR.	SCHOOL.	GENERAL.	TOTAL.	DISORDER.	PLACES AT TABLE.	
							First Table—	
1	W. W.	30	30	40	100	—	W. G. Monitor.	1
2	R. T.	30	30	40	100	—	B. M.	2
3	W. G.	30	30	40	100	—	C. R.	3
4	B. M.	30	30	40	100	—	G. N.	4
5	W. G.	30	30	40	100	—	G. S.	5
6	C. R.	30	28	38	96	—	J. C.	6
7	J. N.	29	29	37	95	1	R. T.	7
8	J. R.	30	30	34	94	—	J. R.	8
9	G. S.	29	27	38	94	1	W. W.	9
10	D. R.	27	28	36	91	3	D. R.	10
11	S. S.	30	28	33	91	—	S. S.	11
12	G. N.	30	24	37	91	—	W. G.	12
13	J. C.	30	24	36	90	—	J. N.	13
							Second Table—	
14	J. W.	30	26	33	89	—	J. W.	1
15	B. T.	19	27	32	78	1	R. W.	2
16	R. W.	28	24	35	87	—	W. R.	3
17	W. R.	28	27	32	87	—	W. K.	4
18	W. T.	28	19	32	79	—	M. W.	5
19	M. W.	25	27	32	84	2	W. T.	6
20	W. K.	22	21	27	70	3	B. T.	7

Sides Competing for First Table for ensuing Week :—

W. W.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <p>The average conduct of the School for the week ending Feb. 19, 1858, = 90.</p> </div> </div>	B. M.
D. R.		C. R.
S. S.		G. N.
J. W.		G. S.
R. W.		J. C.
W. R.		W. T.
W. K.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <p>M. W. having been rejected by both Sides, remains on No. 2 Table till the next Election.</p> </div> </div>	R. T.
W. G.		B. T.
J. N.		J. R.

* This List is suspended in the School-room.

TABLE IV.
General Table of Daily Duties.

Jovr. Decr. any.	Febry.	March.	April. Octr.	May.	June. July. Aug.	Sept.	
5. 0	6. 0	6. 0	6. 0	5.30	5.30	6. 0	Rise from bed (private prayer before leaving the room).
—	—	—	6.30	6. 0	6. 0	6.30	On parade, and distribute to labor.
6.30	6.30	6.30	—	—	—	—	To School, after making up beds and washing.
7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	7.50	Family prayer.
8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	Breakfast.
8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	8.30	Work.
2.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50	Wash and prepare for dinner.
1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	1. 0	Dinner.
1.30	1.30	1.30	—	—	—	—	Play.
—	—	—	—	1.30	1.30	1.30	School.
2.30	2.30	2.30	1.30	2.30	2.30	2.30	Work.
—	—	—	5. 0	6. 0	6.30	6. 0	Play.
4.30	5. 0	5.30	6. 0	—	—	—	Wash and to School
7. 0	7. 0	7. 0	7. 0	7. 0	7.30	7. 0	Supper.
7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45	8.15	7.45	Family prayer.
8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8. 0	8.30	8. 0	To bed (private prayer immediately on entering the bedroom).

There is Reading during every meal, by the Master present.

Once-a-week the Boys are instructed in Music and Singing.

They are drilled two evenings a-week, from April to October, inclusive.

They have a tepid bath every Saturday afternoon, except during the Summer months, when they go twice-a-week to the river to bathe.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Father Caccia, the head of the Catholic Reformatory School, near Market-Weighton, Yorkshire, we are enabled to place the following Return, moved for by a thorough Reformatory advocate, Mr. Garnett:—

Return of all Reformatory Schools which have been Certified and Sanctioned by the Secretary of State under the Statutes 17 & 18 Vict., c. 74, and 17 & 18 Vict., c. 86, respectively, with the Date of Certificate; also, the Number of Juveniles (distinguishing Boys from Girls), which each of such Schools is capable of accommodating, and the Number contained in each at the latest date for which the Return can be given.

ENGLISH REFORMATORIES (PROTESTANT.)

No.	County.	Name of Reformatory.	Situation.	Date of Certificate.	Accommodation.		TOTAL	Actual Number of Inmates.				TOTAL
					Boys.	Girls.		Under Detention.		Free.		
					Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	
1	Bedford	Bedford Reformatory, Northy	Turvey	9 April 1857	40	—	40	16	—	—	—	16
2	Berks	Berks Reformatory School, Shinfield	Reading	25 Sept. 1855	30	—	30	32	—	—	—	32
3	Cumberland	Cumbeland Reformatory School, Stanwix	Carlisle	1 May "	40	—	40	40	—	—	—	40
4	Cheshire	Bradwall Reformatory School	Sandbach	27 Dec. "	40	—	40	38	—	—	—	38
5	Devon	Devon and Exeter Reformatory Farm School, Braunford Wood.	Exeter	17 April "	30	—	30	23	—	—	—	23
6	Dorset	Dorset Reformatory Milborne, St. Andrew	Blandford	28 Jan. 1857	20	—	20	19	—	—	—	19
7	Durham	Sunderland Industrial and Ragged School	Sunderland	22 April 1856	18	—	18	8	5	—	—	13
8	Essex	Essex Reformatory	Harlow	3 Dec. "	30	—	30	14	—	—	—	14
9	Glamorgan	Glamorganshire Reformatory, Howdre Genol	Neath	4 Mar. 1858	30	—	30	30	—	—	—	30
10	Gloucester	Kingswood Reformatory	Bristol	4 Oct. 1854	70	—	70	54	—	—	—	54
11	Ditto	Hardwicke Reformatory	Gloucester	4 Oct. "	—	60	60	52	—	—	4	56
12	Ditto	Red Lodge Reformatory for Girls	Bristol	9 Dec. "	45	—	45	45	—	—	—	45
13	Hants	Hampshire Reformatory, Elmg	Hardley	29 Nov. 1855	50	—	50	32	—	—	—	37
14	Herts	Herts Reformatory, Bengoe	Ware	10 Nov. 1857	50	—	50	10	—	—	—	10
15	Lancaster	Liverpool "Akbar Hall" Reformatory	Liverpool	3 Jan. 1856	150	—	150	144	—	—	—	144
16	Ditto	Toxteth Park Girls' Reformatory School	Ditto	19 Mar. 1856	—	20	20	20	13	—	7	20
17	Ditto	Liverpool Reformatory for Girls, Mount Vernon-green	Ditto	19 June 1857	—	32	32	—	32	—	—	32
18	Ditto	Verdon-green Reformatory, Bleanhale	Gwent	2 Sept. "	45	—	45	11	—	—	—	11
19	Ditto	Wentworth Reformatory, Wentworth	Sheffield	16 Oct. "	45	—	45	24	—	—	—	24

No.	County.	Name of Reformatory.	Situation.	Date of Certificate	Accommodation.		Actual Number of Inmates.			
					Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Free.	Total.
							Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
20	Leicester	Leicestershire Juvenile Reformatory, Peckleton	Leicester	22 May 1855	34	—	30	—	—	—
21	Middlesex	Home in the East Reformatory	Bow	29 Nov. "	50	—	26	—	26	—
22	Ditto	School for Discipline for Girls, Paradise-row	Chelsea	9 June 1856	—	46	—	9	—	37
23	Ditto	The Rescue Society's Reformatory for Hampstead	Hampstead	19 Dec. 1857	—	30	—	12	—	—
24	Norfolk	Girls, Church-row	Norwich	7 July 1855	40	—	34	—	—	—
25	Ditto	Buxton Juvenile Reformatory School, Marsham	Norwich	7 July 1855	40	—	34	—	—	—
26	Northampton	Norfolk Reformatory, Catton	Norfolk	9 June 1857	15	—	7	—	—	—
27	Ditto	Northampton Society's Reformatory School, Tiffeld	Towcester	21 Jan. 1856	30	—	25	—	—	—
28	Ditto	Newcastle-upon-Tyne Reformatory School	Newcastle	15 Nov. 1854	60	—	25	—	—	—
29	Ditto	North-Eastern Reformatory, Netherton	Morpeth	3 June 1857	120	—	40	—	—	—
30	Suffolk	Suffolk Reformatory School, Thorndon	Eye	22 Mar. 1856	45	—	28	—	—	—
31	Surrey	Philanthropic Farm School, Red-hill	Reigate	2 Sept. "	280	—	178	—	98	—
32	Warwick	Saltley Reformatory	Birmingham	20 Aug. 1854	50	—	50	—	—	—
33	Ditto	Allesley Reformatory School	Coventry	27 June 1856	—	22	—	17	—	1
34	Ditto	Birmingham Girls' Reformatory, Smethwick	Birmingham	20 Dec. 1854	—	45	—	31	—	—
35	Wilts	Warwickshire Reformatory Institution, Weston-under-Weatherly	Leamington	20 Nov. 1856	40	—	35	—	—	—
36	Worcester	Wilts Reformatory	Warminster	23 Dec. "	30	—	18	—	—	—
37	Ditto	Stoke Farm Reformatory	Bromsgrove	9 Dec. 1854	50	—	34	—	—	—
38	York, W. R.	Woodberry Hill Reformatory for the county and city of Worcester	Witley	9 June 1856	32	—	32	—	—	—
39	Ditto N. R.	Calder Farm School	Mirfield	15 Dec. 1855	42	—	42	—	—	—
40	Ditto W. R.	Castle Howard Reformatory	Welburn	3 May 1856	45	—	41	—	—	—
41	Ditto N. R.	Leeds Reformatory, Adel	Leeds	2 Dec. 1857	60	—	10	—	—	—
		West Riding Refuge for Girls	Wakefield	18 Oct. 1856	—	23	—	21	—	—

ENGLISH REFORMATORIES (CATHOLIC).

No.	County.	Name of Reformatory.	Situation.	Date of Certificate.	Accommodation.		Total.	Actual Number of Inmates.				
					Boys.	Girls.		Under Detention.		Free.		
							Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.		
42	Gloucester	Arno's Court Girls' Reformatory	Bristol	22 April 1856	-	200	200	-	104	-	-	104
43	Leicester	Agricultural Colony of St. Bernard's Abbey	Loughborough	13 May "	300	-	300	297	-	-	-	297
44	Middlesex	Catholic Reformatory	Brook-green	10 Oct. 1855	78	-	78	77	-	-	-	77
45	Ditto	Catholic Reformatory for Girls, Beauchamp Lodge	Hammersmith	24 July 1857	-	55	55	-	11	-	-	11
46	York, E. R.	Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory, Holme-on-Spalding.	Market Weighton	25 July 1856	100	-	100	63	-	-	-	63

SCOTCH REFORMATORIES (Certified under 17 & 18 Vict., Cap. 86).

47	Aberdeen	-	Old Mill Reformatory	-	Aberdeen	-	9 Mar. 1857	50	-	50	21	-	21
48	Forfar	-	Boeslie Reformatory	-	Montrose	-	4 May "	10	-	10	9	-	9
49	Lanark	-	Glasgow House of Refuge for Girls	-	Glasgow	-	15 Nov. 1854	0	-	440	343	-	431
50	Ditto	-	Glasgow House of Refuge for Boys	-	Ditto	-	15 Nov. "	-	-	180	-	113	149

SCOTCH REFORMATORIES.—Continued.

No.	County.	Name of Reformatory.	When Certified.	Accommodation.		Total	Actual Number of Inmates Detained.				Attending School not under Detention.		Total	
				Boys.	Girls.		Detained by 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74.	Detained by 17 & 18 Vict. c. 84.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.		
1	Aberdeen	Aberdeen Industrial School	15 May 1855	170	60	230	18	60	123	48	34	123	48	171
2	Ayr	Ayr Ragged School	13 Oct. "	-	-	120	-	-	-	-	120	-	-	120
3	Ditto	Kilmarnock Ragged School	2 June "	-	-	180	10	2	-	-	12	36	23	59
4	Dumfries	Dumfries and Maxwelltown Education Society's Ragged School.	22 April 1856	50	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103
5	Edinburgh.	Edinburgh Industrial Ragged School	2 June 1855	40	40	80	6	6	-	-	12	-	-	-
6	Ditto	Edinburgh United Industrial School	20 Nov. "	187	93	280	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
7	Ditto	Reformatory School of the Burghal parish of Edinburgh.	22 April 1856	18	18	36	3	4	-	-	7	-	-	-
8	Forfar	Arbroath Industrial School	18 May 1855	50	50	100	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
9	Inverness*.	Inverness Ragged School	21 Dec. "	36	17	53	3	3	11	2	19	-	-	-
10	Lanark	Glasgow Industrial Schools	10 Mar. "	70	60	130	70	59	-	-	129	42	28	70
11	Ditto	Govan Parochial Schools.	23 Dec. 1854	30	30	60	10	3	-	-	13	-	-	-
12	Perth	Perth Ladies' House of Refuge for Girls	-	-	50	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	43
13	Ditto	Perth Female School of Industry	23 Dec. 1854	-	64	64	1	52	-	-	52	-	-	-
14	Ditto	Perth Male School of Industry	19 Feb. 1857	48	-	48	1	-	-	-	1	48	-	48
15	Renfrew	Greenock Industrial School	3 April 1855	80	70	150	8	2	-	-	10	-	-	-
16	Ditto	Greenock Reformatory School	{ 28 Aug. and } { 6 Dec. 1855 }	-	-	-	5	1	1	5	12	-	-	-
17	Ditto*	Paisley Ragged School	{ 13 Oct. 1855 } { & 9 May 1856 }	80	30	60	1	-	15	6	22	-	-	-
18	Wigton*	Stranraer Industrial School	1 May 1855	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	42	-	-	-

* The Schools thus marked are certified under both the Acts 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74 and 17 & 18 Vict. c. 84.

SUMMARY OF RETURN OF REFORMATORIES.

Number of English Reformatories	...	(Protestant)	...	41
Ditto	...	ditto	...	(Catholic) 5
Total				46

No. of Scotch Reformatories certified under 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.	4
Ditto ... ditto certified under 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74 and 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.	3
Ditto ... ditto certified under 17 & 18 Vict. c. 74.	15
<hr/>	
	22

Accommodation—English Reformatories (Protestant)		{ Boys 1,771
		{ Girls 316
(Catholic)		{ Boys 478
		{ Girls 255
Total		2,820

Ditto	Scotch Reformatories	...	...	{ Boys 1,309
				{ Girls 812
Total				2,121

Actual number of Inmates—English Reformatories :—

(Protestant)	...	{ Boys 1,374
		{ Girls 330
(Catholic)	...	{ Boys 437
		{ Girls 115
Total		2,256

Ditto	Scotch Reformatories, 17 & 18 Vict. c. 86.	{ Boys 400
	17 & 18 Vict. c. 74.	{ Girls 126
	...	{ Boys 137
		{ Girls 150
Total		813

N. B.—The returns of accommodation and number of inmates are all to 31 March, 1858.

We beg attention to the following passages from the Report of the Cork Ragged Schools and Prospectus of Protestant Reformatory :—

How the progress of crime may be most effectually arrested, has long been a question of great difficulty and of great importance.

Of late years, however, the desirableness and practicability of Juvenile Reformatories have been generally admitted, and their success has deservedly attracted much public notice.

It was the conviction that such an Institution was needed in this City, which led to the establishment in October, 1851, of the Cork Central Ragged School. Its object was to reclaim juvenile criminals, and to provide a refuge for those cast upon the world without any means of support, and thus compelled to become inmates of the Poor-house, or have recourse to begging, theft, prostitution, until, at a still greater expense, they were consigned to Prison, only to re-enter, when discharged, upon their old career of vice. It is plain, therefore, that this school has been, to a certain extent, a Reformatory from its very commencement.

The originators of this design at first confined their project to the establishment of a Sunday school, but Divine Providence having brought under their notice a master well acquainted with the Ragged School Institutions of London, a Daily and Industrial School was also commenced.

Subsequently, in the year 1854, the important addition of a Dormitory was made, in which there are at present twenty-six beds, occupied by those inmates who would otherwise have had no *lodging or place of shelter*. All are supplied with food, instructed in the Holy Scriptures, and taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, in addition to the industrial employments, such as the Manufacture of mats and nets, Tailoring and Shoe-making. Half the profits on the articles made is given to the scholars, from which earnings they themselves purchase a great part of their clothing.

That the manufacturing department has made satisfactory progress, is proved by the fact, that, instead of £1 19s. 3d., as received in sales for the first year, the proceeds of the work for the year 1856, amounted to no less a sum than £81 19s. 3½d.

Not only have the elements of plain education been thus afforded, habits of industry formed and stimulated, and the simple truths of the Gospel taught, but the committee are even now enabled to report a measure of still more encouraging success.

The following cases, a few out of many, will at once illustrate the value of the institution, and the mode of its working.

No 1, December 20, 1851.—A young girl, about 17, induced to leave Plymouth, without the knowledge of her friends, applied for admission. Having been deserted in Cork, she had sold by degrees all the clothing from her person which she could by any possibility spare. She was received, and provision made for her support, until, at the expense of the Committee, she was restored to her friends.

No. 2, December, 1851.—An orphan youth, aged 15, evidently well disposed, a perfect stranger to Cork, applied in great destitution, and was also received, until employment could be procured, and was ultimately sent, by one of the Committee, to a situation in Bristol.

No. 3, October, 1851.—A lad was received into the school, who left in a few days, and united with the mobs that attacked the master and his family; after which he was in prison several times. In November, 1852, he applied again, was re-admitted, and went on

tolerably well for six months. In May, 1853, after leaving school for the day, he quarrelled in the street with two boys, whom he struck with a clasp knife, injuring one of them so severely that a warrant was issued for his apprehension. He evaded for a while the vigilance of the police, but ultimately surrendered himself, by the advice of a person connected with the school, who attended with him, became answerable for his better conduct, and obtained a remission of his punishment. The committee provided for the wounded boy, and the offender himself attended to his wants with the utmost care. For about twelve months after this he went on well, but was again led astray by his old criminal companions, and followed a course of vice until March, 1856; from which time till September, 1856, he went on more hopefully, when he left the school once more. In July, 1857, he again applied, and was at first refused; but his earnest entreaty for one and a last trial, upon solemn promise of amendment, opened the door. He remained, showing a steady attention to all the duties of the school, and an affection which could but encourage hope, until (a short time since) he was admitted, with two other boys from the school, into the band of the 53rd Regiment, and with them was sent to Chatham, to receive suitable instruction.

No. 4.—Another lad, his parents having gone to America, leaving him entirely destitute, was received into the school in August, 1852; and about three years since was placed in a situation, where he succeeded in gaining respect for good character, and is now being taught a trade.

No. 5.—Three children were received, in January 1852, having been several times in prison, for begging, &c. They attended regularly, during the day, but were exposed to much temptation in the evening on leaving school, when their father sent them into the streets to beg. The result was, that in 1853, the three were again brought before the magistrates; but the master having made an application on their behalf, they were liberated, and allowed to return to the school—he, this time, arranging for their being left entirely under his care, by making a provision for their sleeping, as well as food; and this arrangement was afterwards followed up by the establishment of a Dormitory. From this time, the eldest boy became an altered character; his conduct being so satisfactory, and his industry so great, that he was retained in the institution, for the sake of the manufacturing department. In May, 1855, he was placed in the service of a professional gentleman in this city, where he still remains; has earned an excellent character, and has proved a trustworthy and valuable servant.

No. 6.—Received November, 1856, on leaving prison; remained in regular attendance until October, 1857, when he entered the East India Company's service. As a proof of real reform it may be mentioned, that he recently sent home to his mother a considerable portion of the wages he had earned.

No. 7.—Received in January, 1852, having been in Prison for begging, theft, &c; attended regularly in the Day school for nearly twelve months, when he was again taken up for begging, to which he was driven by his father after school hours. On an application to the magistrates for his liberation, it was granted, and he was sent

back to school, an arrangement having been made by the Committee to provide him with lodging, as well as food, which arrangement was superseded by the establishment of the Dormitory in 1854. From this time, he gave every symptom of improvement, seeming most desirous of repaying the kindness he had received. In July, 1855, however, when out for recreation, he was persuaded by a discharged criminal to attend Queenstown Regatta, and absented himself, without leave, for two nights, fearful of not being allowed to enter the school, if he returned. While in this state of indecision, two practised thieves induced him to join them in robbing a poor woman's cottage. For this he was apprehended, and committed for trial, at the Cork Sessions, in the September following. Knowing how pliable was his disposition, and how hard for him to withstand the temptation to which he had been exposed, the master attended at the court, and when the boy was convicted, Mr. Sergeant Berwick kindly allowed the sentence to be held over, and delivered him up to the Committee. With great pleasure, they are now able to state, that his conduct ever since, has given entire satisfaction. He is still in the school, where it is for the present intended he shall remain, as he makes himself most useful; the master speaks highly of his behaviour, and reports that, of late, his one aim seems to be, the manifestation of gratitude and affection.

No. 8, January, 1857.—A little girl, found by a clergyman, without parents or home, not quite ten years of age, was at once received, and saved from entering upon a life of vice. She remained till March, 1857, when she was sent to the Ragged School at Buckingham House.

A circumstance which recently occurred in the neighbourhood may furnish an appropriate sequel to the above examples. One of the committee, in a crowded thoroughfare, having to pass through a group of boys, with some of whose features he was familiar, soon found himself without his pocket-handkerchief. As usual on such occasions, he believed the wisest course was to forget the loss; but, on reaching home in the evening, on his hall table was a small parcel folded neatly, and addressed to himself, which, on being opened, was found to contain the stolen article, washed and mangled. Evidently there had been the interference of some unknown one, whose heart was too much moved by gratitude to allow a man to be robbed, who was labouring to rescue from ruin these unfortunate outcasts, thus deeply, yet not hopelessly, fallen.

During the present year, situations have been provided for nine of the inmates, in which they are entirely supporting themselves; also for three who are supporting themselves partially; in addition to one boy who has been sent for by his relatives in America.

These facts, alone, would suffice to show that the Almighty has not withholden *His* blessing from this Institution, and to make the Committee feel that they must not relax their efforts while the promise remains—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days."

NEW PROTESTANT REFORMATORY.

The Committee are well aware that the Institution, as far as the Reformatory part is concerned, is not at all as effective as it might

be made. Of this they have long been fully convinced, and always have looked forward to the time when their operations^c could be fully established on an extended and permanent scale. It is a matter of congratulation, that a Reformatory in Cork is no new experiment; and that our friends, now so anxious on the subject, have but to aid the legitimate development of one long established, and which has never met with the public encouragement and support it deserved.

Without at present going into detail they beg to state, that they desire now to raise the sum of, at least, £500, and that a permanent increase of subscriptions is also required. With the sum mentioned your Committee believe a suitable building, with ground attached, can be procured for the establishment of a regular Reformatory for juvenile criminals, which shall still embrace all the objects of a Ragged Shhool and Home for Destitute Children, and be conducted on the same leading principles as those that have been observed for six years past in the conduct of the above-named Institution.

This, then, is the object now presented to public notice. It is well to remember the fact, that it costs from four to six times more for the maintenance and training of a criminal, than for the maintenance and training of a child in an Industrial School. Far more expensive is it to society to allow a child to become a thief or a murderer than to teach him to discharge his duties to God and man.

The following letter from our good friend, Father Caccia, is of very great importance, and we beg the attention of our readers to it:—

My dear Sir—As many of your readers have expressed their views relative to the disposal of our Reformatory boys, allow me also to make a few observations on the same subject.

In November last, meeting in Leeds with the Very Rev. Father Pinet, (a native of Canada), he kindly undertook, at my suggestion, to open a correspondence with the President of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, residing at Quebec, in order to obtain his patronage for those boys of this establishment who might have a desire to emigrate. I acquainted the Right Rev. Abbot of Mount St. Bernard's, with my project on the occasion of his paying me a visit in January last; he highly approved of it, and desired that it should be adopted, in common, by the three Catholic Reformatories. It was with pleasure I saw him sounding public opinion on this subject. Amongst the different suggestions put forth in reply, I agree for the most part with those of my esteemed friend Mr. Gainsford, of Leeds; but it seems to me that all have grounded their suggestions upon the certainty of employment being obtained for the boys at home when dismissed from the Reformatory. This, certainly, exists only in Catholic countries, where applications for boys of this class by tradesmen and shopkeepers are so numerous, that all without exception, are engaged even before the time of their dismissal. Catholics, in general, acknowledge that religion really possesses the means of a real reformation. Is it so in England? This question should be

answered before it can be admitted, as a certainty, that employment can always be obtained at home.

Anglicanism, especially at the present time, when the Lutheran doctrine about Justification prevails in this country, educates all classes of society to a feeling of distrust in a *real* amendment, and generates a suspicion of those who are known to have been at one time bad. I do not think it necessary to speak at length upon this national feeling, as it is self-evident to any thinking person. Though it is but an opinion of mine, allow me to say that I fear this feeling is also entertained by Catholics, and especially by converts, as the effect of a Protestant education. I should be happy to be wrong; but if this be really the predominant feeling, what chance of employment is there for our boys? Besides, those Catholics who can give employment are few. The majority of our Catholic poor, with whom, of course, our Reformatory boys must also be reckoned, are Irish. Does any one think it advisable to send these boys to their former abodes? Let such a one reflect that there lay their former snares.

After all, let us revert to the practical point of view. Reformatory boys are, in the greater part, engaged in field labor. Are Catholic farmers so numerous as to employ them all? Now, taking into consideration the national feeling of distrust, together with these circumstances, I submit to the consideration of all good-hearted Catholics the following plan:—

1st.—In every Reformatory an annual allowance—say £1 for each boy—should be set apart for supplying the boys according to their respective wants, on their entering into society, as I am doing at this present moment. This fund may be increased by contributions.

2nd.—An external patronage, charged with obtaining employment, and at the same time, exercising a moral control, may be found in the Societies of St. Vincent of Paul, whose Central Committee will receive from the Managers of the Reformatories the requirements and the circumstances of each boy previous to his dismissal.

3rd.—The same patronage will assist those boys to emigrate, who, either because of bad parents, a doubtful reformation, or difficulty in obtaining employment, are exposed to the danger of a relapse, or the inability of procuring the necessaries of life.

This is simply a sketch, leaving to more experienced individuals, especially to the Right Rev. Father Abbot, its development into an organized plan. I shall most cordially support some such, or a similar, arrangement for the proper disposal of our boys.

Believe me to remain,

Yours truly,

C. CACCIA.

Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School, near
Market Weighton, May 11th, 1858.

INTERNATIONAL BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION.

(Association internationale de Bienfaisance).

When the Penitentiary Congress was held at Brussels in September, 1847, many members of that assembly passed a resolution to form an Association having the following objects:—

1. To put into communication with each other those who, in various countries, were working for the benefit of industrial and indigent classes.

2. To regulate and facilitate correspondence between these persons, and the various Associations instituted for the same ends.

3. To establish a permanent interchange of official documents (*renseignements*), reports, and publications amongst the members of the general Association, and between their respective countries.

4. To diffuse, by all convenient means, ideas and useful projects, to bring out experiments (*produire des essais*), and to establish the results of past experience, to make those institutions known and appreciated, and encourage those labours, the aim or tendency of which is of a nature to interest the Association, and to exercise a beneficial interest on society in general.

The carrying out of this resolution was confided to several members of the Congress, and a committee was formed at Paris to represent the Association, the statutes of which were published there in the "*Annales de la Charité*," October, 1847.

The events of 1848 retarded its operations, which were, however, renewed as speedily as possible, Agricultural, Hygienic, and Statistical Congresses being held at Brussels in 1848, 1851, 1852, and 1853. In July, 1855, the "*Société d'Economie charitable*," succeeded in arranging for an International Charitable Conference at Paris, when it was fully agreed that such meetings should take place periodically. Accordingly a Congress was held at Brussels in September, 1856, and another at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in September, 1857.

This short sketch shows the desire and necessity of uniting and concerting for the examination and solution of questions relating to charitable undertakings. As a member of the Congress of 1847 said—"Thanks to this assembly of men already accustomed to the study and practice of benevolence, and representing almost all civilized lands, the moment is come for establishing amongst different nations an interchange of ideas, of labours, and of charitable precepts (*enseignements*) for multiplying reports and other communications between men who are everywhere occupied for the welfare of those who labour and who suffer—for submitting to a comparative study and searching scrutiny all questions touching the relief of misery, and for seeking their solution, not in vain and barren theories, but in tangible action and practical knowledge; in short, to apply to Charity what has been successfully done for Science and Industry, and which now renders locomotion rapid and correspondence easy, and makes the light and experience of all available for the moral and physical amelioration of the laboring and suffering classes of every land."

About a hundred persons, of more than twenty countries, and known, for the most part, by their useful labours, have adhered to the project of forming, for this end, an International Association, of which only the definitive organization remains to be determined.

It had become evident that international correspondence and communications could not be satisfactorily maintained without some permanent bond of union, and hence the Brussels Congress decided on the formation of an organized Institution.

The following statutes have been framed with a view of satisfying these various exigencies, and of attaining the manifold objects indicated. They were unanimously adopted by the Frankfort Congress, September 16, 1857.

STATUTES.

Objects of the Institution.

I. An *International Benevolent Association* is hereby formed, having for its objects:—

1. To put into communication with each other those who, in various lands, are occupied with the amelioration of the condition of the labouring and indigent classes.
2. To constitute a kind of bond of union amongst Institutions and Associations formed for benevolent, provident, and reformatory objects, as also for popular education, which should lead to reciprocal explanation of their objects, and, in case of need, to mutual aid.
3. To establish a permanent interchange of official documents (*renseignements*), reports, and publications amongst the members of the Association, and between the various countries represented.
4. To make useful schemes and institutions known and appreciated, to establish the results of experiments, and to encourage labours which are of a nature to interest the Association, and to exert a beneficial influence on society at large.

Organization and Direction of the Association.

II. The Association is composed of all persons, who, in various countries, occupy themselves with the amelioration of the condition of the industrial and indigent classes, and who adhere to the present regulations.

III. It is directed by a Council, composed of members belonging to different countries.

This Council institutes a centre of administration, or *central agency* whose seat it fixes, and takes all measures necessary to give to the Association, the unity, extension, and impulse which will enable it to attain the objects of its formation.

IV. The members of the council are at first nominated by the committee (*bureau*) of the International Benevolent Congress at Frankfort.

V. The Council can add to the number of its members, according to circumstances and requirements.

VI. It puts itself in communication, in each country, with the benevolent, provident, and educational institutions and societies for public usefulness, which might be united with the International Association.

VII. The members of the Council belonging to each country constitute, as much as possible, an *auxiliary agency* amongst themselves, to carry on correspondence with the *central agency*.

The work of auxiliary agency might also be assigned to existing Associations.

VIII. The members of the Association are admitted by the agency of the nation to which they belong, by the central agency, or by its delegate, to whom their names, professions, and addresses are transmitted for insertion in the registers. Notice should be given to the same agency of any resignation or change of residence.

IX. Each member engages:

To reply to any questions put to him, in the name of the Association, by the Council, the auxiliary agency, or the central agency; to communicate all documents relative to the public and private benevolent institutions, and the provident, educational, and reformatory establishments of the country or locality where he lives; To assist, as much as possible, at the general meetings and international congresses, and in case of prevention, to send in writing the communications he would have made;

To aid to the utmost the members, at home or abroad, in the researches and labours with which they are charged by the Association;

To pay a contribution of ten francs per annum, applicable to the general expenses of the Association, and to the publication of the *Bulletin* of International correspondence. This contribution is also paid by the members of the Council.

X. The amount of the contributions is transmitted to the central agency, who give an annual statement in the *Bulletin*, of the use made of them.

XI. The members of the Association have a right to all documents which they require, and which the Association can procure for them. All questions are replied to which may be addressed by them either to the auxiliary agency, or, by its medium, to the central agency, on subjects attended to by the Society.

XII. The members of the Association, by applying to the members of the Council, or the agency for their country, may obtain a title or circular letter, by means of which they will be put into communication with the members and agencies in other countries, who will facilitate their visits and researches, and procure for them the information they may require in their foreign travels.

International Correspondence—Bulletin.

XIII. The central agency publishes every six months, or more often, if thought necessary, a *Bulletin*, containing a list, and as much as possible, an analytical summary, of any publications, reports, and documents relating to the objects of the Association.

XIV. In order to facilitate the regular publication of this *Bulletin*, the members of the Council, and the agencies of the different coun-

tries will transmit to the central agency either the titles of publications or the publications themselves, which enter into the design of the *Bulletin*, and will apply themselves as much as possible to establish a special *Bulletin* of benevolence for the use their own countrymen.

The works are deposited in the library of the central agency, where they can be consulted by those interested.

XV. The *Bulletin* is forwarded gratuitously to the members of the Council, the agencies, and the members of the Association. Other persons are charged an amount fixed by the central agency.

XVI. The exchange of publications, reports, and documents, will take place as regularly as possible, between the various agencies and the members of the Council.

For this purpose they will make inquiries for, and give notice of the most safe, prompt, and inexpensive mode of transmission.

General Assemblies—International Congresses.

XVII. The members of the Council, and the agencies of the various countries, will concert together the organization and convocation of general assemblies and international congresses, at stated periods, and in various places.

At these meetings, the position, progress, and results of the Association will be made known, and all measures will be taken necessary to the extension and attainment of its objects.

PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The seat of the central agency is provisionally fixed at Brussels. The *Bulletin* will be published in French.

Bureau of the International Benevolent Congress,
at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

DE BETHMANN HOLLWEY,
President

ED. DUPETIAUX,	}	<i>Secretaries.</i>
DR. SCHLIMMER,		
DR. G. VARRENTRAP,		

INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE—BULLETIN.

Indication and Classification of Documents and Publications.

1. Social and charitable economy—indigence, pauperism, benevolence.
2. Public aid, and private charity.
3. Intemperance, mendicacy, vagrancy, prostitution, gambling.
4. Population, emigration.
5. Food.
6. Work, wages.
7. Provision (for sickness, old age, and death).
8. Education and instruction.—Moralization.
9. Domestic economy.
10. Hygienic and sanitary economy.
11. Penitentiary regulations.
12. Architecture in its relation to institutions of benevolence, instruction, repression of crime, and reform, as well as to sanitary and hygienic measures.

I. Social and charitable economy, indigence, pauperism and benevolence.

1. General treatises.
2. Social, civil, industrial, and agricultural arrangements in relation to the working and indigent classes.
3. General situation of artizans.—Isolated artizans.—Mechanics. Agricultural labourers.
4. Causes of indigence and pauperism.—Remedies.—Statistics.
5. Basis and principles of public benevolence and private charity.

II. Public and private charity.

6. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.—Financial Statements.
7. Out-door relief (*secours à domicile*).—Offices (*bureaux*) of benevolence.—Committees for charity.—Enrolment and census of the poor.—House of aid (*domicile de secours*).
8. In-door relief (*secours internes*).—Assistance of the aged, infirm, and incurable.—Traveller's homes (*hospices ; fermes hospices*).
9. Medical relief (*secours médicaux*); medical assistance to the poor at their homes (*à domicile*), in towns, and in the country.—General and special hospitals.—Establishments for sick, rickety, and convalescent children.—Convalescent institutions.—Dispensaries.—Gratuitous medical consultations.
10. Lying-in hospitals (*sociétés de charité maternelle*).—Offices of nurses (*crèches*).
11. Institutions for orphans, foundlings, vicious, and morally neglected children.
12. Institutions for aliens, idiots (*crétins*), and the epileptic.—Institutions for the deaf and dumb, and the blind.
13. Special tuition of foundlings, and of vicious and neglected children.
14. Employment of artizans, apprentices, servants, aliens, blind, and deaf and dumb.
15. Judicial aid.—Gratuitous justice for the poor.—Office of consultation.
16. Offices of gratuitous *renseignement*.
18. Institutions and associations for special charity.
19. Religious associations and corporations in their relation to the relief of poverty.
20. Proper measures for the prevention of double relief in the distribution of charity, and intended to establish concord and harmony by the simultaneous action of benevolent institutions and undertakings (*œuvres*) both public and private.—Committees of plans (*œuvres*).

III. Intemperance, mendicity, vagrancy, prostitution, gambling.

21. Intemperance—Causes—Results—Remedies.
22. Repression of mendicity and vagrancy.—Legislation.—Statistics.—Regulation (*regime*) of mendicants and vagrants.—*Depôts de mendicité* (Bagged homes).—Reformatory Schools.
23. Regulation of prostitution.—Houses of refuge and penitentiaries.
24. Gambling.—Regulation.—Repression.

IV. *Population.—Emigration.*

25. Theory of population (*principe de la population*.)
26. Emigration.—Legislation.—Causes and results.—Statistics.
27. Organization of emigration.—Societies for directing emigration and preventing its abuses.—Patronage of emigrants.
28. Systems of colonization.

V. *Food.*

29. In its connection with agriculture.
30. In its connection with political and charitable economy.
31. In its connexion with scientific and industrial enterprises (*procédés*).

VI. *Work.—Wages.*

32. Organization of labour.—Regulation of industry (*Régime industriel*).

33. Legislation for labour.—Laws and customs with respect to labour, and the relation between masters and workmen.—Trade guilds, citizenship, wardenship (*jurandes*).—Workmen's associations, and co-operative societies for their formation.—Coalitions.—Registers (*livrets*).—Patents.—Over-seers' clubs (*conseils de prud'hommes*.)

34. Rural legislation.—Laws and customs relating to agricultural populations and manor-lands.—Slavery, serfdom, statute-labour (*corvées*), tithes, and rents.—Division and partition of rural estates and agricultural improvements (*exploitations*).—Reclaiming (*Défrichement et mise en valeur*) of waste ground.—Improvements in the system of management and culture of estates (*exploitations et culture*) in their connection with the increased well-being of agricultural labourers.

35. Military system (*état militaire*).—Systems for obtaining recruits.—Commissions.—Oaths.

36. Imposts and taxes in their relation to the interests of the working classes.

37. Domestic service.—Laws and customs relating to it.—Books of service (*livrets*).—Certificates.—Hiring offices (*bureaux de placement*).—Institutions and societies for the protection and encouragement of servants.

38. Scale of wages in different professions.—Comparison between wages and the prices of food and other articles of consumption.

39. Charitable manufactories (*ateliers de charité*).—Manufacturing schools.—Schools of apprenticeship and improvement (*ateliers d'apprentissage et de perfectionnement*).

40. Laws, rules, and customs relating to apprenticeship.—Regulations of apprentices (*régime d'apprentis*).—Special apprenticeship of young girls.—Working-places (*ouvroirs*.)

41. *Bourses de travail*.—Offices for registry (*renseignements*), and hiring of workmen, &c.

42. Co-operation of masters for the improvement of the condition of their workmen.—Benevolent and provident institutions attached to industrial establishments.

43. International conventions relative to industrial labour.

VII. *Provision (for sickness, old age, and death).*

44. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.
45. Savings banks or boxes (*caisses ou banques d'épargne*).
46. Mutual aid societies in case of illness and accidents.
47. Provident societies formed in favour of workmen belonging to special professions, such as miners, sailors, &c.
48. Aid funds annexed to some establishments.
49. Savings societies for the purchase of provisions and other articles of prime importance.
50. Associations for food and for various articles of consumption (*associations alimentaires, et de consommations diverses*).
51. Associations formed with a view of obtaining land and dwellings for workmen.—Associations intended to facilitate for workmen the purchase of their dwellings.
52. Asylums for the aged.
53. Life and accident assurance societies, &c.
54. "*Monts de-piété*."—Wages loan societies.
55. Banks or funds for loans or advances for the purchase of tools, machines, raw materials, or stock-in-trade.
56. Organization of credit in its connection with the wants and with the amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

VIII. *Education and Instruction.—Moralization.*

57. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.
58. Means of encouraging, perfecting, and extending instruction and popular education.
59. Gratuitous and compulsory instruction.
60. Religious and moral training.
61. Physical and gymnastic training.
62. Normal schools.—Infant education (*pédagogie*).—Systematic instruction (*méthodologie*).—School museums (*musées d'école*).
63. Infant nurseries (*salles d'aisie ou écoles gardiennes ou maternelles*).—Infant gardens.
64. Elementary schools (*écoles primaires*).—Adult schools.—Evening schools.—Sunday schools.—Recitation schools (*écoles de répétition*).
65. Professional, industrial, and agricultural instruction.
66. Special schools for the children of soldiers.—Ditto for senior scholars (*élèves mousés*,) &c.—Regimental schools.
67. Instruction in a common language independent of the national language, intended to facilitate relations between the inhabitants of various countries.
68. Books of infant training (*pédagogie*,) primers, and reading manuals.—Journals and periodical reviews for the people.
69. Village and circulating libraries.—Collections, museums.
70. Mechanics' institutes, lecture halls (*cours*,) conferences.—Associations among workmen for intellectual and moral culture.
71. Fêtes and recreations (*distractions*).—Musical and class-singing societies.—Associations for amusement and exercise.
72. Institutions and undertakings which relate to the moralization of the industrial and indigent classes.—Measures for the encouragement of good character and habits of order, providence, and

economy.—Prizes for virtue, order, and neatness.—Testimonials (*décorations*) awarded to workmen, &c.

IX. *Domestic Economy,*

73. Economic statistics of the working classes.

74. Food (*alimentation*).—Food societies, provision magazines, food agencies, baking establishments, butchers' establishments, eating-houses, and economic kitchens, establishments for distributing and selling at cost or reduced price soups and cooked food.

75. Clothing.—Bedding.

76. Dwellings.

77. Furniture.

78. Warming.—Lighting.—Washing.—Arrangements for health and comfort.

79. Tools and working materials.

80. Exhibitions of domestic economy.—Permanent economic museums.

X. *Hygienic and Sanitary Economy.*

81. Organization.—Legislation.

82. Sanitary position and organization.—Medical police.—Measures for public health.

83. Cleansing of quarters and dwellings occupied by the industrial and indigent classes.

84. Rules to be observed in the construction of labourers' dwellings.

85. Supply and distribution of water.

86. Ventilation.

87. Drainage, sewers, water-closets, and removal of nuisances.

88. Public baths and lavatories.

89. Food, bedding, clothing, furniture, warming, lighting, and cleansing, in their connection with hygiene.

90. Fraud, falsifications, and adulterations.—Means of detecting and preventing them.

91. Vaccination.

92. Means of preventing sickness, epidemics, and accidents in general.

93. Industrial hygiene.—Improvements in tools and working instruments.—Improvements in unwholesome trades and professions.—Means of preventing accidents to which certain classes of mechanics are exposed.—Help for the wounded.

94. Protection of women and children employed in various trades.

95. Burials.—Burial-grounds.—Cemeteries.

96. Institutions and means for the rescue of the drowned and shipwrecked, &c.—Help in case of fire.

97. Protection of animals.

98. Instruction in and propagation of hygienic principles.

XI. *Penitentiary Régime.*

99. Organization.—Legislation.—Statistics.

100. State of crime.—Increase or decrease of criminals.

101. Prison systems.—Their results.

102. State of prisons.—Economic, industrial, sanitary, moral, and religious condition.

- 103. Transportation.
- 104. Complementary institutions.—Conditional or provisional liberation.—Supplementary detentions.—Police *surveillance*.—Reinstating in society (*rehabilitation*).
- 105. Charitable associations for prison inspection.
- 106. Patronage of liberated prisoners.
- 107. Special establishments for juvenile delinquents and liberated young prisoners.—Agricultural colonies.—Apprenticeship.
- 108. Parental correction.

XII. *Architecture (et procédés) in relation to establishments of benevolence, instruction, repression of crime, reform, health, and hygiene.*

- 109. Plans of travellers' homes (*hospices et fermes hospices*).
- 110. Plans of hospitals, lying-in hospitals, and establishments for foreigners, blind, and deaf and dumb.
- 111. Plans of beggars' homes, ragged homes (*depôts de mendicité*), agricultural colonies, and reformatory schools.
- 112. Plans of *creches*, infant nurseries (*salles d'asiles*), infant gardens, elementary schools (*écoles primaires*), industrial and agricultural schools, and popular museums.
- 113. Plans of lodging-houses for workmen, both for families and single persons.
- 114. Plans of public baths and lavatories.
- 115. Plans of economic kitchens and eating-houses.
- 116. Plans of cemeteries and burial-grounds.
- 117. Plans of model prisons (*prisons cellulaires*.)
- 118. Apparatus and fittings (*procédés*) for educational establishments, the application of various systems, systematic arrangements, gymnastics, &c.
- 119. Apparatus and fittings for hospitals, and for the relief of the sick, infirm, &c.
- 120. Apparatus and fittings for economic ventilation, warming, lighting, food, and cleaning.
- 121. Apparatus and fittings for the supply and distribution of water.
- 122. Apparatus and fittings for drainage and the removal of accumulations. (Drains, pipes, waterclosets, and tupal system of draining.)
- 123. Apparatus and fittings for the improvement of unwholesome trades and professions.
- 124. Apparatus and fittings for fire-escapes, and means of rescue for drowned and shipwrecked persons, &c.
- 125. Explanatory documents, descriptive drawings, &c.

N.B. All communications relative to the "INTERNATIONAL BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION" (*Association Internationale de Bienfaisance*), should be addressed, prepaid, to M. ED. DUCPETIAUX, Inspector-General of Prisons and Benevolent Establishments, Delegate of the Congress of Frankfort, *Rue des Arts*, No 22, Brussels. All works, reports, lists, and documents relative to the publication of the *Bulletin* of international correspondence may be forwarded to the same address.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION.

An able correspondence on the subject of Government aid to Refuges and Industrial Schools has been conducted by this Union with the Privy Council on Education; and although the Union has not carried its point, yet it has elicited from Government explanations, if not concessions, of considerable value.

The Ship School, for which purpose H.M.'s frigate the "Cornwall" has been kindly lent by the Admiralty, appears, under the fostering energies of the Union, likely soon to be launched into existence. It will require some 2000*l.* to fit it for its purpose; and plans are being devised for the collection of this sum.

The Sub-committee appointed to consider the great question of the "Social Evil" are progressing slowly, but satisfactorily, in their endeavours to check it. They have printed two more tracts for distribution: twenty-five females have been rescued from the streets, and placed in institutions, during the last three months. About half of these have been paid for at the rate of 2*l.* and 3*l.* each, the others admitted free.

Another of the efforts of the Reformatory and Refuge Union is approaching completion—we mean the Girls' Laundry; it has been opened by the matron and a few girls taking possession of the house leased for the purpose, in West End Lane—between Kilburn and Hampstead—about two miles from the Marble Arch. The establishment will now soon be in working order; but as it is very improbable that the Institution can be rendered self-supporting for at least two or three years, contributions are required to meet the current expenses. The importance of the object will, we trust, be fully recognized by those who have means to give.

The Union continues its efforts to procure the admission of convicted youths into certified Reformatories, and with considerable success. This may appear to be a matter of comparative insignificance to be taken up by so important a body, or as one involving little or no trouble; but those who have watched the police-court reports, and know anything of prison discharges, are well aware that there is very little general information as to the means of carrying such sentences, under the Reformatory Act, into effect; and the labours of the Union have been of incalculable value. In course of time the resources of certified Reformatories may be better understood, and this labour on the part of the committee lightened; but, meanwhile, the community must be much indebted to the Union for the trouble it has taken in this matter.

The training of masters and mistresses for Reformatories and Refuges still continues to engage attention: and several institutions have been supplied with superintendents. On the whole, the Reformatory and Refuge Union continues to deserve the good opinion and support of a generous public, and deserving it, will we hope continue to obtain it in an increasing degree.

PRISON

A Paper read before the
of Social Science, on Tues
T. B. Barwick Baker, Esc

In an admirable pamphlet
Refuge Union, detailing the
dom, which have for their
or the timely arrest of those
danger of becoming entangled
that "there are six discharged
self aware only of four others
no less than 167 prisons in
Wales alone; thus leaving
and, so far as we know, the
shall reappear within the week
to allude to these particulars
merely mention the fact of
for my dwelling at greater
reasonableness, generally, of
discharge. I may fairly pro
mainly attributable to the w
real value—and I am further
with the exception of the
Reformation of Discharged
Refuge, 1836—and the Du
1849, the others have only s
years. There must then, of
formation as well to their
their working. There is, I
criminals, when reformed o
formation, should be remove
associates, and temptation
founded in strict justice, wh
precepts which would invite
that be overtaken with a fault
at all events, it cannot be
necessary so long as there are
masters taking or retaking in
once had the brand of impi
made my confession that I sh
God's providence be allowed
received by a Philemon; wh
comed at home as one who is
ed criminal shall experiment
object of love and pity to ma
that where the character was
it, and that he shall not be
attempt. It will not be thoug
one of the most important and
Secretary to a Prisoners' Aid
as 1824, and has been doing it

years—to say that the former position necessarily brings vividly before me the requirements and the dangers of prisoners on their discharge, while my position as Secretary to the Surrey Society has given me some experience on the bearing and timely benefit of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies; and that therefore, while pleading the general necessity of such aid, I should deal with it in the strong language forced from me by my experience and conviction, and that I should feel myself in some degree qualified to testify as to their details of working. First, then, as to their necessity; it is no part of my business to inquire how it came to pass, and at whose door the fault may be laid, that so many hundreds of those who are committed to our gaols have never heard, I might say, even the voice of kindness,—have remained to all intents and purposes ignorant of the vital truths of the gospel, until immured in the solitude of the prison cell. Bred up in the very atmosphere of vice and irreligion, of blasphemy and unkindness, the wonder is, not that so many become vicious and criminal, but that so many appear to escape from its trammels; nor am I at present concerned to consider what may be the appropriate remedies for such a state of things, nor even to compare the position of the honest poor labourer, with that of the criminal. I have now only to deal with the broad fact, that crime does exist, and that, under the vigilance of our laws, it is generally detected, the result being an appearance before the higher powers, and then incarceration in the walls of the prison—in short, that there are annually about 132,699 men, women or children committed to our prisons, and as a necessary consequence discharged from the gates at the expiration of their terms of imprisonment. And let me ask what in general is their position? Knowing as we do the antecedent difficulties which have beset the generality of our delinquents, prior to their entrance to the gaol—that kindness and religious instruction is in thousands of instances a complete novelty, and knowing also as we do the power of God to recall the most abject from the error of his way, we have no right to doubt that many, whether driven by fear, or by nobler feelings, may be completely sincere, in an expression of their desire to quit the life they are leading, and return to the paths of honesty, sobriety, and piety. But what hope is held out to these?—unhappily of the very name of prisoner, we have habituated ourselves to think harshly, while few are in the slightest degree aware of the trying difficulties of their position at the time I am speaking of. There seems, it is true, to be a better feeling springing up; men of all classes of society are beginning to manifest pity and compassion, when of old there was but scorn and contempt: and this must be gratifying to every right-minded man. How much hopeless despair and consequent misery have sprung from our past apathy as regards discharged prisoners, it is appalling to reflect upon; and I hail with the brightest augury of good the growth of this better feeling—it is beginning to be acknowledged that a man may have been a prisoner, yet have a soul to be saved; that praying for “pity on all prisoners and captives,” means something more than regarding them with abhorrence, and leaving them to despair, without an effort to save them, or help them to retrieve their lost character. I believe there can scarcely be

imagined a more pitiable position than that of a discharged prisoner. His very imprisonment is probably the result of want of those friends who could counsel him aright, and a forced intimacy with those who, ignorant themselves, have been too ready, and still are, to lead him to ruin. As regards the vast majority of those who issue from the prison gate at the expiration of their allotted space of punishment, they may be considered, humanly speaking, as without friends, without home, without money, without character. And where there is an acknowledged difficulty attached to even the honest man finding good employment, clearly those who have the brand of prison upon them will labour under tenfold difficulties; and it cannot be doubted, that unless some employment be found for them, or some facility be given them, to verify their assertions of a desire to amend their lives, the alternative is forced upon them of returning to their former career. I am well sure that many, really in heart weary of a life of crime, have had nothing left to them but to starve, to beg, or to steal; and when we consider their want of education in those habits and truths which could, under God's blessing, alone stand them in good stead in the hour of trial—the little opportunity they have had for the exercise of self control—when we reflect that to starve is against their very nature, that to beg, irrespective of its demoralising and uncertain tendency, is in this Christian country, criminal—rendering them again amenable to imprisonment—and that many derived considerable profits, and enjoyed many of their falsely-called comforts and pleasures, from the proceeds of thievery, can we wonder that unfriended for good, with no one to foster and cherish their better resolution, and no means of putting them into play, but met with open arms and ready welcome by their old companions, the better feelings should soon evaporate, under their scoff and ridicule, and they should rush back in very despair to their former haunts, their former evil courses and associates, and in very doubt of the goodness or justice of Providence, drag on a life of crime and vice, to end as it must in banishment, ignominy, and ruin?

I am aware that there are some few even yet, who, with the feeling of the prodigal son's elder brother, are disposed to cavil at any efforts made to benefit the criminal class; but even admitting this objection to spring from a compassion for the wants of the honest poor, it yet seems to me, that it is meet that we should imitate the prodigal's father, and be merry and joyful when any one erring mortal returns from his riotous living to a more holy life and that the objectors might with far more credit to themselves make the attempt to succour the honest poor, and place them in a better condition, than find fault with those who, in imitation of the high teaching to which I have alluded, endeavour to alleviate the unquestionable difficulties in which, from the very nature of the case, criminals are involved. Let it suffice that we *do* find cases calling for the exercise of that feeling of sympathy and compassion which is so closely interwoven with our very nature; we put that feeling into play, and we hope and believe that we have befriended not merely the immediate recipients of our bounty, but, through them, the great mass of the poorer population, who are becoming more and more sensible of the injury worked

among them by the very presence of an unchecked criminal, and of the advantage to them and their offspring, of his removal or his reformation. The poor who are constantly employed, if honest, must leave their young exposed to great temptation from street companionship, and far from envying the position of the criminal, I have found that the poor are, for their means, large contributors to any efforts to check or reform crime, rightly considering that the benefit falls largely on themselves.

The question here naturally arises, to what extent are Prisoners' Aid Societies necessary? It would seem that when any infringement of the law had been vindicated, by the allotted term of imprisonment, and Justice had been thus fully avenged, Mercy should step in and do her work,—and it would further appear naturally to devolve as a duty upon the visiting justices, in co-operation with the governors and chaplains, to inquire into the future prospects of prisoners, to ascertain their antecedents, their family connections, and so far as practicable to assist all those who are hopeful to recover if possible the position from which they had fallen; I believe this is so far generally acted up to, that to a certain extent assistance is given, under the sanction of the law and the visitors of most prisons, to enable prisoners to return to their respective families; but I think the time has arrived when we must do more than this. I am of opinion, founded not on the crude ideas of a day, but upon mature and earnest consideration on this subject—that when the law has stepped in and performed its work, and vindicated its majesty in executing wrath on them that do evil, every prisoner of whatever age or sex, however deeply involved in crime, however apparently hopeless, who *expresses* a desire to escape from the course of life which he sees to be fraught with ruin, should have held out to him an opportunity of removal from his evil companions, and of verifying his assertions of repentance, by a return to a field of diligent and honest labour. Apply indeed such tests as may seem best suited to prove the sincerity of the expressed wish to reform, but it appears to me *none* should be given over, *none* despaired of, *none* absolutely refused. In the course of the last six years, with the funds of the Surrey Discharged Prisoners' Society gradually, it is true, increasing, but still totally inadequate to the demand made upon them, there have been no less than 3,410 prisoners assisted in various ways on their discharge, many of whom are now doing well. It is true, that the pressing are not unfrequently less deserving than the more modest and retiring, and that in our estimate of character, especially when seen only under the abnormal circumstances of a gaol, we cannot but be frequently deceived; it is impossible to doubt that hopeful cases may have been too often rejected as apparently hopeless; while those of whom we had been led to anticipate the best, have ended in complete disappointment. Hence I repeat my conviction, that every one who professes a desire, should at least have the opportunity of winning back his lost character, and the good opinion of his fellow-men. None should be forced back by despair, or the unforgiving feeling of his fellow-creatures, to a course from which he has a desire, however feeble, to escape—the smoking flax should not be quenched, nor the

bruised reed broken—but the faintest spark of returning penitence, should be fanned and cherished, if haply God may suffer it to expand into the full flame.

The existing societies of this nature, few though they be, may be yet fairly held forth, as, each in connection with its own sphere of operation, and by the happy results attending them, proving the proposition which I am anxious to lay down, that “a Discharged Prisoners’ Aid Society” should be attached to every prison in the country. It may fairly be presumed that each separate prison is built and appointed in every respect with reference to the population and the amount of crime of its peculiar locality, and though these may vary in different parts in the actual number of inmates, as well as in the facilities for their re-absorption into the general body of the more steady population, yet will there still attach to each the duty, as it seems to me, which, though varying with the local population, is imperative on all, of aiding those who on discharge from prison, at the expiration of their sentence, are without home, money, friends, or clothing, and in danger of being forced back upon their old courses, for want of a helping hand at the most critical period of their existence. Now let me briefly call your attention to the following statistics, in reference to the commitments during the year 1856. It appears that there were 99,336 males, 33,363 females, making a total of 132,699 of both sexes. The deaths bear a small proportion to the total number, being in fact only 195; and those consigned to lunatic asylums still less, being 138; and taking the possibility that a proportion, admit it to be even more than half, have facilities for again entering upon their respective calling, we have still left at least from 10,000 to 15,000, who must, at the expiration of their sentence, be again launched into the world, to fight against difficulties which few can appreciate but those who either, like myself, come into immediate contact with them, or whose special attention is called to them as magistrates or the leading members in society in each county.

Now if we view it as a matter of economy, the importance of aiding prisoners on their discharge may be made apparent. We must bear in mind that the expenses of prosecutions, whether borne by the county or borough fund as up to 1835—or shared by the public revenues as from 1835 up to 1849, or, as since that period, totally by the latter—in whatever shape paid, must come out of the pockets of the English people; and so far as it can be avoided, it must be looked upon as to that extent a gain. The returns for 1857 I have not been able to get at, but those for 1856 will equally well serve our purpose; and I find from “Part I. of the Judicial Statistics,” that the

Cost of indictments was	£173,246	11	9
Of summary proceedings	21,665	12	11

£194,912 4 8

viz. in round numbers nearly 200,000*l*. And you will observe this is only the cost of convictions. It appears that the prison expenses during the year 1856 amounted to a total sum of 515,917*l*. 2*s*. 0*d*.,

or an average annual cost for each prisoner of 29l. 1s. 2d., that while the number of prisoners during the year 1856 was 132,699, the expenditure was no less than 710,829l. 6s. 8d. Now without alluding to the ways by which much of this expense might be avoided, if preventive means to stop the sources or check the avenues of crime were adopted, or if a more general system of popular education could be set on foot, I venture to think, a proper and judicious attempt to prevent recommitments, by means of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, would diminish this expense to the country by a very considerable amount; and it should be borne in mind that this large amount of expenditure alluded to is in a measure irretrievably gone, and produces little or no good effect, whereas a judicious expenditure, of a comparative trifle in favour of all who are well disposed, to set them on their legs again, would not only keep them out of prison, but be the means of restoring healthful members to the body of society.

Little means exist of calculating the career of criminals, but we do know that in 1856 no less than 36,604 were in prison several times, varying from three to six or more; and in connection with my own prison, I have a nominal list of 147 boys under fourteen who had been in prison 568 times. But, what will more immediately touch our present calculations, I know of twenty-eight boys under fourteen who have been in prison 144 times, and 69 times during the period of one year. Now, it is clear that if steps could be taken on the discharge of these prisoners at first, to place them in a fair way of earning a livelihood, so as to prevent their recommitment, there would have been fifty-one re-convictions avoided; and as it is proved that the average cost of convictions is about 9l. 17s. 4d. per case, and the annual prison expenses nearly 80l., there would be a probable saving to the country of somewhat more than 1500l., which is in fact actually thrown away, if not worse, when it is considered that each time a prisoner returns to prison he becomes more and more callous to the disgrace it inflicts on him. Now, how may this be avoided? I believe in no better way than by the immediate intervention and help of some fund expressly devoted to aiding prisoners on their discharge.

The societies at present existing, so far as we have been able to ascertain them, are as follows:—

The Surrey Society, for the employment and reformation of discharged prisoners, embracing both sexes and all ages. Started originally in 1824.

The Devon and Exeter Refuge, confined to females. Commenced in 1836.

The Durham Refuge, for both sexes, not confined to age, though generally the inmates are under seventeen. Started in 1849.

The Worcester Prisoners' Aid Society, unconfined to age or sex. Started in 1855.

The Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, in 1856, also unconfined to age or sex.

The Wakefield Industrial Home (males). Commenced in 1856.

The Gloucester Refuge for discharged prisoners (males). Also in 1856.

The Glasgow Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, in 1857.

The Kingston-on-Hull Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, also in 1857.

The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, London (males), and generally confined to the convicts' prisons, in 1857.

And I understand from Dr. Hook, that a Society with similar objects is in progress of formation in Leeds.

Now you will observe that few as these are, they are even yet but circumscribed in their efforts—and by no means general on their application to sex or age—yet I find from the Reports, that each is doing much good, though generally in want of funds.

The methods by which assistance may be rendered to discharged prisoners, may generally be classed under four heads; each indeed capable of subdivision and expansion, but I think every method will be embraced in one or other of them—these are,

1. By getting them into institutions where they may acquire habits of industry, and some knowledge of how to earn an honest living.
2. By corresponding with their friends, or their respective parochial ministers, and restoring them or reconciling them to their friends.
3. By assisting them to obtain employment by purchasing tools for them, taking their own ones out of pledge, helping them to make a decent appearance by means of new or redeemed clothing, or by gift of goods to sell.
4. By assisting them to emigrate.

Generally, owing to the diversity of character, age, sex, and disposition, I am disposed to think that a separate Institution or Refuge attached to each prison, besides being exceedingly expensive, would not answer the purpose intended, except in some few isolated cases. It is better that the Aid Society should place all cases suitable, in appropriate institutions, and pay for their expense, on an average, for one year after their discharge. Then I think there should be in connection with, and working under the guidance of, every chaplain, who should perforce be the Secretary of the Society, some trustworthy person to examine into cases in their own immediate locality; to prevent the contact with evil companions, who generally are on the watch to entrap prisoners, especially the young, on discharge; to take them home, where, as is frequently the case, shame causes an unwillingness to return; and generally to make inquiries as to the future conduct of those who have received the benefit of the aid of the society. It is astonishing with what plausibility a pitiful tale will be told, consistent in all points, and unbroken in its links of probability, but which frequently falls completely to pieces, on the visit of a trusty, faithful, and judicious messenger to the immediate neighbourhood from whence a prisoner comes.

No one, I suppose, will think me capable of undervaluing the influence or importance of Reformatories; but it has been too much the custom to imagine that these institutions do *all* the reformation; while prisons are rather calculated to deprave the character. Now I am well certain that there are thousands whose first seeds of reformation are planted within the prison walls; and indeed the very

willingness to enter a Reformatory, after a confinement in prison, is a proof of a better mind, what has sprung up in the prison; but until the public mind shall look with kindlier and more hopeful feelings on the prisoner, he has no alternative but to go to a Reformatory. In many cases, his reformation is, I verily believe, as complete, or nearly so, as to justify his being trusted; and many might with safety be tried; but no one will, perhaps no one well can, take into his household a discharged prisoner; scarcely even will they take a reformatory lad. I hope and believe I see signs of a better feeling in this respect also.

And now let me say one word as to the support of the Prisoners' Aid Societies. The main bar to their complete success is, as is too frequently the case, want of funds. And it becomes a question how far it might be *possible* for Government to aid the funds of such societies. I confess, much as I could wish to see such societies attached to every prison in the British land, or at any rate formed in every county—and with a full feeling that until we are so provided we shall in vain struggle with the debasing effect of crime on criminals, yet I see considerable difficulty in the way of any plan which has at present suggested itself to my mind. The value of this meeting may be, that some course of that kind may be suggested, because money is the very sinew of success; but I am ever loath to ask, where I do not see clearly the probability of success. The societies at present existing are too few in number and too partial in their efforts, as it appears to me, to give a reasonable prospect of calling on Government for special aid with any chance of success. Government, in dealing with public money, require that the want brought before them should not only be one of importance, not only publicly acknowledged, but publicly pressed upon their consideration. If any plan can be devised to call their attention to the subject, with a contingent probability of success, I for one shall be glad; my main object being to provide, that somehow, whether by Government or by private benevolence, prisoners should be assisted on their discharge to recover the position they have lost. I confess I feel that Lord John Russell's view of the matter has all the appearance of justice, and at any rate of being the feeling which would probably sway Her Majesty's advisers in dealing with this subject, unless subjected to severe pressure from without. Lord John, at a meeting at Kingston, for the Surrey Discharged Prisoners' Society, expressed himself thus:—

“I beg to state that I do not think it would be possible for the State to undertake the management of criminals to a further extent than it now does. I do not speak of the manner in which that duty is performed. With regard to the manner in which it is performed, improvements have been made from time to time of late years—inquiries have been instituted—and new plans and processes have been put in force—one of which (adopted in Ireland) seems to have been attended with very great success. But, in dealing with criminals, there comes a time when the State, having done its utmost—when the prisoner, having been confined for the period allotted by law for his offence, and for which the sentence has been pronounced by the

judge—when, having received all the spiritual and moral instruction provided for him in the prison—there comes a time when he must leave the precincts of that prison, and become again a member of that society whose laws he had violated. It would be impossible, with any justice to those who have always conducted themselves without reproach, that the State should undertake the management of these persons."

I beg to say I have mentioned this with a strong hope that some suggestions on the subject may be made by others who are to follow me. In the meanwhile, I may venture to assert that so far as the county of Surrey is concerned, ignorance of the want has been the main cause of inadequacy of funds; for when and wherever I have had the privilege of bringing the claims of that Society before the Surrey public, either by means of meetings or of sermons, I have found the most gratifying response made by all, alike the rich and the poor; and I have personally no manner of doubt that as such societies and their important influence on crime become more and more recognised, so will the funds be poured forth by English benevolence, in greater and greater sufficiency to meet the demands. Let me remind you that of the ten societies of the kind already existing, nine are strictly *local*, and one *general*; the latter being that established in London, and very admirable in its principles and mode of action; but, as I said before, mainly embracing the convict prisons; and at any rate ill-adapted to cope with wants so large as appear to exist. I should be disposed then to recommend, that until some general plan shall be devised, the chaplains and governors of prisons who feel, as they must, interest in the subject, having first procured reports of the already existing societies, and mastered their details of operation and management, should frame from them such plans as they may conceive best adapted to the wants of their own special charge, and having consulted with the visiting justices and the leading influence of their neighbourhood, should take such steps as shall seem to them most fitting to bring the matter generally before the public of their own locality—and I am much mistaken if they will not find, that on a proper representation of the emergency, coupled with a feasible proposition for dealing with it, they will meet with a very general response, sufficient at least to enable them to work with hope and with effect.

I have thus endeavoured to turn attention to the main points, as I conceive, of this subject; and I would merely close by observing, that even on the low consideration of self-interest in this world, prudence and reason alike demand that we should check the growth of crime by every conceivable way in our power; for we have not had its effect so frequently before our eyes that we cannot be now ignorant that there is no crime or vice, however private its nature, which has not in some way or other, directly or indirectly, an effect upon the public welfare: at the same time we cannot divest our minds of the spiritual interests both of ourselves and those with whom we are endeavouring to deal. We have the gratifying consideration that in this work we are saving souls from imminent danger by leading them to the rock of ages, by which alone they can escape

death ; and we have the blessed encouragement given to us to persevere, because " they that are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

BELVEDERE CRESCENT REFORMATORY HOUSE FOR OUTCAST BOYS.

THE annual meeting of the members and friends of this Institution was held on Friday, July 23, when the Earl of Shaftesbury, its president, took the chair. The Home for Outcast Boys, situate near the south end of Hungerford Bridge, belongs to that useful class of Reformatories in which authority is not weakened by the excessive multiplication of masters. It ordinarily accommodates from 18 to 25 boys, who are under the care of the superintendent, Mr. W. Driver. Mr. Driver is a stern foe to sentimentalism, especially to that sentimentalism which is most apt to give a rosy tinge to annual reports, and Lord Shaftesbury's subjoined remarks on the report now presented, and on the general merits of the Home, are most just. There is no institution in London where work is done more faithfully and heartily than in the Belvedere Crescent Reformatory.

THE HON. SECRETARY read the fourth annual report, which commenced by speaking of the lads who had gone to Canada ; and the committee had great pleasure in informing their friends that, as far as they knew, the whole eighteen who had reached that country under the auspices of the Institution were, without an exception, honestly holding their way. The tone of their letters showed that they still cherish warm feelings of attachment to what they call their Home, and all connected with it. In the last report the committee spoke of the great expense attending the emigration of the boys, and of the difficulty of getting money for that purpose. In consequence of that difficulty they had not sent out any lads since the last meeting. True, their president, Lord Shaftesbury, had kindly offered them 20*l.* for emigration purposes, but that sum would not have been sufficient to pay the passage of more than two boys ; and they had eight or ten well worthy of being sent to Canada ; and it would have been almost impossible to make a selection without appearing to act unjustly to those left behind. In sending out the last nine emigrants they had added to their debt something like 20*l.* or 30*l.* ; indeed they had always incurred debt by the adoption of this course ; and, therefore, they felt that they ought to discontinue the system rather than become involved in fresh liabilities. The committee had since turned their attention to facilities for home employ, and of what they had done in this respect they now gave the following account :—At the time of the last meeting two of their boys were employed by Mr. Hart, of Wych Street, brass-founder ; and so well was he satisfied with their conduct that whenever he wanted unskilled labour he applied to this Institution, and at Christmas last six of the lads were at work at his establishment. Much was due to the co-operation of Mr. M'Haffir, by whose timely encouragement those boys who occasionally seemed to falter were urged to persevere, and

were now amongst the best of the workera. Some time in October last there were but four boys at work in the foundry. They felt that the practice of letting boys go out to work and living in the house could not be carried out to any great extent, and they tried, in conjunction with Mr. M'Haffir, to adopt some arrangement whereby the lads might live out of the house, and at the same time be subject to some kind of supervision. Accordingly a room was prepared for them in the cottage of one of the workmen who lived in the foundry-yard, the wife of the man cooking their food, and the Institution supplying their washing; but at the end of six weeks this plan turned out a failure. The boys were brought back once more to the Institution, and three of them were saved, whilst one was lost. Fifteen boys in all had been employed by Mr. Hart since the last meeting. Of the fifteen, seven remained in his employ, and eight had left under various circumstances—some from idleness, others from a desire for change and enlistment, and some for reasons not known. Out of the above eight, six were able to read and write well, and were in other respects very shrewd; four were greatly deficient in moral tone and in patient plodding industry; two were quiet and trustworthy, and the remaining two were deficient both in morals and education. Three out of the eight had been in the Institution only about a week when they were taken into the foundry; on the other hand, three out of the seven still employed were taken to work within a week of their admission into the Home. They had no reason to believe that any of the boys were doing wrong—indeed, their past experience led them to infer the contrary. They were often agreeably astonished by the good intelligence of lads they looked upon as hopeless, and it was not long since they had a very pleasing letter from one who for four years seemed an incorrigible vagabond, stating that he had enlisted in the Bombay Artillery, and thanking the committee for the trouble they had taken about him. Of the seven still at work, one had been there more than a year, three for more than nine months, and three between two and three months. They worked hard, and sometimes for very long hours, and their conduct gave complete satisfaction. Their wages were not more than sufficient to pay for their food and clothing. Their money was brought home and placed in the hands of the superintendent. They were docile in a remarkable degree, and economical also, seldom going to the exchequer for more than a penny or twopence for miscellaneous purposes. The amount brought home to them for the last year was 55*l*. The weekly amount of each boy's wages averaged from five to seven shillings. The report went on to state that the committee were desirous to get the boys into respectable situations when opportunity offered. The boys were now occupied in making fancy boxes (a large number were on this occasion exhibited in the building), some of which might be seen at any time at the Soho Bazaar; and for which they were anxious to obtain a large sale, rather than depend upon the charitable contributions of the public for the support of the Institution. There were now 18 boys in the house, and they could speak of all of them with the most entire satisfaction. The financial statement showed that the receipts for

the year amounted to 555*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*, and the expenditure to 574*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, whilst there was a debt due to the treasurer of 395*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, but this was reduced by a government grant of 172*l.*

The Hon. F. BYNG moved the adoption of the report.

Mr. TUFFNELL, the government inspector of these institutions, seconded the motion, and observed that if this Home continued to be well conducted, as at present, he could see no reason why they should fail to receive government support in future years; and if the committee could succeed in obtaining for the Institution the privilege of being a "certified school," the advantages in their hands would be greatly increased.

The report having being adopted,

The CHAIRMAN expressed his opinion that it was a very satisfactory document, inasmuch as it stated, in a clear and honest and succinct manner, not only the success which had been experienced, but also the difficulties and the failures they had been obliged to contend with. He did not think the public acted fairly by these institutions—they had been so much accustomed to hear of great triumphs and unexampled successes, that unless everything was made to appear to them *couleur de rose*, they were apt to be dissatisfied. It was asking too much of human nature to expect that all outcasts could be reclaimed alike. Some there were who could be brought to discipline, and others who could not, whatever pains might be taken to secure such a result. It was, therefore, much better to tell the public the real state of things, as by so doing they prevented the expectation of results which could not be realised. He should be sorry if the committee desisted from the practice of enabling the boys to emigrate, as a very large proportion of those who had gone out under the auspices of such institutions had done credit to their patrons and to the country that gave them birth. He could wish that emigration amongst girls were more attended to than at present, as it was quite clear that in Canada there was every desire that the system should be encouraged; and as regarded the benefit which the public had the power of conferring upon the country, he verily believed that if they would only come forward with adequate funds they would soon clear the metropolis of nineteen-twentieths of the juvenile delinquents. It was a great and important question, and involved the well-being and security of the country; and he could only express a hope, as he had often done before, that the public would ere long see the absolute necessity of supporting institutions of this nature.

In answer to a question from Mr. Greig,

Mr. WELBY, the Honorary Secretary, said the actual inspection of the school was undertaken by no one but Mr. Tuffnell, who made an annual visit in his official capacity, and occasionally called to satisfy his wishes on the subject; but the Government had such confidence in the management of the Institution that they did not desire to interfere with the responsibilities of the committee.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Driver (the manager and superintendent), and to the chairman.

Criminal Returns for 1857.

The criminal returns for the past year are more than usually interesting, for they include in a very nearly perfect form the police statistics of England and Wales. Formerly the returns showed only the number of commitments; in future all judicial statistics will be given.

The police returns for 1857, which it must be remembered are unavoidably incomplete, give the following results of summary procedure:—Number of persons proceeded against summarily: males, 291,030; females, 78,203. Discharged by justices, 98,795 males; 36,679 females. Convicted, 192,235 males; 41,524 females. Here we have a total of 233,759 persons convicted and punished by summary procedure,—while the commitments for trial during 1857, amounted to only 20,269.—The police returns of summary convictions present some interesting results. The following table shows the characters of the persons who came into their custody:—

Characters.	Proceeded against by Indictment.		Proceeded against Summarily.		Total.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.
Known Thieves ...	5,065	1,496	12,551	3,118	22,108
Prostitutes ...	—	2,484	—	21,798	24,282
Vagrants and Tramps	718	165	18,564	4,893	19,350
Suspicious Characters	6,884	1,245	34,228	5,447	46,804
No known occupations	313	75	4,905	1,621	6,914
Previous good Characters ...	4,958	1,150	107,059	13,398	126,565
Characters unknown and not ascertained	6,524	2,082	117,733	27,968	154,327
Total ...	28,402	8,629	291,030	78,203	401,234

Upon the above large data it appears that of those proceeded against by indictment 54·6 were of the criminal class, 19·1 per cent. of previous good character, and of 26·9 per cent. the characters were either unknown or were not ascertained.

Another interesting return is that of the findings of coroners' juries during 1857. Coroners' inquests were held on 13,941 males and 6,216 females—making a total of 20,157. Of these, 184 were brought in murder; 187 manslaughter; 6 justifiable homicide; 1,349 suicide; 8,930 accidental death; 237 injuries, causes unknown; 2,949 found dead; 823 excessive drinking; 143 disease, aggravated by neglect; 167 want, cold, and exposure; and 5,682 other causes. The above numbers prove a decrease of 2,064 inquests, 9·4 per cent. on the previous year, with which alone the means of comparison exist, as the returns were then compiled for the first time. The diminution is attributed to the greater control which the Quarter Sessions have recently exercised in the disallowance of the costs of inquests which the Court deem to have been unnecessarily held. The periods of life of the persons upon whom the inquests were held, dis-

tinguishing the infant, the adult, and the aged and infirm, were—infants, 7 years and under, 5,496; under 16 and above 7, 1,716; 16 and under 60 years, 9,781; above 60 years, 3,214. The total costs of the inquests in 1857 were 61,541*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*, giving an average of 3*l.* 1*s.* 0*½d.* for each inquest.

The commitments for trial in 1857 happily maintain the largely diminished numbers which followed the passing of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855. But on comparing the commitments of 1857 with 1856, there is, nevertheless, an increase of 832 commitments, or 4·3 per cent. Here are the returns for the past 10 years:—

1848	30,349	1853	27,057
1849	27,816	1854	29,359
1850	26,813	1855	25,972
1851	27,960	1856	19,437
1852	27,510	1857	20,269
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	140,448		122,094

The increase in 1857 has extended over 32 counties, principally in the great seats of manufacture and trade. In the agricultural counties, the results are more mixed. Of the eastern counties, there is an increase in Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk; a small decrease in Essex, and in the Midland counties of Northampton, Bedford, Oxford, and Bucks, as also in Sussex, Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset; but there is an increase in Hants.—In the metropolis, where any change affecting the working population is not so immediately felt, the decrease shown in Middlesex during the two previous years still continues, but not to the same extent,—while in Surrey and Kent, a large proportion of the population of which is located in and on the boundaries of the metropolis, the commitments increased. In Wales there is an increase in seven counties, which is more marked in Glamorganshire; of the border counties an increase is shown in Monmouth and Hereford, which is very large in the former, but a considerable decrease took place in Shropshire. The following table shows the results of the 20,269 commitments in 1857:—

Not prosecuted, and admitted evidence ...	135	
No bills found against	1,004	
Not guilty on trial	3,788	
Acquitted and discharged	<hr/>	4,927
Acquitted on the ground of insanity ...	19	
Found insane	16	
Detained as insane ...	<hr/>	35
Sentenced to death	54	
„ transportation	110	
„ penal servitude	2,473	
„ imprisonment	12,507	
„ whipping, fine, &c.	163	
Convicted	<hr/>	15,307
Total committed ...	<hr/>	20,269

The executions last year were all for murder. Of the 20 persons convicted of this crime 13 were executed, all of whom were men.

The statistics of the ages of those committed in 1857 exhibit a marked decrease of commitments under 16 years of age. The following table shows the countries where those committed were born :

Birthplace.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Proportion per Cent.
England	72,741	24,313	97,054	77·8
Wales	1,942	961	2,903	2·3
Scotland	1,617	782	2,399	1·9
Ireland	11,105	6,962	18,067	14·5
Colonies and East Indies	543	109	652	0·5
Foreign Countries	1,842	174	2,016	1·6
Not ascertained... ..	1,287	445	1,732	1·4
Total	91,077	33,746	124,823	100·0

The degree of instruction was, as usual, extremely small : only 5·1 per cent. of those committed last year were able to read and write well. The proportion was as follows ;—neither read nor write, 35·5 per cent. ; read and write imperfectly, 58·0 ; read and write well, 5·1 ; superior instruction, 0·3 ; not ascertained, 1·1.

The annual increasing proportion of the female commitments is a painful feature of the returns, and is a discouraging sign among some evidences of improvement which the returns present. Of the commitments for trial in 1857, the proportion of females was 21·6 per cent. ; of the summary convictions, 28·3 per cent. ; of the total commitments, 24·3 per cent. But the females form a very much larger proportion of the re-commitments, and prove the greater difficulties in the way of female reformation, after the taint of commitment to prison. With regard to age it appears that crime does not begin so early among women as among men. Under 16 years of age the proportion of females to males is 13·4 per cent. only. In the five years between that age and 21 years the proportion is doubled, being 26·9 per cent. But the largest proportion of women is found between the ages of 21 and 30 years, when it reaches 29·9 per cent. In the whole of the remaining period of life, 30 years and above, the proportion fall to 28·3 per cent. In instruction, too, the women are found to be behind the men : 18·8 per cent. only of those who can read and write well are females, while 30·7 per cent. could neither read nor write.

Under the head of " Prisons " we find that the prisons last year were able to contain 26,022 prisoners, while the greatest number in them at any time was, 23,639, the daily average being 19,009. The punishment inflicted on the prisoners was as follows :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Whipping	237	—	237
Irons or handcuffs	84	25	109
Solitary or dark cells	12,758	2,144	14,902
Stoppage of diet	38,740	6,593	45,333
Other punishment	2,045	156	2,201
Total	53,806	8,918	62,724

The total cost of the prisons last year was 447,004*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*—which gives as the average annual cost of each prisoner 23*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* This excludes the Government prisons, in which the total average annual charge per prisoner was 33*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* This greater charge arises chiefly from the higher scale of remuneration to the officers, and on the dietary and allowances to convicts, which are nearly double the average in the local prisons.

The unprotected and extremely helpless state of the young children committed, led to the establishment of Reformatories, which seem, on the whole, to be working well. These schools, which combine a new form of treatment for juvenile offenders, were established for the purpose of giving legal custody to their directors and superintendents over persons committed within the age of 16 years for any period not less than 2 years nor more than 5 years. The number of these schools continues to increase. They now amount to 40, 12 having been added in the last year. The expenses of this class of prisoners are defrayed from the public revenues at a fixed allowance of 7*s.* per head weekly. They amounted for the year ending the 27th of September 1857 to 20,641*l.* 2*s.*, of which 221*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* was recovered from the parents or step-parents under the provisions of the Reformatory Schools' Act. The total numbers committed to Reformatories during the last four years were:—23,176, 534, and 1,119

Under the head of "Criminal Lunatics," whose commitments are now included in the general "Judicial Statistics," we find that at the commencement of the past year, 586 were under detention, and 131 were committed during the year. The total cost of this class of prisoners in the year was 19,836*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, of which only 1,541*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* was defrayed from the funds of the lunatics or by their friends.

The returns for the past year mark a most important change. Transportation, which has been in operation since the act of parliament of 18 Car. 2, and which authorized Judges either to execute, or to transport for life to America the moss-troopers of Cumberland or Westmorland, was abolished in 1857; for although the power to remove convicts to the penal colonies is reserved, and is applicable to all those sentenced to penal servitude, it does not seem probable that it will be exercised unless in very exceptional cases. For several years the numbers transported to Australia averaged about 4,000; last year they amounted to 461. In 1856, 2,915 convicts were discharged on tickets-of-leave; last year the number was reduced to 933; of these, 926 were discharged from the government prisons, and 7 women from local prisons.

The organization of the police force throughout the kingdom, which was only established in several counties towards the middle of last year, has doubtless been the means of detecting a large amount of crime. The total cost of the police force in 1857 was 1,265,579*l.* 18*s.* The total establishment of permanent paid police was 19,187*l.* of which 6,635 were metropolitan and city of London.

From *The Philanthropist*, of September 4th, we take the following :—

ASSOCIATED FARMS.

1st. FOR DISCHARGED PRISONERS.

2nd. PREVENTIVE OF CRIME.

As might not unnaturally be expected, a variety of suggestions have been forwarded to us as to the mode in which discharged prisoners might effectually be assisted to regain the confidence and character, without which they could scarcely hope to secure employment. Many, previously ignorant of the existence of any societies for such a purpose, seek information as to their operation and success; but all alike seem generally impressed with a feeling that discharged prisoners, though willing to work, having neither character nor money, are very likely soon to fall into old habits, and are objects for special care and humanity, under reasonable restrictions. Almost all the suggestions, however, are such as are more or less carried into effect in the operations of one or other of the societies already existing. There will always, of necessity, be a variety in these operations, regulated by the local circumstances and requirements of each peculiar gaol or house of correction; and we trust that those who are disposed *actively* to enter upon this humane work in their own neighbourhood, or to support the effort by their means and influence, will apply for the reports of the existing societies, and see, by what has already been done, how they themselves may best be of service. One suggestion, however, has a certain degree of novelty in it, and, if practicable, would materially influence the question; at any rate the hint is thrown out that it may be improved upon by the consideration and experience of others.

The suggestion comes from Mr. Gurdon, of Assington Hall, Sudbury, Suffolk, and is to the effect that, as regards the provinces, every county or two counties together, should possess a farm for discharged prisoners generally, somewhat assimilated to the reformatory farms in discipline, but not, of course, restricted to age, where discharged prisoners might imbibe habits of industry and receive good instruction. "Artizans and women could be also employed on the farm—shoe-making, tailoring, and carpentry by the former class, cooking, washing, and serving by the women; and then after a certain time they may be drafted off into other situations, with a character, and money in their pocket." It cannot be denied that a farm for liberated culprits generally, while it might confer a benefit on society at large, and materially reduce the county rates, would yet be beset with many difficulties. Mr. Gurdon, however, thinks these difficulties very far from insurmountable. If the foundation be sound, the superstructure must stand if properly raised. There would be a great necessary variation in the supply of labour, and at one time a sudden influx of hands, at others a corresponding dearth. Spade husbandry is recommended; and the number of cases employed might be both selected and restricted to a certain number, at all events at first, until experience in the working of the system had been required. In

harvest weeks they should all be paid in the same proportion as other farm-labourers, deducting, of course, their lodging and victuals. As regards the possible displacing of parish hands, this, he admits, would be at first a serious difficulty. He suggests that this might be met by having, say 500 acres of heath or woodland, where the population is scanty. It matters little where it is, provided it be near a railway station. Of course the main difficulty of all would be the obtaining the necessary funds. We have elsewhere alluded to this as the besetting bar to progress in dealing with discharged prisoners. We feel it certainly to be *possible*, though perhaps difficult, that, under experienced and practical hands, a farm might be so conducted as nearly, if not quite, to pay its own expenses.

Mr. Gurdon speaks with the experience of a county magistrate who has taken very considerable pains to do what lay in his power to improve the poor around him. He thinks that a very large proportion of prisoners, if not a majority, are agricultural labourers, and with some justice he considers that there is a peculiar blessing attached to cultivators of the soil. We shall feel obliged if some of those gentlemen who are more practically versed in this matter than ourselves will favour us with their opinions as to the feasibility of this scheme, or any similar one which may be grafted upon it.

Mr. Gurdon, after touching upon this subject, submits for our consideration a system of co-operative farming, which should act as preventive to want, and consequently to crime. On this subject we can go fully with Mr. Gurdon, and make no apology for introducing the subject in his own straightforward manner.

He says—"When I came into my property, some forty years ago, I found that all the small holdings of five or ten acres had been swallowed up by the larger farms, and the labourer had no stimulus for bettering himself; in short, the staves had been taken out of his ladder, and he was unable to ascend. I resolved upon giving away 50*l.* annually in my parish, to the best ploughman, the best conducted, &c., &c. I am glad that this plan has now spread over the length and breadth of the land. Allotments followed, all very good in their way, but they did not replace the loss of the little farms. *Meum* and *tuum* could not be understood by the labourer, for whatever his hand fell upon was sure to be *tuum*, and the result was the gaol. Upon a small farm of 100 acres becoming vacant, I called together twenty of the best labourers, and told them that if they would subscribe 2*l.* each, I would lend them 400*l.* without interest to cultivate this farm. I drew up rules and regulations which they agreed to, to the number of thirty. In a few years they paid off the 400*l.* lent, and their shares are now valued at 52*l.* each member. It worked so well, that four years ago I let off another farm of 150 acres upon the same terms. This is also going on admirably, and they have paid me off 200*l.* An old friend of mine, Sir W— F—, was so pleased with it, that he told me he should let a farm of 500 acres upon the same plan. The members would tell you that it is the best scheme that ever was set on foot for the labouring classes. It is also beneficial to the landlord and rate-payer.

"I should mention that out of thirty members there are only about five or six that are *regularly employed* on the farm; the rest are with

other farmers; and the farmers are now glad to get them, as they are sure of honest men; for in case of conviction they would lose their share, which is now worth, as I said, 52*l.* each. I generally attend once a year one of their quarterly meetings, and it is quite pleasing to hear the shrewd remarks these men make. Pray make use of this information if you please, and I have no objection to be referred to for any further particulars."

We here subjoin the agreement and rules under which this co-operative farming is carried on. The thing so entirely commends itself to our judgment, that we shall be glad to find similar plans of mutual farms starting into existence elsewhere. Everything is now being done on a large scale, and by corporate bodies, and we can see no reason why farming should be exempted from the general system of partnership. The present instance is the first which has come under our notice of a farm being conducted by a "Co." The stimulus to industry and economy, as well as to honesty, in this plan of associating labourers for their mutual benefit, the motive it supplies to them for endeavouring to *understand* what they do, and its tendency to promote friendship among them, are no slight steps in the practical education of the labouring classes. Of course it would be impossible to succeed without a capital to commence with, and Mr. Gurdon must have had great faith in his scheme and in his men, and a large amount of benevolence, to lend them the capital required. But the English labourers, as a body, are possessed of much right feeling, steadiness, honesty, and perseverance. They, are however, seldom placed in circumstances to elicit these qualities. Mr. Gurdon evidently understands them, and they him. We can only hope that others to whom God has given means will follow his example, and we shall be much surprised if a general adoption of this or a kindred scheme, do not in a few years make a very sensible diminution in the number of paupers as well as of adult prisoners, and, as a necessary consequence, of the heavy expense at which they are maintained in unions or prisons by the ratepayers.

THE ASSINGTON AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

"He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread."

"Moreover, the profit of the earth is for all; the King himself is served by the field."

AGREEMENT.

I agree to let from Michaelmas, 1853, for my life, to the undermentioned persons, forming themselves into an Agricultural Association, a Farm, called Severals, containing 136 Acres, more or less, for the annual rent of £194, and £3 for each house, upon the following conditions:—That the Society do not diminish their number of 30 members without my approval. That the land be farmed upon the four-course husbandry. That they conduct themselves with propriety, and pay their rent regularly. That every twelve years the land to be re-valued. That all repairs be done by the Association; the Landlord finding rough materials. To insure the premises for £300, and to do one day's carting annually with four horses and two men.
Assington Hall, March 25th, 1853.

JOHN GURDON.

Names of the Members.

J. Marshall, J. Bell, B. Sowman, Sen., *Committee*; B. Sowman, Jun., John Butcher, Charles Green, John Austin, William Butcher, James Finch, William Whymark, Sen., William Whymark, Jun., John Griggs, John Stow, William Butcher, Henry Frost, Walter Pollard, George Farthing, John Chaplin, James Bailey, Daniel Godden, Israel Warner, James Butcher, William Gentry. George Crisell, John Theobald, Philip Butcher, Sen., Philip Butcher, Jun., John Butcher, William Smyth, William Griggs.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. That this Society be denominated the "**ASSINGTON AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION**;" and shall consist of thirty Members, for the purpose of cultivating the aforesaid farm, for their mutual benefit.

2. That a Committee, consisting of three Members, be appointed yearly, by ballot, at Michaelmas, for keeping the accounts, and superintending the cultivation of the Farm.

3. That Four Meetings be held at the houses yearly, viz. the first Tuesday after every Quarter-day, for auditing the accounts, and transacting any business that may be requisite.

4. That the house be let to two Members agreed upon by the Society; that they have the charge of the Live Stock; that one be regularly employed upon the Farm; and that whatever extra labour is required, be arranged by the Committee.

5. That the following Articles be provided by the Committee for the use of the Members; viz. Household Stores of all descriptions, Home-brewed Beer, Milk, Pork, Bacon, Flour, and whatever else may be considered desirable.

6. Any Member convicted of Fraud, or any other crime, to be excluded the Society, with the forfeiture of his share; if refusing to work when called upon, or slighting it, the Committee to find a substitute, to be paid out of the Member's share of profits.

7 Any Member falling into unforeseen difficulties may be advanced a loan upon his share to half its value at five per cent. interest, provided the funds will admit of it, or he may sell his share subject to the Landlord's and Members' approval.

8. The Society is answerable for no debts, except those contracted by the Committee, for the public advantage.

9. Upon the death of a Member, if his share be not disposed of by will, his widow may enjoy it during her widowhood; at her decease or subsequent marriage, the share to be vested in his eldest son if living in the parish; in default of sons, to be sold (subject to the Landlord's approval) for the benefit of daughters or next of kin.

10. If an new Member, upon the purchase of a share, be unable to advance the whole amount, he must be charged five per cent. for such monies in arrears, the Society paying up the price of the share to those entitled to it.

11. Vacancies to be filled up by ballot, upon terms agreed upon by the Members; but those only who are labourers of the parish, and Members of the Stoke and Melford Union Association, to be eligible.

12. Any alterations to these Rules, or new ones added, may be effected, if carried by vote, at either of the Public Meetings, with the sanction of the Landlord, to be entered into the general minute-book.

PRISONS IN IRELAND.

By the 36th report of the Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland for the year 1857, it appears that the large and progressive decrease of crime in Ireland, noted for the last six years, happily continues. Of late years the decrease in male crime had exceeded that in female to an immense extent, but last year an extraordinary change occurred, the decrease in female crime being ten times as great as that in male. This the inspectors conceive to be a most satisfactory fact, for the good conduct of the females of a country is a sure indication of the advance of prosperity, employment, and education. The common Irish offence of vagrancy has largely decreased in both sexes, and the decrease in juvenile crime has been "enormous." 3265 persons were in Gaol on New Year's Day last, against 3419 in 1857. In 1854 the number was 5755; in 1852, 8803; and in 1850, 10,967. 39,666 was the number of committals last year, and the daily average number of prisoners was 32,954. 32,798 convictions took place. The number of debtors imprisoned was 743. The committals represent 32,294 individuals, and the re-committals of females much exceed those of the other sex. The proneness of females to relapse is remarkable as compared with that of the superior sex. This is partly to be accounted for by the "lamentably defective" arrangements of the female wards, and the want of due classification. Out of 31,505 sentences to imprisonments in gaols in Ireland last year, only 3,932 males and 2250 females (less than one-fifth of the whole) were sentenced to longer terms of incarceration than one month, whereas no less than 13,434 males and 11,889 females were under sentences ranging from twenty-four hours to one month, and the average length of duration under sentence for each of these 25,323 prisoners was only ten days and twenty-three hours. Of the 39,666 persons committed, 10,136 read and wrote, 7560 read imperfectly, 2510 knew orthography, 2108 knew the alphabet, and 16,980 were wholly illiterate. The immense majority (34,543 out of the 39,666) were persons of the Romish persuasion, or Papists, and 722 were Presbyterians. There is a slight improvement in the education of the males committed, but with the females the reverse is the case, upwards

of half the sex being grossly illiterate, while only one-seventh of them could read and write respectably. The net expense of gaols in Ireland last year was £77,056, and a regular decrease has taken place since 1849, when it amounted to £128,630. The expenditure on bridewells was £31,404. The state of these latter is most reprehensible; there appears to have been utter neglect, and the conduct of the magistracy in committing them for illegal periods ought to awaken the attention of the Irish Executive. An immense appendix, abounding in tabular statements, fills up the bulk of the blue-book before us, but the object of printing so much useless matter at the public expense does not appear. It will certainly not be read by the most greedy devourer of parliamentary literature.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

As Reformatories are now being established in Ireland, the cost of such institutions becomes a matter of interest and importance. Through the kindness of Miss Carpenter, and of Mr. Joseph Adshead of Manchester, we are enabled to present two very valuable communications on this subject. The first refers to the cost of American Reformatories. The second is Mr. Adshead's paper on the Comparative Economy of the Reformatory and Ragged Schools of England, read in the Punishment and Reformation Section of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Liverpool, Thursday, Oct. 14, 1858. The letter of Mr. Israel Russell, of the House of Refuge, New York, to Miss Carpenter, is as follows :—

*City Office,
House of Refuge, 516 Broadway,
New York, Jan. 5th, 1858.*

Miss Mary Carpenter,
Respected Madam,

I take the liberty by a good opportunity to forward a package of pamphlets and papers in response to a circular I received a few months ago, containing several queries regarding Prisons and Reformatories in this country, and requesting replies from any one enabled to give them in reference to these subjects. In the first place, however, I beg to say I send you the proceedings of the First Convention of Managers and Superintendents of Houses of Refuge and Schools of Reform in the United States of America, held in this city in May last.

The House of Refuge on Randall Island, New York, the first House established in this country, although receiving appropriations from both the State and City Governments, is the only institution exclusively managed by private citizens, on the voluntary principle. It is what is termed a close corporation, the members of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, who have charge of the Refuge, annually electing a board of managers from its own body, have always been gentlemen of the highest character for intelligence, of sound conservative views, and of practical business habits. They make their regular annual reports, both to the State and City Governments, and what can be said of but few institutions in the long period of its existence, now thirty four years, not the slightest doubt has ever been expressed by either State or City as to its judicious management, or a moment's hesitation in making the necessary appropriations for its annual support. The best evidence that can be given of its good management is :—the board of managers have frequently offered to make it over to the care of the State, but they have

invariably declined to assume the care of it, satisfied it would not be as economically managed, or as strict discipline maintained, under State appointments. It will be seen by looking at the different columns in everything relating to its cost, the figures are the lowest, except in one instance, and in its receipts for labour, &c., it is the highest, showing the lowest actual net cost per annum of each inmate. Without wishing to boast of our method, we can say our accounts are kept with the precision of any regular mercantile establishment.

The gentleman, the Chairman of the Statistic Committee, who prepared the tables from the printed forms which had been distributed by our Committee of arrangements, and sent to the several institutions in the country, has done it with great care and fidelity, and given all the facts which were stated in their returns. The results are the tables in the proceedings of the Convention.

You will perceive a very wide difference in the cost of them. Many of the new institutions can scarcely be said to be fairly in operation, and we therefore have reason to believe they will profit by the information thus brought together by this convention. At the same time, some of those entirely under State control, show that they are expensively managed. This, however, does not effect the character or beneficial effects of the system, as it is only the fault of the State Legislatures who permit it, by allowing too many high salaried officers to manage them. In examining the Table of Statistics, page 89 of Convention proceedings, the average cost of the whole per Capita for 1856, is 97·33 dollars. The average cost of the New York house alone, for 1856, is 85·05 dollars, without deducting the earnings, which amounted to 28·96 $\frac{5}{8}$ dollars, each inmate. Deduct this from the cost 85·05 dollars, leaves the actual cost at 56·08 $\frac{1}{8}$ dollars—which is the lowest cost of any of the institutions in this country. There is another view I will present of this matter, and it is only of our own house to which I will make any allusion. Our present location was a munificent gift of the corporation of our city of nearly forty acres of land in Randall Island, in exchange for ten acres we owned on the adjoining (Ward's) island, for which we paid 15,000 dollars—the savings of the Society, in the course of a few years, by economy and good management. The State then appropriated means to enable us to erect buildings to accommodate one thousand children, with a complete system of classification. They have already appropriated and paid us 186,000 dollars for this purpose, and we are going before the Legislature now in session, to ask them for 75,000 dollars more, to complete our buildings on the original plan proposed. In making a sea wall around the island bounding our premises, we reclaimed and added to our land two or more acres. The island was rough—a great deal rock and marshy wet ground, which, when we commenced to occupy our new buildings, three years ago, appeared like waste land, and would be of little or no use to us. It has, however, proved far otherwise. This forbidding and unprofitable looking portion of our premises, has been turned to most valuable account, in the employment of our larger class of boys, whom no kindness or discipline can reform, for we are sorry to say we have

some of this class always with us ; but not more in proportion than may be found in the same number of any other class of children in grades of good, bad, and those with more vicious or evil propensities. Many of our large boys, having been suffered to indulge in their bad habits too long, their reformation cannot be thoroughly accomplished before it is time under our system to bind them out to farmers or mechanics in the country. They frequently leave their places, and soon find their way back to their old haunts in the city, and are returned to us, in a short time, through the police, and different courts.

With this class of boys from seventeen to twenty years of age, we have had on an average from twenty to twenty-five constantly employed in suitable working weather and, in the three years we have occupied these buildings, at least three acres of what we thought worthless land, has been brought to a high state of cultivation, and large quantities of potatoes and garden vegetables have been raised for the use of the establishment during the past year. This has saved an outlay for the articles thus produced, and is therefore an item of revenue earned by these large boys, whose labor while thus employed it would be fair to estimate at from 50 to 75 cents per day, the wages of men who would do no more than these boys. The same with the boys in the tailor's shop and shoe shop, who make all the clothes and shoes for the whole establishment. The same may be said with regard to the girls who do all the washing, making and repairing garments for the whole establishment. If we had to pay for these expenditures it would make a large outlay, which is thus saved to the Institution. If the calculation of what the labor of these boys and girls would produce, if contracted for at their true value, as the other smaller children are to shoemaking, chair-making, and wire weaving, at 10 and 12 per day, and credited to our earnings account, it would reduce our net cost to nearly or about 40 dols. per annum. There is one thing in the statistical table which may tend to mislead unless explained, it is the different dates of the returns. For instance the report of our house is dated 1st May 1857, when it is the actual statistics of its affair from the 1st January to 31st December 1856, showing the number received, and the number disposed of, leaving 477 inmates in the house 31st December 1856. The other Institutions are made up in the same way, but their statistics show the operation for one year precisely.

Our house opened the first day of 1858, with a larger family than we however had before, viz. 577 boys, and 70 girls, a total of 647. Last year at same date 477, being an increase of 170 inmates. Our revenue from labor of the boys contracted for, amounts to about 13,000 dollars, and would have been over 14,000 dollars, but for the monetary revulsion which reached our establishment as it has all others. The total number of inmates received in the house since its opening in 1825, is 7336 ; our annual report will be published in the course of two or three weeks when I will forward one. In the mean time I forward by a gentleman from Staffordshire, the package alluded to before, who has promised to forward it, one is the 7th Annual Report of our house, a copy of our charter and other laws since passed,

our Bye-Laws revised in 1854, but only with slight modification from those adopted in 1826, and in use ever since ; a newspaper printed in November 1846, containing a memorial of the N.Y. Prison Association, to the Common Council for the establishment of a work-house which they were authorized by their charter to erect, it being the first movement in this City for that object ; attached to this memorial written more than eleven years ago, are some valuable statistics, which were collected at that time with the above object in view, as to the cost of support of prisoners and inmates of our houses of Refuge, of which there were but three at that day. Our House of Refuge then cost but 54.33 dollars per annum each inmate, from which was to be deducted their earnings of 16.5 $\frac{1}{4}$ dollars each, leaving the net cost at 38.37 $\frac{1}{4}$ dollars each per annum. This was owing to the low price of flour, beef, potatoes, and other articles of living, and the lower wages of the employers, all which it is well known, have since been at extravagant rates, and have materially advanced the cost of supporting every kind of public institution. But the late revulsion in monetary affairs will doubtless reduce the cost again to reasonable amounts. You will also find the 11th and 12th annual reports in one pamphlet of the New York Prison Association, with which I have been connected from its organization in 1844. We have an excellent and devoted agent, an Englishman, whose heart is in the work ; the support of this is entirely by voluntary subscriptions, and, as it is not a very popular object, it is hard work to raise much money for its support ; you will however see some valuable statistics in this also.

I have thought by addressing this package it would be most likely to reach the destination intended, and I trust you will pardon me for sending you more statistics than anything else worthy of notice.

I am very respectfully,

ISRAEL RUSSELL.

Showing the net Cost of each Inmate in the different Institutions, taken from the Reports rendered to the Convention May 12, 1857.

REPORTS OF INSTITUTIONS, 1856.	Number of Inmates.	Amount of Salaries Paid.		Proportion of expense of each Inmate paid to Care- takers, &c.		Total Cost per Annum.		Amount of earnings per Annum.		Cost of each Inmate per Annum.		Earnings of each Inmate per Annum.		Net Cost of each Inmate per Annum.	
		Dola.	Centa.	Dola.	Centa.	Dola.	Centa.	Dola.	Centa.	Dola.	Centa.	Dola.	Centa.	Dola.	Centa.
32nd Annual Report, New York, ...	B. & G. 477	9,119	51	19	11	42,005	73	13,414	06	86	05	28	96	56	08
29th " Philadelphia White Department, ...	Do. 244	5,886	86	24	12	27,068	32	2,429	49	95	18	9	95	85	28
29th " Colored Department, ...	Do. 123	3,098	00	25	10	11,012	32	2,606	73	87	41	21	19	66	22
10th " State Reform School, Westboro', Mass., ...	B. 545	10,673	86	19	58	47,393	93	7,794	07	83	32	14	30	69	02
8th " Report, Rochester, N. Y., ...	B. 330	8,345	60	25	20	31,500	00	12,000	00	96	00	36	36	89	64
6th " Cincinnati, Ohio, ...	B. & G. 278	6,910	00	30	30	26,279	38	2,137	38	122	00	9	37	112	63
6th " Providence, R. J., ...	B. & G. 143	3,859	00	26	10	15,345	72	2,559	06	91	00	17	89	73	11
3rd " Pittsburgh, Penn., ...	B. & G. 182	6,190	00	32	34	13,500	00	4,863	62	115	00	25	33	89	67
3rd " Cape Elizabeth, Maine, ...	B. 208	4,932	00	23	71	24,601	47	2,665	00	90	00	13	79	76	21
10th " New Orleans, Louisiana, ...	B. & G. 200	5,500	00	27	50	18,000	00	1,200	00	90	00	6	00	84	00
3rd " St. Louis, Missouri, ...	B. & G. 121	4,968	26	41	08	16,282	00	4,684	54	119	00	38	71	80	29
6th " West Meriden, Conn't., ...	B. 170	4,432	96	26	07	14,000	00	1,435	28	94	00	8	43	85	57
House of Reformation, S. Boston, ...	B. 158	360	00	8	6	Not stated.		1,500	00	90	00	9	49	80	51*
Boston Asylum and Farm School, at Thompson Island, ...	B. 100	2,300	00	22	00	Not stated.		Nothing but		90	00	Nothing.		90	00*
1st Report State in School at Lancaster, Mass., ...	G. 76	3,900	00	51	31	13,000		No income				Nothing.		Of Actual	
								from labor.				cost no report			
1st Report Chicago Reform School, State of Illinois, ...	B. 67	2,272	00	33	91	3605	07	No income				Nothing.		109	24†
6th Annual Report, Baltimore House of Refuge, Maryland, for 13 months opened, ...	B. & G. 148	3,576	00	24	16	19,211	00	No income				Nothing.		100	00†

It will be seen by this table there is a great difference in the cost of supporting inmates in these several institutions. This, in a great measure, is owing to the different modes of management. By referring to the Report of the Committee on Statistics, in the proceedings of the Convention, page 83, on the third page of Table A, it will be noticed whence they derive their support. The most of them are from State or City Government. If, by the State, the Legislature has the appointment of managers; if, by the city councils, and private contributors, they are managed by representatives from each body; or, if they derive their support from the city, county, or town only, they have the management as they please to direct.

* These two institutions are always limited in number.

† These three institutions, but recently organized and just commenced operations, their Reports do not yet show any earnings.

To those interested in the history of American Reformatories we recommend a paper entitled, *American Reformatory Institutions*, printed in the twenty-eighth number of this REVIEW. Mr. Adshead's paper, on the cost of English Reformatories, is as follows :—

Reformatories and Ragged and Industrial Schools have at length become national institutions, and are now recognised and carried on under parliamentary sanction and minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Each year's experience gives an increased understanding of the question, "What is to be done with the dangerous and vagrant classes?" A large number of young persons also, for whom no suitable provision had formerly been made, are now brought within the range of Ragged and Industrial Schools' Regulations.

An enlarged development of the various agencies now in operation cannot fail in time to a diminishing of the number of our criminal classes—Reformatories and Industrial Schools being essentially preventive institutions.

It has been a subject of common observation, that the youthful criminal almost inevitably becomes an old and hardened offender. There is a criminal community within our population, acting as by natural laws, altogether antagonistic to well-ordered society.

It has been generally considered by jurists, that there is but little hope of reclaiming the hardened adult transgressor, whose very element of existence is dissipation, profligacy, and crime. How is the swelling current to be diminished in its volume and to be narrowed in its course? How is the sapling to be made to yield before it becomes the stubborn plant.

Our Reformatories and Industrial Schools are pre-eminently adapted to check the current of crime at its source; to bend the young sapling, and to train it to bring forth the fruits of industry and good conduct, instead of the noxious fruits of infamy and vice.

I have a lively recollection of the feeling of concern manifested upon the question of Houses of Refuge and Reformatories and entertained by benevolent minds, twenty years ago. I had visited the Houses of Refuge in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and other parts of the United States, and had followed somewhat in the track of the late estimable William Crawford, the inspector of prisons for the home district, and the inquiry then was—"What can be done to establish similar institutions in this country?" Parkhurst was the result of that consideration, as an experimental institution, promoted mainly by Mr. Crawford, in conjunction with the late Rev. Whitworth Russell, and (the then Captain) now Colonel Jebb. The work comparatively slumbered, so far as to practical results, for some years.

The old Philanthropic Society, in St. George's Fields, London, was doing in a limited degree the work of reformation of juvenile delinquents; but youthful criminality kept annually increasing, and no salutary and renovating antidote was provided to arrest the moral malady.

A problem had to be solved; the subject had to be fully grappled with; benevolent minds gave themselves to the consideration of the question, and there will, I think, be but one opinion, that the interesting proceedings of the Birmingham Conference of 1851, with also the important inquiries instituted by the Parliamentary Committee of 1852, upon juvenile delinquency and neglected and vagrant children, gave a new and increased impulse and direction to those feelings of benevolent solicitude which had been cherished for the adoption and carrying out of plans for youthful reclamation.

The 17th & 18th Vict. cap. 86, of 1854, was the first general legislative enactment passed for the general advancement of Reformatory establishments, and which so importantly supplemented voluntary and benevolent efforts, and placed the institutions certified under its provisions upon a satisfactory basis.

It could scarcely be expected that in the first formation of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, there should be at once a completeness in their general economy. Bands of benevolent individuals determined upon establishing these preventive institutions. Funds had to be raised, buildings to be provided, suitable supervision and management to be procured, and thus the managers or boards would have gradually to feel their way, and by degrees to establish more efficiently their principles of action in carrying on these institutions; nor could a uniform principle of action be well adopted, as is evident—place and circumstance having their influence upon economical results.

As, however, there is now a number of institutions, reformatory, and industrial, established, and which have the advantage of becoming acquainted with each other's operations, it may therefore not be unprofitable to make some inquiry into their general proceedings, or rather to make a few contrasts as to the comparative economy of several of the leading Reformatories, and also in relation to several Ragged Industrial Feeding Schools. Such inquiries may present views upon some points as to what to avoid, what to correct, or what to adopt—it being a most important element in the practical working of the institutions under review, to accomplish the largest amount of good at the smallest amount of cost, compatible with efficient working.

To develop more fully the subject of this paper, I propose to direct attention to the following topics in relation to Reformatories and Ragged Schools:—Their sources of income; expenditure for supervision; maintenance, and industrial results—with some suggestions and general reflections; and be it to the honour of our country, that so large an amount of benevolent and voluntary agency is employed in working out the salutary results of these institutions. To this voluntary supervising agency may be ascribed that large measure of success which has attended the means employed—a sympathy not purchaseable by money. Enlisted amongst those who have taken a foremost part in the promotion of such institutions are to be found peers of the realm, members of parliament, clergymen, ministers of religion of various denominations, the various classes of professional men, merchants, and other sections of the community; not passing by the devoted labours of many ladies, who have most earnestly

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It could scarcely be expected that in the first formation of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, there should be at once a completeness in their general economy. Bands of benevolent individuals determined upon establishing these preventive institutions. Funds had to be raised, buildings to be provided, suitable supervision and management to be procured, and thus the managers or boards would have gradually to feel their way, and by degrees to establish more efficiently their principles of action in carrying on these institutions; nor could a uniform principle of action be well adopted, as is evident—place and circumstance having their influence upon economical results.

As, however, there is now a number of institutions, reformatory, and industrial, established, and which have the advantage of becoming acquainted with each other's operations, it may therefore not be unprofitable to make some inquiry into their general proceedings, or rather to make a few contrasts as to the comparative economy of several of the leading Reformatories, and also in relation to several Ragged Industrial Feeding Schools. Such inquiries may present views upon some points as to what to avoid, what to correct, or what to adopt—it being a most important element in the practical working of the institutions under review, to accomplish the largest amount of good at the smallest amount of cost, compatible with efficient working.

To develop more fully the subject of this paper, I propose to direct attention to the following topics in relation to Reformatories and Ragged Schools:—Their sources of income; expenditure for supervision; maintenance, and industrial results—with some suggestions and general reflections; and be it to the honour of our country, that so large an amount of benevolent and voluntary agency is employed in working out the salutary results of these institutions. To this voluntary supervising agency may be ascribed that large measure of success which has attended the means employed—a sympathy not purchasable by money. Enlisted amongst those who have taken a foremost part in the promotion of such institutions are to be found peers of the realm, members of parliament, clergymen, ministers of religion of various denominations, the various classes of professional men, merchants, and other sections of the community; not passing by the devoted labours of many ladies, who have most earnestly

aided in the good work ;—all these marking with benevolent concern the welfare of the institutions under notice, and uniting for their promotion and advancement.

Important results must attend such powerful and influential combinations.

With those who take a practical part in the working of Reformatory Institutions, expenditure is a natural subject of inquiry. What the cost per head of each inmate? What the amount per annum for superintendence, &c.? What towards self-support by labour results?

Such information can only be obtained by a reference to the published reports of the institutions; with some of these documents it is not easy to come to a satisfactory conclusion. Regarding several establishments, inquiry is stopped at the very threshold—no average number being given of attendance through the year; and the various kinds of outlay are so mixed up, that distinctive classes of expenditure cannot be clearly defined for comparison with the expenditure of other institutions. Some of the annual accounts end in March, others in June, others at the end of the year. It would be highly desirable could a uniform system be adopted in the classification of the various kinds of expenditure, with the average number of attendances through the year. By these means, comparisons could be readily made as to the economical working of the institutions. Out of about eighty reports before me, not one-third have furnished their annual statements in a manner to enable the writer to obtain information as to the cost per head of the inmates, of the respective Reformatories.

There is, however, sufficient information contained in the periodical reports of some of the institutions to indicate their comparative economy.

The Red Hill Institution appears to present itself as the starting point. Since its altered constitution in 1850, it has become essentially a Reformatory establishment—is considered the Anglo-Mettray, has received unequalled patronage and support—and has had the advantage of the lengthened experience of its late resident chaplain and superintendent, the Rev. S. Turner.

Red Hill is presented to the public attention as the model Reformatory establishment. On this ground, and from its general operations, it is natural that it should come more especially under review, and from which important information should be obtainable for the guidance of the inexperienced as to the necessary outlay or expenditure in the commencing and also in the carrying on of similar institutions.

The classes of expenditure, for simplicity of arrangement, are brought out under the following heads :—Salaries, house incidentals, provisions, clothing, and miscellaneous charges. These respective items will indicate the *pro rata* charge per head—a plan adopted with much clearness in the Kingswood Reformatory report.

For this purpose, it is proposed to notice the following ten Institutions :—

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Red Hill, Reigate. | 7. Kingswood, Bristol. |
| 2. Glasgow Reformatory. | 8. North Eastern, Newcastle-on-Tyne. |
| 3. Home in the East, London. | 9. Akbar Ship, Liverpool. |
| 4. Castle Howard, near York. | 10. Red Lodge (Girls), Bristol. |
| 5. Hardwicke, Gloucester. | |
| 6. Hampshire Reformatory. | |

The ordinary receipts and expenditure only are supplied. No particulars in details of farming or manufacturing operations are given, but credit for profit from labour when shown in the account.

To preserve the text of this paper in some degree of consecutive order without the interference of statistical and financial data, in the following ten Reformatories I have only presented the total net cost per inmate, and must refer for the particular classification of items of receipts and expenditure to note A, in which will be found the abstracts of annual statements, and also miscellaneous receipts and expenditure *in detail*—these furnishing an approximate view sufficiently near to indicate the comparative charges under similar headings, by which their economical relations may be readily contrasted. One example only, as an illustration of the classified form.

Red Hill Reformatory, Report, 1858. Average attendance in 1857, 277 boys.

ORDINARY RECEIPTS.

				Per head per annum.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions and donations*	433	18	11	1	11	3
Government grant for maintenance and emigration.....	7813	3	4	28	4	1
County Association.....	295	16	1	—		
Parents and friends of inmates.....	173	1	0	0	12	3
Cr. " Surplus of Farm, &c.".....	274	16	1	0	19	10

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House incidentals.....	994	6	3	3	11	5
Salaries, wages, and provisions.....	4429	14	0	16	6	3
Clothing, washing and sewing.....	867	11	0	3	2	8
Miscellaneous charges.....	951	11	11	3	8	9

Net cost, £25 4s. 10d. per annum, or 9s. 8d. per week.

Provision was also made this year (1857) by the Redhill Reformatory for the emigration of 66 boys, at a cost of £1374 5s. 6d. or £20 16s. 4d. per head. £147 9s. 3d. was also expended in apprenticing lads, but no number is given.

* This amount does not fairly indicate the average amount of subscriptions and donations. The two previous years they were as follows:—1855, £659 2s. 9d. 1856, annual subscriptions and donations less expenses of public dinner; &c. £1585 19s. 5d. The report for 1857, refers to the very liberal donations of £1000 per William Gladstone, Esq., the respected treasurer of the institution, for the erection of another house for 40 inmates, upon the Mettray family principle.

- No. 1. Red Lodge Bristol Reformatory. Report, 1857. Average attendance, 1856—56 girls. Net cost per head per annum, £14 5s. 9d., or 5s. 8d. per week.
- No. 2. Glasgow Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—382 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £15 8s. 9d. or 5s. 11d. per week.
- No. 3. Hampshire Reformatory. Report, 1856. Average attendance, 1857—35 boys. Net cost per head per annum £19 5s. 2d. or 7s. 3d. per week.
- No. 4. Hardwicks (Gloucester) Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—35 boys. Net cost per head per annum. £20 14s. 3d.
- No. 5. Home in the East London. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—47 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £21 11s. 6d. or 8s. 3d. per week.
- No. 6. The School Frigate, "Akbar" Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1858—95 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £23 5s. 8d., or 9s. 1d. per week.
- No. 7. North Eastern Reformatory, Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—64 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £23 6s. 10d. or 9s. 1d. per week.
- No. 8. Kingswood (Bristol) Reformatory, Report, 1857. Average attendance, 1856—47 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £23 17s. 8d., or 9s. 2d. per week, deducting labour.
- No. 9. Red Hill Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1857—277 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £25 4s. 10d. or 9s. 8d. per week.
- No. 10. Castle Howard Reformatory. Report, 1858. Average attendance, 1856-7, 35 boys. Net cost per head per annum, £25 6s. 3d., or 9s. 8d. per week.

The foregoing statement are the briefest references that could be given in showing the cost per head results of the ten Reformatories. The classified statement of the receipts and expenditure, with the miscellaneous details as shown in note A. will not be considered altogether as a perfect index of the nature of the entire working of the reformatory system. The accounts in the manner there supplied are the first which have been furnished in a collected and tabulated form, and are given more *as examples*, and as to *their extent*, as an approximation to what may be deemed as the result of reformatory operations, and which may be briefly commented upon under various heads commencing with

SOURCES OF INCOME.—SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

Hardwicke, 32l. 13s.; Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory, 160l. 15s.; Kingswood Bristol Reformatory, 206l. 11s.; Home in the East. 409l. 17s. 11d.; Red Hill, 433l. 8s. 11d.; Hampshire, 502l. 14s.; Castle Howard, 538l. 8s. 3d.; Eastern Sunderland. 632l. 15s. 7d.; Akbar School Frigate, 1163l. 0s. 6d.; total, 4080l. 4s. 2d.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS PRO RATA PER HEAD FOR THE YEAR, AVERAGING AS UNDER.

	Per head		Per head
	Boys. for the Year.		Boys. for the Year.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Glasgow, 382	nil	North Eastern, 64	6 15 3
Hardwicke, 35	0 18 8	Home in the East, 47	8 14 0
Red Hill, 277	1 11 3	Akbar ship, 95	12 4 10
Red Lodge Girls, 56	2 17 5	Hampshire, 35	14 7 3
Kingswood, 47	4 7 10	Castle Howard, 35	15 16 6

It will be perceived there is considerable difference in the amounts received, the lowest being at the rate of 18s. 8d. per head, the highest, 15l. 16s. 6d. per head. The sum total of subscriptions and donations for the ten Reformatories is 4080l. 4s. 2d. or at the average rate of 3l. 16s. 1d. per head per annum, for 1075 inmates, as indicated in the table.

It may be urged that taking the reports for one year is scarcely a fair criterion as to the amount of benevolent contributions to the respective institutions noticed; but it will be admitted that the year quoted is as fair for one institution as another; and the same objection might be urged against the selection of any particular year. The principle adopted has been to give a transcript of the receipts and expenditure of the latest reports obtainable, whatever results they might show, either favourable or otherwise.

SOURCES OF INCOME.—THE TREASURY—THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

From the Treasury.—Home in the East, 205l. 3s. 7d.; Hardwicke, 631l. 9s. 3d.; North Eastern, 1121l. 15s.; Hampshire, 438l. 19s. 3d.; Kingswood, 838l. 15s. 1d.; Akbar, Liverpool, 1995l. 2s. 9d.; Castle Howard, 627l. 11s. 9d.; Red Lodge, 874l. 10s.; Glasgow Reformatory, 4988l. 8s. 5d.; Red hill, 7813l. 3s. 4d.

From the Committee of Privy Council on education.—Hardwicke, 61l. 11s. 2d.; Castle Howard, 95l. 17s. 11d.; Home in the East, 322l. 9s. 3d.; Red Lodge, 76l. 6s. 8d.; Kingswood, 98l. 2s.; Glasgow Reformatory, 1792l. 16s.; North Eastern, 95l.; Akbar Ship, 273l. 7s. 6d.

TOTAL SUMS received from "The Treasury" and Committee of Privy Council on Education.

	Per head		Per head
	Boys. for the Year.		Boys. for the Year.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Home in the East, 47	11 14 3	Kingswood, 47	19 18 4
Hampshire Reformatory, 35	12 10 0	Castle Howard, 35	20 13 6
Red Lodge Girls, 56	16 9 4	North Eastern, 64	20 16 3
Glasgow, 382	17 14 2	Akbar Ship, 95	23 17 5
Hardwicke, 35	19 15 7	Red Hill, 277	28 4 1

The Treasury allowance is the main element of support to the Reformatory system, and very properly so. It could never be expected that both the cost and the supervision of the youthful delinquents of the country were to be thrown upon the voluntary contributions and the voluntary agency of the benevolent portions of the community. Voluntary benevolence commenced, and has largely carried out, the long-needed operations of our Reformatory Institutions, and the Legislature both timely and wisely supplement their benevolent effort by the provisions of the 17 & 18 Vict. cap. 86, under the power of which 7*s.* per week per inmate, or 18*l.* 4*s.* per annum, is paid by the State to duly-certified Reformatories.

The amount furnished by the government to the ten Reformatories was 19,534*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, or at the rate of 18*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per institution, (or a very near approximation in the average number of the treasury allowance), and 2815*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* per head, from the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, making a total amount of 22,349*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, or 20*l.* 16*s.* per head per annum. There is a great disparity in the amounts received from the sources referred to. The lowest amount received from the Treasury is 4*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, ranging to 28*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per head per annum.

There are those who refer disparagingly to the operations of voluntary benevolence, because it has not been enabled to afford entire support to the preventative institutions under review. Without entering upon the general question, as to what voluntary effort should do, or what may be considered as not coming within the scope of its operations, it might as well be expected that voluntary effort should supply the means to provide for the police of the country, or for the sustentation of our Gaols. Reformatories are places of detention for youthful criminal; but their *regime* and discipline are better adapted than those of our Gaols to accomplish *the true intent* of salutary punitive treatment, viz.—the reclamation of the offender; and happily, under the Reformatory system, there is a combination of influences peculiarly suited to the attainment of that object, which our common gaol system does not and cannot supply.

There is another subject, under the head of “receipts,” to which reference may be made. It is the quota contributed by parents of inmates of Reformatories, which appear under two classifications—voluntary and compulsory.

PARENTS AND FRIENDS.

Red Hill, Reigate	...	...	...	...	£173	0	0
Home in the East	...	...	...	...	...	84	9 6
Hampshire	...	...	...	...	...	39	2 0
Kingswood	...	...	...	...	...	11	2 4
North Eastern	...	...	...	...	...	1	13 6
Red Lodge	...	...	...	...	...	18	1 9
					<hr/>		
					£397		9 1

PARENTS BY COMPULSORY PAYMENTS.

Red Lodge, per H. M., Inspector of Reformatories,.....	£44	7	0
Akbar Ship School, per magistrates' order,.....	35	2	6
<hr/>			
£79			9 6

Or a total of 406*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, being, upon the entire number 1075, an average ratio of 7*s.* 7*d.* per head per annum, or less than 2*d.* per week.

The enforcement of parental obligations to support their own offspring is one of the most important elements in carrying out the Reformatory system; and it is to be regretted that the pecuniary results of that enforcement, as shown above, are so excessively diminutive. There are profligate and abandoned parents (as may not be unfrequently seen by the police reports in the public prints), that appear to claim a right to send their neglected children to Reformatory institutions; and it will well become the executive boards of managers of Reformatories to aid in every possible way the rigid enforcement of the following clause, in the 17 & 18 Vict. cap. 87, sec. 2, which runs as follows:—

“In every case in which any juvenile offender shall be detained in a Reformatory School, under the said Act, the parent or step-parent, if of sufficient ability, shall be liable to contribute to his support and maintenance, a sum not exceeding five shillings a week; and it shall be lawful in England and Wales for any two justices of the peace, upon the complaint of any person authorized by one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to take proceedings in that behalf, to summon the parent or step-parent, as the case may be, and examine into his or her ability, and (if, on consideration of all the circumstances of the case, they think fit), to make an order on him or her for such weekly payment, not exceeding five shillings per week, as they think reasonable, during the whole or any part of the detention of such juvenile offender in such Reformatory School; such payment to be made at such times as by such order may be directed, to the person so authorized to take proceedings as aforesaid; or to such person as the Secretary of State may, from time to time, appoint to receive the same; and by him to be accounted for and paid as the Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury may direct.”

In the return made to the House of Commons, there is shown the amounts compulsorily received by weekly payments, from the parents of Reformatory inmates, by Mr. Turner, the Reformatory Inspector, and previously by Mr. Morgan, of Birmingham:—

Number of parents against whom authority has been taken for proceeding, from 31st March, 1857, ending 31st March, 1858.	...	...	...	...	...	605
Number of such parents under contribution the 31st March, 1858.	...	...	...	...	...	292
Amount of contributions received during the twelve months, ending March 31st	...	...	...	...	...	£629 12 8

Of the 605 persons against whom proceedings were authorized, 16 resided in London, 106 in Manchester, 47 in Birmingham, 24 in Leeds, 15 in Newcastle, 14 in Hull, and the remainder, in Sheffield, Bolton, Huddersfield, Ashton, Stalybridge, Coventry, Bedford, Norwich, Bristol, Falmouth, &c.; in all, 53 places.

The amount received is 629*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, at the rate of 5*d.* per week per head.

It is not so much the large amount (although profligate parents should not be spared), obtainable from the parents, as its being extensively known amongst the dissolute class, that they are not, with impunity, to cast their children upon the public without being liable for their support—that either to pay or go to prison is before them.

This, determinedly carried out, may have a deterring influence.

The items of expenditure, under the various classifications shown in the statements given, will not fail to receive attention. A discreet economy should pervade all institutions such as those under notice; but no specific rule can be laid down. There are general charges which are more or less incidental to locality and circumstance; but in the “maintenance” economy much depends upon the governor or matron of the institution, as to a due regard to economise, both as to the purchase and consumption of the articles for maintenance. In the expenditure, “provisions” form a prominent feature, and under this head, there will also be a considerable diversity in the amounts; but as some institutions board portions (or it may be the whole) of their officers and staffs, thus lessening in amount the salaries and wages’ ratios, and proportionably increasing the “provisions” expenses, it is, therefore, deemed more fair to take under a distinct head, these two-fold classes of expenditure, showing, at the same time, the relative ratios of each kind of expenditure of each respective institution:—

SALARIES, WAGES, AND PROVISIONS.

NAMES.	No. of Boys	Salaries and Wages.		Per Head, for the Year.	Provisions.		Per Head, for the Year.	Totals, for Salaries, Wages, and Provisions.		Per Head, for the Year.									
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.								
Glasgow Reformatory . . .	382	799	15	0	2	7	2169	14	4	5	11	2265	4	7	7	6			
Red Lodge, Bristol (Girls) .	56	155	16	6	2	15	7	312	10	6	5	11	7	463	7	0	8	2	
Hampshire, Bristol	35	236	6	0	6	7	7	193	13	6	5	10	6	429	19	6	11	13	1
Hardwicke, Gloucester . . .	35	107	0	0	3	1	3	318	19	2	9	1	11	425	9	2	12	3	0
Kingswood, Bristol	47	285	1	0	6	1	4	379	9	5	8	1	4	665	10	5	14	2	3
Home in the East, London .	47	408	17	11	8	14	0	320	16	8	6	16	6	729	14	7	15	10	6
North-Eastern, Newcastle-on-Tyne	64	441	17	5	6	17	11	578	17	1	9	0	9	1020	5	3	15	18	8
Red Hill, Reigate	277	1187	5	0	4	5	0	3342	9	2	12	1	3	4529	14	2	16	6	3
Akbar Frigate, Liverpool . .	95	711	18	2	7	9	10	899	12	3	9	9	4	1611	10	5	16	19	2
Castle Howard, near York .	35	261	15	4	7	9	7	342	3	5	9	15	6	503	18	9	17	5	0

The preceding table, it will be perceived, ranges, for salaries and wages and provisions from 7*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* to 17*l.* 5*s.* per head per inmate: the Glasgow Reformatory, an old-established one (1838), with its large number of 382; and the Castle Howard Reformatory, of recent establishment (1855), with only 35 inmates.

PROFIT FOR LABOUR.

A brief notice only need be taken of this item. The following are the results, as drawn from the respective reports; and as there is somewhat of perplexity in defining, with distinctness, the labour profit of the field and the workshop, the following must be considered about as near an approximation as can be gathered from the state-

ments furnished. The reports of succeeding years, it is hoped, will furnish these labour results with more clearness. The following are the amounts for the year of the respective institutions :—

Kingswood, 7*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* ; Castle Howard, 10*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* ; Hampshire, 13*l.* 6*d.* 2*d.* ; Red Lodge, 30*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* ; Home in the East, 54*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* ; Hardwicke, 55*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* ; North Eastern, 56*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* ; Akbar Ship, Liverpool, 95*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* ; Red Hill, 274*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* ; Glasgow Reformatory, 616*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*

The folowing gives *pro rata* " profit from labour," results per head for the year ;—

Per head for the year.				Per head for the year.			
Boys.	£	s.	d.	Boys.	£	s.	d.
Kingswood, 47	0	2	11	Red Hill, 277	0	18	9
Castle Howard, 35	0	6	6	Akbar Ship, 95	1	0	2
Hampshire, 35	0	7	10	Home in the East 47	1	3	5
Red Lodge East, 56	0	11	0	Hardwicke, 35	1	11	5
North Eastern, 64	0	17	9	Glasgow, 382	1	12	3

Some reformatories might be referred to, showing a loss in the labour result. All the above are on the credit side of the accounts in their respective degrees.

Industrial labour is a branch of Reformatory economy, to be encouraged and promoted as much as possible ; but it is not easy to determine the class of employment most likely to be useful to the reformatory *détenu*, or profitable to the institution. It should also be borne in mind the ages and peculiar class of children brought under the influence of Reformatory discipline. In the Red Hill report for 1858, is shown the ages of young persons admitted for 1857, and illustrates the class to be wrought upon ;—

1	4	22	29	40	34	4
8	8 to 10	11 to 12	12 to 13	13 to 14	14 to 15	over 15

There is not only their morally degraded state, but also, with many, their physical condition has to be regarded. From the ages indicated, will it not appear that there must be combined in the Reformatory Institutions the moral training of the School, as well as the employment of the workshops and the farm ? A régime truly calculated to promote the best intention of the promoters of the Reformatory system, in the reclamation of the youthful transgressor, and to fit him for obtaining, by honest industry, his own support, either in this country, or in some distant region.

In reviewing the operations of the few Reformatory Institutions to which some attention has been directed, there is much to encourage : but there is a very material element in connection with their operations that must not be overlooked. It is the great importance of retaining in connexion with such Institutions, *the voluntary supervising agency*, the value of which cannot be too highly appreciated. It is the vital influence which permeates throughout all the organizations and arrangements of Reformatory managements to a degree so salu-

tary and advantageous. Withdraw the warm-hearted earnest zeal of the devoted voluntary friends, from the supervision of our Reformatories, and they would become mere places of detention, but little better than gaols, for the youthful delinquent, instead of what they are pre-eminently proving to be—houses of reform—a blessing to their inmates—and an extended benefit to the community.

GERMAN PRISONS.

At the Liverpool meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, a paper, by the Recorder of Birmingham, "On the Treatment of Criminals in certain States of Germany," was read by Lord BROUGHAM, in the absence of the writer. In the summer of the present year, Mr. Hill made a short visit to Germany, and the promptings of his philanthropic nature induced him to render the temporary release from the cares of his judicial office subservient to the interests of humanity, by an endeavour to extend our knowledge in respect to the position of the convict question in that country. The results were described in the communication before mentioned, which has been printed, together with the interlocutory observations of the noble and learned reader, for private circulation. Mr. Hill, in his valuable work, entitled "Suggestions for the Repression of Crime," and the reports of Parliamentary committees, had directed attention to the successful system of discipline pursued for many years by Governor Obermaier in the State Prison, at Munich; and the principal motive of his recent enquiries appears to have been to test the validity of certain objections urged against it by Dr. Mittermaier, Professor of Criminal Law at the University of Heidelberg, in a recent publication on the subject of "Prison Improvements." Mr. Hill found, from intercourse with him, that the Professor's adverse strictures were not based upon personal observation, but in part upon "hearsay," and in part likewise upon the discussion of documents submitted to the Bavarian Legislature. Mr. Hill, as might have been expected, was not disposed to accept such questionable testimony, and accordingly he betook himself to the Gaol at Munich, a searching examination of which vindicated the encomiums passed upon it:—

"The great end which the Governor pursues with unwearied assiduity is the reformation of his prisoners. To effect this object, he engages them in manual labour, applied to various arts and manufactures; so as to employ each individual according to his previous habits of life, or his capacity, mental and bodily. The prisoners

are urged to industry and good conduct by rewards and punishments. So far as the law permits, their treatment is mild, and the Governor aims to act more by encouragement than by severity. Kindness as distinguished from indulgence, is the characteristic of his regulations. Indeed, the law in Bavaria is sufficiently harsh. The terms of imprisonment are of enormous length. Two prisoners were brought in from a distant gaol while I was present. One had been twenty years in confinement, the other twenty-four. To come under the care of Obermaier must, if I may judge from their appearance, be a happy change for them. Their countenance and bearing were those of men from whom life had been almost crushed out by a routine of gloomy and monotonous existence. Much to the Governor's regret, his prisoners wear chains; his power of rewarding exemplary conduct being limited to a diminution of the weight of these revolting appendages. In rare instances, however, as a reward for good conduct long continued, individuals are relieved of their chains by royal command.

"His prison answers in some respects to the convict prisons of England and Ireland. None of the inmates remain for a less term than six years. After that period, a certain limited discretion is allowed to him of recommending well-conducted prisoners for pardon, which recommendations are always acted upon by the authorities. Notwithstanding the rigors imposed by the law, many of the prisoners appeared healthy, and a large proportion of them had lost that repulsive expression which marks the face of the criminal in the lower stages of discipline."

So far no controversy arises between the Governor and the Professor, but the latter, in common with other influential persons, is the advocate of the separate system, which the former is not. Nor, indeed, has he the means of adopting it were he so disposed, the Bavarian Ministry having avowed their inability to incur the expense which the proposed change would entail. Mr. Hill's own views are in favour of a middle course. He says:—

"To separate the prisoner from his fellows at the commencement of his incarceration is, I hold, most desirable; nor would I give him associates until both he and they had manifested a steady desire for self-improvement, and a capacity for acting, to some extent, on their better aspirations. But looking upon him as hereafter to be returned to society, I cannot believe it wise, and herein Dr. Mittermaier agrees with me, to deprive him of companions up to the moment when he is again launched into the world—a period at which he will be called upon all at once to resist, by his own strength, influences from which he has been artificially guarded for years, and to resume the fulfilment of social duties so long suspended."

The Governor, moreover, is accused of having recourse to the practice of espionage, because he holds it to be the duty of

the prisoners to inform him of any misconduct on the part of their fellows. Such information being given, he proceeds to a public examination of the case in the nature of a trial, and the accused is convicted or acquitted according to the evidence; no benefit whatever accruing to the accuser for executing his invidious office. Much stress is laid upon the revengeful feelings to which the regulation is calculated to give rise, because in the course of the fourteen years during which it has been acted upon, three cases have occurred in which the accused has risen upon the accuser and murdered him; but Mr. Hill does not see anything very conclusive in the fact of such a number of cases of extreme violence having occurred in that length of time, in an establishment containing from 550 to 600 convicts. Mr. Hill justly remarks that here the essential ingredient in a spy system—"advantage operating by way of bribe upon the accuser, whereby a motive is created to inveigle the accused into the commission of an offence, or to fabricate evidence against him in order to sustain a false charge"—is absent. He adds:—

"That such a regulation does not become a dead letter, furnishes to my mind cogent evidence that the moral tone of the prison is high. To suppose that an individual prisoner unbribed, and yet not impelled by a sense of duty, he having no other possible motive, personal spite excepted, would step out from the throng to denounce a comrade, is to suppose that he would encounter the scorn and hatred of the community to which he belongs, without any motive. Before he moves he will require the support of public opinion, which will be against, and not with him, unless the moral sentiment of the general body is in favour of the proceeding which he is about to commence; *his* public being composed of his fellow-prisoners. If this be the true light in which to regard the regulation in question, it should be looked upon not as an objection to the Governor's discipline, but as an invaluable test of efficiency in the moral training of the prisoners. And I cannot but believe that the first indication of the tone having become relaxed would be that the Governor and his officers were left to find out delinquents by their own unaided efforts."

From answers with which Mr. Hill was two years ago furnished by the Minister of the Interior, it appears that the average of reformed prisoners is from seventy to eighty per cent.—"perhaps more." He believes that these figures do not differ materially from the truth; and assuming that the success which is officially claimed for the training of the Munich prison has been established, he thinks that we may look upon the Governor's practice as a long series of experi-

ments in reformatory training, of great value in aiding us to separate the essential conditions of reformation from those which are either merely accidental, or at best only auxiliary, or what are demanded by some peculiarity arising out of the race, or nation, or class, to which the prisoners may belong.

The following translation of a passage in Professor Mittermaier's book is given by Mr. Hill in an appendix :—

“As to recent improvements, it should be mentioned that two special institutions have been erected for juvenile criminals, and that at the house for compulsory labour at Kaisheim, the following system has been successfully introduced. Prisoners who had behaved well, and whose term of imprisonment will expire in from four to ten months, are put to agricultural labour with the use of the spade ; and again, about fifty prisoners have, for the last four years been employed in the manufacture of agricultural machines and implements ; this system has so good an effect upon the health, and also upon the morals of the prisoners, that in the whole of the country around, such prisoners as have been employed either in agricultural labours, or in the manufacture of machines, are gladly taken into service, and confidence rises so much the higher as but few instances of relapse occur.”

The following passage from Mr. Hill's paper is most interesting ; to those who had the great pleasure of hearing the paper read by Lord Brougham, it will be doubly interesting ; as being the part at which, when he had come to the reading of it, the genuine man broke out, and the veteran worker in the cause of humanity was overcome by the detail of noble self-denial, and of entire devotion to good works in aid of the fallen fellow-man. Mr. Hill writes as follows :—

“Although I had no opportunity of visiting other prisons, I had the great advantage of two long interviews with Dr. Wichern, the distinguished founder of the Rauhe Haus, near Hamburg, whom the King of Prussia has lately appointed Chief Inspector of Gaols throughout his dominions. The difficulties in Prussia, arising out of the laws which regulate punishments and prisons, and the present state of opinion among official men, are such as to offer very serious obstacles to improvement. Dr. Wichern, however, has struck out a most happy expedient for gradually introducing the required changes. At the Rauhe Haus, in addition to the juvenile outcasts of both sexes who are cherished in this establishment, Dr. Wichern opens its doors to earnest and disinterested young men, who seek him with the intention of devoting their lives to the good of others. Members of this body, who feel a vocation to Reformatory labours, he sends, after a training of three years, to the Prussian gaols to fill the inferior offices within their walls as vacancies occur. They reject no duties, however servile, attached to the post to which they may be appointed.

They are instructed to act on the minds and hearts of the prisoners ; but rather by kindness of manner, and by the example of self-sacrifice and unsullied moral conduct, than by precept or exhortation, which might be deemed an encroachment on offices filled by others.

Dr. Wichern has a lively and, I trust, a well-founded belief, that the unassuming labours of these devoted men, all acting under the impulse of strong religious convictions, will work a silent amelioration in the prevailing spirit of the intercourse between the prisoner and those under whose controul he is placed, by proving the superior efficacy of gentle treatment as compared with harshness of demeanour ; and thus a foundation will be laid for a gradually arising superstructure, combining all which a wise benevolence can desire. It is impossible to contemplate so noble an enterprise without emotion. Doubtless it will have the cordial wishes of this audience for its triumphant success !"

PHOTOGRAPHS AS A MEANS OF DISCOVERING RUNAWAYS FROM GAOLS AND REFORMATORIES—It has frequently been urged upon the consideration of Magistrates and Judges, and indeed we might add upon the Legislature, that if Photographs were taken of those sent to Gaol or to Reformatories on admission, very considerable good would result from the practice. First, the child or man would see what he was when he entered, and by comparing himself six months or twelve months later with what he was at the time of entry, he would judge for himself, if well disposed, how well designed was the system under which he had been placed. If any doubt this statement, they need only apply to our friend, Mr. Driver, of the Belvedere Crescent School, Hungerford Bridge, and his photographs and his experiences will soon explain the whole theory. Miss Carpenter, too, can through her experiences at the Red Lodge, prove the value of the photographs.

It is not, however, in the case of Reformatories, that those photographs are valuable : they are still more important in the case of adult criminals. Mr. Recorder Hill thus, in his evidence before the Transportation Committee of 1856, explained the whole scheme, and gave to it its true value and position.

" 1794. Mr. Monckton Milnes.] Would it seem to you probable that the police could trace out accurately the locality of these ticket-of-leave men with the very limited amount of surveillance which is at present exercised with regard to them ?—I think not ; but I hardly think that it is the want of surveillance which is the great evil ; I think I can explain how the difficulty really arises, and it appears to me to be thus. For the purpose of clearness I will compare our country with France. The criminal statistics of France, as the honourable Member probably knows, are very full and accurate ; ours

are anything but full, and I fear anything but accurate. In France they have had for many years a very perfect registration of births; the name of the new-born child is not only registered but the names of his father and mother. It is therefore practically impossible to make any great use of *aliases* in France, and, in point of fact, I learn from Monsieur Demetz, with whom I have conversed very fully upon this subject, that there is no difficulty in identifying any person in France. If he is apprehended they ask him who he is; if they have any doubt of the truth of his answer they write to his place of birth, and if they find he deceives them they keep him in confinement, but do not put him upon his trial until they have ascertained who he really is; having ascertained who he really is, they then write to Paris, where all the criminal statistics are drawn into a focus, and they learn what the French call his antecedents; that is to say, they know how many times he has been convicted, and probably a great deal more about him than the dry facts of his previous convictions. But in England our system of registration of births has not been in operation for a sufficient time to enable us to do that, and if it were so we do not draw into a focus at present all the information respecting criminals all over England, so that it would not be possible by application at any office, nor probably at any number of offices, to obtain the information which is given in France. In the absence of this power, which cannot be created all at once, for the registers must have time to grow old, and Lord Brougham's Bill to establish a system of collecting and classifying judicial statistics must have time to be passed and worked upon, I have suggested, but the suggestion has not been adopted, this expedient. Captain Gardiner, the ingenious and excellent governor of the Bristol gaol, has possessed himself of a photographic apparatus, with which he takes the likeness of every one of his prisoners who he has reason to believe is a person really embarked in crime as a calling. Now he says he can produce copies for 6d. each. It is believed by the police that, with the exception of London, 14 copies would be all that would be required, to send them to the great resorts of criminals, namely, to towns which are likely to be visited by old offenders, who desire to hide themselves, and to go where they are not known. Several would be required, no doubt, for London; say that 20 are required in all. Therefore, at an expense of 10s., not for every prisoner, but every one of a class which is well known, and can be perfectly designated by the police, you would have multiplied the portraits of all these men, and thus you would baffle their *alias*, which is now very powerful, and they would be recognised as old offenders. I may add, that I know, from cases which have come before me upon the bench, sessions after sessions, that long before the ticket-of-leave system came into operation, many veterans passed as being convicted for the first time. It is a troublesome matter to obtain the evidence of previous conviction, when the offender comes from a distance. You must not only have the certificate of his previous conviction, but you must have a witness who will swear to his identity; that is to say, one of the police of a distant town makes a long journey to come to swear that the prisoner at the bar is the man to whom the certificate applies.

1765. But would that extremely dangerous class to which you allude be a class likely to receive tickets-of-leave?—Yes, indeed ; and at all events, if they did not, the system would be equally useful upon an absolute discharge.

1196. *Chairman.*] Do you not conceive that such a system as that which you have now indicated, may be made of great advantage in the administration of criminal justice?—I do ; and I do not speak from my own opinion (which is not worth much), but from the opinions of gentlemen connected with the police, who think that it would furnish them with a very great advantage.

1797. *Mr. B. Denison.*] How would you make it evidence?—I do not propose to make it evidence, but to use it as a clue for inquiry ; for instance, I have before me a portrait of a man, and the prisoner who comes answers to that portrait, and answers to any description, which may be made to accompany that portrait, as to his height, and so forth.

1798. *Mr. Adderley.*] It is rather carrying out the description which is already given?—Exactly so. That enables me to write to the gaol where he comes from, and in that way I ascertain, before I go to the expense of sending for persons to identify him, that he is really the person he is suspected to be.

1799. *Chairman.*] You not only send such description as you can give in writing, but you send this photograph, and in that way you give greater assistance than would otherwise be given, upon the question whether that is the man or not?—Yes, and I give far greater assistance, I believe."

The following circular was largely distributed at the time it bears date, and is referred to by Mr. Hill :—

PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

Her Majesty's Gaol, Bristol, December, 1854.

Sir,—The advantages which I have myself seen derived from the use of photography, as an aid to the administration of criminal justice, are such that I am induced to make an effort to procure its general adoption throughout the Kingdom.

The importance of being enabled in the cases of all hardened criminals, to prove previous convictions must be too self-evident to dwell upon ; neither does it require argument to show that the difficulties hitherto in the way of such proofs have been always numerous and hitherto insurmountable.

When the convict has been sent back for a second time to the same Gaol the required evidence has been easily procurable ; but it is well known to all who have been concerned in criminal administration, that the most cunning, the most skilled, and the most daring offenders, are migratory in their habits ; that they do not locate themselves in a particular town or district, but extend their ravages to wherever there is the most open field for crime, or where the chances of plunder most present themselves. That this is the case will be

attested by the police of almost every large city, whose experience will have failed to connect the most extensive and best planned robberies with their resident known thieves.

A knowledge of the foregoing truths induced me, a few years ago, to desiderate some mode by which descriptions of committed prisoners suspected of previous convictions might be circulated among the Governors of leading gaols, but numerous difficulties at first presented themselves.

Periodical visits of reception might be useful, but they would have two great disadvantages: first, they would withdraw the Governor or confidential officer too frequently from his gaol duties: and secondly, they would entail expenses which the counties could not bear; written descriptions, in very marked cases, might be effective, but, as in the great majority of instances it would be found impossible to make them sufficiently precise, they would only tend, where parties were sent to identify, to frequent disappointments and useless expense.

Photography then suggested itself to my mind, and it became at once apparent that if I could devise some means of making the operation sufficiently sudden, I might, in scores of cases, even without the knowledge of the prisoner, procure his likeness, a very iron of himself, of which, being capable of multiplication to any extent, I might transmit a copy to wherever it might promise to lead to useful results.

Twelve months continuous study of the system has enabled me to perfect it; I have now an apparatus in my gaol which I use daily. I have rendered it most subservient to the object for which it was designed, and though its use have brought to justice several hardened offenders, who, being unknown in my neighbourhood, would otherwise have escaped with inadequate punishment.

J. H. came into the Bristol gaol upon commitment for trial, a perfect stranger to me and my officers: he was well attired, but very illiterate; the state of his hands convinced me that he had not done any hard work, whilst the superiority of his apparel over his attainments led me to suspect that he was a practised thief. I forwarded his likeness to several places, and soon received information that he had been convicted in London and in Dublin. The London officer, who recognised him by his portrait, was subpoenaed as a witness, picked him out from amongst thirty or forty other prisoners, and gave evidence on his trial in October last, which led the Recorder to sentence him to six years' penal servitude.

J. D. came to gaol wholly unknown: his person and manners induced me to suspect that it was not his first appearance in a place of confinement, and having made several copies of his portrait, I sent them round to the governors of different prisons. He was recognised as having been convicted at Wells; the necessary witness was subpoenaed, his former conviction proved, and he was sentenced to four years' penal servitude.

I could mention several instances in which some most notorious thieves, strangers to this part, have been brought to proper punishment.

Such having been my own experience, I now appeal to the governors of other gaols to aid me in carrying out the system upon a broad and a national scale: the cost of an apparatus complete will not exceed ten pounds, and it may be worked at an expense of about five pounds per annum.

I have only to add my wish that you should bring this communication under the notice of your visiting justices, and to say, should the authorities of any district consider that I can help them by instructing their officers in the exercise of this most useful art, I shall be happy to do so.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

James Anthony Gardiner, Governor.

To the Governor, H. M. Gaol.

The following passage, from one of the Manchester papers of November last, will show fully the opinions of Mr. Hill are borne out by experience:—

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE POLICE.

"On the 30th of September two boys, who had been committed to the Manchester and Salford Reformatory, absconded, and so cleverly was their escape effected that for some time no clue whatever could be obtained to their whereabouts, although every effort was made and a detective officer employed to discover their retreat. Handbills were then circulated, offering a reward for their recovery, but still without success. It is customary to take a boy's photograph on his admission to this reformatory; and copies of those of the two absconders were last week dispatched to the principal seaports and large towns in the kingdom. On their receipt in Leeds the master of the mendicity-office immediately recognised them as having been relieved there under fictitious names, stating that they were 'mill hands' from Bury, on their way to York and Hull. Communications conveying this intelligence were at once addressed to these towns, and two days afterwards they were captured at Hull by an officer, who instantly recognised them from having seen their photographs. On being brought to the police-office, they told a very plausible story, strongly denying all knowledge whatever of Manchester, or any connection with its reformatory. Suddenly the police superintendent held up before each of the boys his own photograph. Like an electric shock, the effect was instantaneous; they changed colour, and in a few moments one of them very doggedly exclaimed, 'I'm beaten: we'll give in now.' A telegram was then dispatched to Manchester, and on the following day the governor safely returned with them to their proper quarters at Blackley. The criminal history of one of these boys, a native of Birmingham, is most remarkable, as well as painful. It is as follows:—

Though only seventeen years of age, he has been once in each of the following prisons under sentence:—London (five years ago,) Liverpool, Nottingham, Bristol, and one (name uncertain); twice each in Worcester, Coventry, Warwick, and Salford; three times in Stafford; five times in Birmingham, and twice in Manchester, whence

he was committed to the reformatory; in all, 23 times, exclusive of upwards of 100 apprehensions, with discharges for unproved or minor offences, committed in various towns in England. It is gratifying to state, that although 30 committed boys, principally from Manchester and Salford, and mostly constituting the cream of juvenile criminality, have been received in this reformatory in the past 12 months, and although the facilities for absconding are necessarily numerous, yet such is the moral influence exerted, united with the maintenance of strict surveillance and discipline, that (with the exception stated) not a single escape has been effected since it became a certified institution."

THE LATE REV. JOHN CLAY.

Few readers of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, more especially readers of THE RECORD, are unacquainted with the name, and merits, and services to his country, of the late lamented clergyman, who has so recently passed away, to a better and a far kinder world than this.

In THE RECORD of this REVIEW, for April, 1858, we wrote as follows:—

"Since the publication of our last Record we received the Rev. John Clay's final *Report* as Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction; he has retired from his office after thirty-six years of duty, discharged with an enlightened zeal which made him the most useful as he was the most distinguished of those able men holding the posts of Prison Chaplains. Mr. Frederick Hill, in his invaluable work on *Crime*, designates Mr. Clay, 'the zealous, benevolent, and able chaplain of the prison at Preston.' No description could be more true; no man has done more to aid us in solving the difficulties connected with prison discipline and the sources of crime than Mr. Clay, and he retires from his chaplaincy regretted and respected by all in these kingdoms who are interested in the noble work to which his life and genius were devoted. South tells us, 'that which makes the clergy glorious is to be knowing in their profession, unspotted in their lives, active and laborious in their charges; and lastly, to be gentle, courteous, and compassionate to all. These are our rolls and our maces, our escutcheons and highest titles of honour'—such a man as this was and is the Reverend John Clay."

The epigraph, or motto of this *Report* was as follows:—

"The vast majority of all who enter your prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world, after no unreasonable term of probation, honest men and useful citizens!"—*Speech of M.*

D. Hill, Esq., at the Birmingham Meeting for the Promotion of Social Science.

The *Report* was a reprint, or a resumé of the most important of Mr. Clay's papers, as those on the *Chief Causes of Crime*; *Reformatory Prison Discipline*; *Reformatory Schools*; *Hasty Prepossession of Witnesses*; *Some Results of our Discipline*; *On the effects of good and bad Times on Committals*, with a *Postscript*. These and his usual elaborate and clear *Report* made up the Reports for two years, ill-health having rendered him unable to print that for 1855, at the regular period.

He thus touchingly concludes:—

"It is not without regret that I now take leave of responsibilities which, for more than thirty-six years, it has been my anxious desire to discharge with fidelity and efficiency. Whether, under Providence, I have been in any degree successful in my aims, it is for others to pronounce. In finally withdrawing from my post, I believe myself to have yielded only to bodily weakness; but, in thus thinking, I know that I may be wrong; and, indeed in reading over the foregoing pages, I am sensible of a prolixity and egotism which betray infirmity of another kind. I would, however, plead both for these and other faults that it has been only during the intervals of freedom from pain and depression that I have felt able to commit my thoughts to writing, and use some of the materials I had collected. I have often been on the point of throwing my task altogether aside, and might have given way to the impulse, but for the fixed and deeply felt desire to prove to all who do not refuse to sympathize with a Jail Chaplain's cares and anxieties, that, among the multitude of our prisoners and outcasts, there are many—oh! *very* many—yet capable of being brought by God's grace within the Christian fold.

JOHN CLAY.

Preston, 5th January, 1858."

Mr. Clay lived but a few months after the publication of *The Report*, but amongst those interested in the study of the questions to which he had devoted his life, his memory and friendship were as dear and respected as ever: and we recall with pleasure the fact, that at the meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in Liverpool last October, there was no man more missed, no man whose presence was more sincerely desired, than that of the Rev. John Clay.

He lay sick then : like Paul Verdier, he had out-worked himself in the cause of Reformation, and like Paul Verdier he died a martyr to duty, self-imposed in many of its most arduous points. In November, the following paragraph appeared in all the newspapers :—

“DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN CLAY.—This reverend gentleman, late the Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction, expired after a long illness, arising from natural decay, at Leamington, on Sunday last, in his 68rd year. The reverend gentleman resigned the chaplaincy of the gaol on the 25th June, 1857, after having filled that office nearly thirty-six years, during which time he had become an authority on prison discipline and criminal statistics. His influence in these matters was not confined to this country, for his lucid and comprehensive reports were translated into most of the languages of the Continent. At the time of his resignation he had for seven years received a salary of £350 per annum, and according to Act of Parliament, a retiring pension of £262 10s. was granted to him out of the county funds, at the September session, 1857, of the county magistrates, being three-fourths of the salary he was receiving when he resigned.”

This appeared to Mr. Frederic Hill but a poor, cold memorial of one who had done so much to save men from themselves and destruction, and so Mr. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham, adding his testimony to that of his brother, transmitted the following letter to the editor of *The Alliance Weekly News*, and which we extract from the number of that paper of Saturday, December 11th :—

THE LATE REV. JOHN CLAY.

“Dear Sir,—I send you a short notice of the late Rev. John Clay, written by my brother, the assistant secretary to the Post-office, who knew the deceased thoroughly. Mr. Frederic Hill was, before he took his present office, one of the inspectors of prisons, in which capacity he visited Preston Gaol, and witnessed, from time to time, the severe and exhausting labors of its excellent chaplain, whose loss is deeply lamented by all who take an interest in the reformatory treatment of criminals, or in the prevention of that overwhelming cause of crime—indulgence in drink.—Dear Sir, your faithful servant,

T. H. Barker, Esq.

M. D. HILL.

In the Rev. John Clay the country has lost one of the oldest, most zealous, and most persevering supporters of a wise and humane treatment of criminals.

It is now nearly 40 years since Mr. Clay entered on his duties as chaplain of the House of Correction, at Preston, a large prison used by the whole of North Lancashire. For a long period he had to perform his arduous duties not only without assistance, but against determined opposition; an opposition which did not cease until the appointment of the present excellent governor, Colonel Martin, between whom and Mr. Clay there was always a cordial union and co-operation.

Mr. Clay was one of the first to condemn the use of the degrading and stultifying treadmill, and to urge in its stead the introduction of useful labor. He was also early alive to the demoralising effect of indiscriminate association, especially when the prisoners passed their time—as was formerly the case with all the untried, and with many, indeed, of the convicted—in idleness.

By the pains he took at the critical period of liberation to procure employment for the discharged prisoner, and, when possible, to reconcile his former employers and friends with him, Mr. Clay enabled many a discarded convict, who would otherwise have had scarcely any alternative than a course of crime, to return to a life of honesty, industry, and respectability, to a strict pursuance of which Mr. Clay's communications with him, from time to time, greatly strengthened his resolutions.

In order to ascertain beyond doubt the practical result of the reforms which he instituted, Mr. Clay took regular means of learning, as far as practicable, through the county police and otherwise, what was the after-life, whether good or evil, of the inmates of his prison, and the indisputable proofs thus afforded of the good effect of those reforms greatly assisted him in obtaining their wider adoption.

Mr. Clay also succeeded in demonstrating the great cost imposed upon the country by every criminal who is suffered to go at large; and how much wiser it is, even in a mere economical sense, to take effectual means, although they may be expensive, to reform offenders, than after a short imprisonment to let them loose again, without their having either the desire or the ability to live by honest industry.

But Mr. Clay did not, like weaker-minded philanthropists, throw all the blame arising from crime on the neglect of the sober

classes, or on government. He showed that far more depends on the working classes themselves than on others; and that the money wasted, and worse than wasted, in drunkenness, would suffice to make thousands of families comfortable, happy, and prosperous, who are now steeped in misery, and exposed to constant temptation to commit crime.

The results of his experience, lucidly set forth and ably commented upon, appeared in Mr. Clay's admirable reports, and by their means, and by the evidence which he repeatedly gave before parliamentary committees, he acted upon the whole country, and greatly promoted the general improvement of prison discipline.

Had his country rendered to Mr. Clay but a tithe of the good which he conferred on his country, he might still have been alive, assisting by his counsel, if unable still to engage in active labor; but his spirit and liberality were beyond his physical strength and narrow income. He was allowed and compelled to work beyond his power. No church living, to which he would have done so much honor, was presented to him; and, till it was too late, no assistance was afforded him in the discharge of his prison duties, or the means offered to him of retiring on a pension sufficient for his necessities, and the consequence is that Mr. Clay has sunk into the grave before his natural time. May his own county, and the country at large, as far as still lies in their power, discharge to Mr. Clay's children the debt of gratitude which they left unpaid to the philanthropist himself!"

IRISH REFORMATORIES.

At last Irish Reformatories are being established; for example our Protestant friends issue the following notice, which we take from *Saunders' News Letter*:

"We are glad to find that a subject so important to social welfare is not likely to be neglected in the county and city of Dublin. An act passed last session provides for the maintenance in reformatories of those poor children who, more sinned against than sinning, are detected in the commission of those minor offences to which the thoughtlessness of childhood or the incentive of evil example has enticed them. To save such from the downward road to ruin, government will defray the expenses of their maintenance in such institutions as philanthropy shall provide, and all juveniles must be sent only to a 'reformatory under the exclusive management of persons of the same religious persuasion as the offender.' We understand that Roman Catholic reformatories are already being established in many counties; and it

would be lamentable indeed, if the Protestants of Dublin were to neglect to provide an asylum for the poor children of their own church, who, often from parental neglect or depravity, have taken a step in the career of crime. During the year 1857, it appears, that no less than eighty boys and twenty-nine girls, Protestants, were convicted within the police district of Dublin, and might now be inmates of a reformatory, if such existed to shelter them. It is, therefore, with sincere gratification we have learned that the subject has engaged the attention of the Dublin Parochial Association, consisting of the parochial clergy of almost all the parishes in Dublin; and that at their last monthly meeting, at the Chapter-room of Christ Church, they appointed a committee to take measures for the establishment of a Protestant Reformatory, under the new act, for the city and county of Dublin. The committee consists of Rev. Edward S. Abbott, Rev. Richard Barton, Rev. William Greene, Rev. William Maturin, Rev. J. H. Monahan, Rev. Thomas B. Shore, and Rev. Charles S. Stanford. In such hands we are sure the work will go on and prosper, and that the Protestants of Dublin will not be subjected to the reproach of having been indifferent to an object so important to the well-being of society."

We understand that funds have been freely subscribed, and that a Reformatory for boys and one for girls, will shortly be opened in Dublin. Our friends have sent one of their body to England for the purpose of seeing the working of the chief schools in that country.

From *The Southern Reporter*, we take the following :

THE CORK REFORMATORY.

"We have been asked—what about the Reformatory? Are they asleep, or is the project abandoned? We have great pleasure in replying that all these forebodings are without foundation, and that the managers have exerted themselves actively to bring the project to an issue, useful to the class intended to be benefitted, honorable to those who have employed their abilities, and worthy of our city. An establishment of this kind cannot be brought into action in a moment, there is much consideration to be employed, and the aid of various persons must be secured, who are very difficult to be obtained. It is known that a religious fraternity is to have the rule of this place, but it must be evident that it is not every order which would answer or agree to serve the requisite duties. Still we can say that very anxious efforts are being made to overcome this difficulty, which we trust will be crowned with the desired result, so that the first grand necessary of directors will be secured. Pending this conclusion, all that could be achieved, has been well and effectively done. The committee have taken a lot of ground near Upton, for their intended establishment, which embraces an extent of an hundred and twelve acres, for a long term of years, virtually equivalent to a fee-simple estate. This position is admirably located, being sufficiently separated from any populous town, and, at the same time, so well

served with close railway communication as to be possessed of all the advantages in the way of supply which a city could offer. Between Cork and Bandon, both the advantages of a provincial capital, and a country town can be commanded. Everything cheap that is possessed in this emporium for manufacture, and all that can be had in that market for provisions and country produce, will be available. At the same time, the inmates will be removed from the seductive influences of former companionship and old acquaintance, and so they will be removed from the most active incitements to renew their old course of vice. In every way, then, this affair seems to have been well and considerately managed. Nothing has been hurried or retarded unduly; proper deliberation has been used before action; but then, prompt and energetic conclusion has been apparent, when the determination was arrived at. From these most trustworthy grounds of credence we rely that a practical and useful result will issue, and that we shall see such an institution founded as will be a just pride to those who are interested in the reclamation of criminals. We need not revert to the arguments which we were the first in Ireland to start in maintenance of the worth, and even to place it on no higher basis, the economy of this movement. Now, it is generally acknowledged and believed in, and therefore it would be superfluous to maintain it with any force of argument. To us the most satisfactory knowledge is that which proves that the principle is passing into reality, and that the benevolent intention is being embodied in the humane act. This is the sort of proof that comes home to our convictions."

A girls' school managed by Sisters of Mercy is certified in Athlone; an admirable school, managed by the Ladies of the Good Shepherd, is certified in Limerick; another, from which we expect grand results, is certified at High Park, Drumcondra, under the care of the Ladies of the Order of Charity; another is certified at Monaghan, under the care of the Sisters of St. Louis; and one under the management of the Sisters of Mercy will be shortly opened at Golden-bridge.

With regard to Patronage for Catholic children, a most invaluable assistant will be found in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; at the October meeting of the Society, held in London, the President said, "he would take this opportunity of speaking to them, of another work which was very desirable in England. He alluded to the patronage of boys who left the Reformatory schools. There was much need of the exertions of the Brothers to take care of those boys. He had received all the necessary information on the subject from the experience of the Brothers in France; and he would advise them to attempt the work, if it was found that much money was not required to carry it on. He apprehended that it was a work rather of labour and of organization; and, he was glad to say that the organization of the Society was certainly the best in England to

carry out any work of the kind." And our friend, the Rev. Father Caccia, thus writes upon this subject to the Council :—

CATHOLIC REFORMATORY SCHOOL,

Near Market-Weighton, Yorkshire.

October 13th, 1858.

"I feel much gratified for the occasion you afford me of a direct correspondence with a society which I highly esteem, and whose co-operation in the Reformatory movement I consider essentially necessary.

"From the Report and Circular which you will receive by this post, you will become acquainted with the working of our Reformatory, and the conditions on which boys are received from other counties. You will be happy to learn that the buildings there alluded to, which were intended for the accommodation of seventy boys, have been completed for more than two hundred. The premium also, which is there stated at £10 for each boy, is now reduced to £5, but without the right of vacancies : £2 of this goes towards the bedding, &c., of the boy, the remaining £3 to the building fund.

"The travelling expenses of the boys are to be defrayed by the county to which they belong. I have already four boys from London. I have now eighty-five boys, and three others are coming. The average number of Yorkshire boys is about one hundred and twenty, so I shall have about eighty vacancies for other counties, twenty of which are even now filled.

"Any other information you may require I shall be most happy to give you, and more happy if you, or any member of your Society, will favour me with a visit.

"In addition to this reply, I take the liberty of sending to you the copy of a letter which the Hon. Charles Langdale presented a few days ago to His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. I hope that this plan will meet with the hearty co-operation of the Society.

"Believe me to remain yours very truly,

"CHARLES CACCIA."

[Copy.]

"August 18th, 1858.

"MY LORD CARDINAL—

"When the Right Rev. the Abbot of Mount St. Bernards called the attention of the public as to the best manner of disposing of Reformatory boys, I, amongst other, gave my opinion in *The Weekly Register*, of May 22nd, as follows :—

"1st. In every Reformatory, an annual allowance—say £1 for each boy, should be set apart for supplying the boys according to their respective wants on their entering into society, as I am doing at this present moment. This fund may be increased by contributions.

"2nd. An external patronage, charged with obtaining employment, and at the same time exercising a moral control, may be found in the Societies of St. Vincent-de-Paul, whose Central Committee will receive from the managers of the Reformatories the requirements and the circumstances of each boy previous to his dismissal.

"3rd. The same patronage will assist those boys to emigrate who, either because of bad parents, a doubtful reformation, or difficulty in obtaining employment, are exposed to the danger of a relapse, or the inability of procuring the necessities of life."

"On a late occasion, visiting Mount St. Bernards, I found that the present Superiors agreed with my plan, and having made known to them my intention of submitting the same to the patronage of your Eminence, they desired me to make known to you their wish to see it carried out."

"There is only one Catholic Reformatory remaining, which is the one in your diocese. If the plan meets with your approbation I feel confident something effectual may be done for the future condition of our boys, and we may thus insure the success of our present endeavours."

"I think that as Societies of St. Vincent-de-Paul are spread all over the country, with a central board in London, they might undertake this great work of charity without incurring any expense, and with but little trouble."

"They will not be called upon to procure a situation for all the boys leaving Reformatories, but only for those for whom the managers make an application; and, if a proper situation cannot be found, they will inform the respective manager of the fact, that he may resort to other means—for instance, emigration to Canada, where the boys will be recommended to the same Society."

"I hope your Eminence, in your charity, will give this matter due consideration. If you think it better to modify, or even change this plan, I shall be happy to follow the line of action you may propose. I am extremely anxious for the future result of the Reformatory training."

"With the most profound sentiments of respect and reverence, I have the honour to be Your Eminence's most humble and obedient servant."

CHARLES GAOCIA."

A letter addressed, October the 2nd, by the Right Rev. Abbot of Mount St. Bernard to the Secretary of the Provincial Council, contains the following passages on the same subject:

"I have thought for some time that through the intervention of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul, some good outlet for our Colony Boys might be found. I am quite favourable to Colonisation and emigration, as you know."

"The plan, I think, that would succeed would be for some agent of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul, on the spot they would colonize, to take care of them, having previously obtained land for their cultivating, &c. If the boys could go at once from the colony, direct to the place in America prepared for them, an agent being there to receive and overlook them, this plan, I think, would succeed."

A Male Reformatory for Catholics will be soon opened in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Every arrangement is made, and the staff is nearly ready. A Committee has been formed, and comprises amongst its members the highest legal functionaries, and gentlemen of the most influential position in the mercantile classes in Dublin. They have wisely resolved to place the institution under the management of a religious body, as being safest, and, at the same time, most economical. We shall, we hope, in our Record for next quarter, be able to report that this institution is successfully at work.

Before closing this portion of our RECORD of the present quarter, we would urge upon those gentlemen anxious for the success of the movement, the necessity of joining the Dublin Committee, and of working the whole of Ireland in unison, and as has been found so useful and successful in other associations. It is not a question as to whether Cork shall be better than Limerick, or Dublin better than Belfast, or Monaghan superior to Athlone;—the real question, and the charitable and philanthropic one is—how shall we all be best able to help each other, and to make Reformatories, Male and Female, as perfect and as useful as are our other almost innumerable Institutions for the cure of moral or physical evils.

CONVICTS IN ENGLAND.

There are convicts in Cork harbour, and there are convicts in Philipstown; there is a colony of convicts at Lusk, and there are 60 or 80 convicts at Smithfield, without a lock, or bolt, or bar on the door, to keep them from rushing into Smithfield market, and thus escaping. If the reader will look towards that large building on the North Circular Road, he will see an establishment containing nearly 500 male convicts. Thus it will be understood that in various parts of Ireland, convicts are stationed, with all the means of creating riot amongst their fellows, and with a power of doing wrong and mischief, never possible to their English fellows; yet these Irish convicts have never broken into revolt, have never spread terror and dismay amongst the people of their neighbourhood, have never rendered themselves objects of horror to all good and thinking men—and all for the plain and simple reason that they have been treated as rational beings, and to each has been given such fair and reasonable reward, compatible with his condition, as his good conduct and PROVED reformation had shown him to deserve.

Unfortunately, such is not the state of things in England ; and thus we find, that in the month of November last, the Waterloo Station in London, and the whole town of Weymouth, were affrighted from their propriety by a gang of convicts, who were supposed to have suffered those punishments, and undergone that discipline which are presumed to dwell in, and to be developed by, confinement in Pentonville or Millbank Prisons.

We take the following passage, descriptive of the state of things to which we refer, from the *Daily News* of November 27th, 1858 :—

“ Mutiny of Convicts.—About eight o'clock on Tuesday morning a confusion and alarm, never witnessed before, took place at the South Western Railway, Waterloo-station, a gang of no less than eighty convicts refusing to proceed by the regular train to Portland. The persuasions of the officers were useless, and it was ultimately deemed expedient to send to Millbank Prison for the Governor and additional guard, when, after two hours' delay, the convicts were forwarded on their journey.”

The following extract from the *Southern Times* of November 27th, (a Weymouth paper,) gives the facts at length, and they are worthy of the closest attention, as they show profound ignorance, or gross carelessness, or utter recklessness, on the part of the Prisons' Office in London :—

“ Return of Convicts to Portland Prison.—About 80 of the convicts who were sent from Portland a few weeks ago, in consequence of the part they took in the *emeute*, having undergone a few weeks' solitary confinement in Millbank Penitentiary and Pentonville Model Prison, were returned on Wednesday to their former quarters. When they arrived at the Waterloo station, and found that they were to be taken back to Portland, some of them expressed, in very forcible language, their determination not to go, and it was with great difficulty, and after considerable delay, that they were got into the Railway carriages, having first been divided into two parties. A telegraphic message was despatched to the prison at Portland, informing the Governor, Captain Clay, of the resistance made by the convicts, and he sent off to H.M.S. 'Blenheim,' lying in the Portland harbour, for force, in case of any serious difficulty occurring in conducting the convicts from the terminus to Weymouth. The first detachment of convicts arrived in the after-

noon, tolerably quiet, and under a comparatively small escort. A strong guard, however, had to be provided in London to accompany the second gang, numbering 48 convicts, and on their way from Weymouth to Portland they were met by 60 marines, and a body of the sailors of the 'Blenheim,' dragging along one of the ship's guns. Under this strong escort, they were marched through Portland, shouting, yelling, and swearing with great energy. From the expressions they used, it would appear that they estimated the horrors of solitary confinement in Millbank or Pentonville, as light in comparison with the prospects of a return to Portland. These men, we remember, were not among the number who were flogged for insubordination: the only punishment they have had has been a few weeks' solitary imprisonment. It seems a very questionable policy to give such rebellious spirits a chance of raising another riot in the prison, though the excellent discipline maintained there, and the vigilance of the officials, will, no doubt, prevent anything so serious as the outbreak which recently occurred."

We need not write one word upon this disgraceful statement. We hardly know which to pity more, the convicts at Portland, or the people in Weymouth.

APPENDIX TO THE RECORD.

IRISH CONVICT PRISONS.

We are unable, owing to a rule of the Council of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, to print at length the paper on Convict Management, read by Captain Crofton at the Liverpool Meeting of the Society. However, we take the following abstract of this able paper, from *The Times*, of October 16th :—

Captain Crofton read an interesting paper in this department upon the proposition, "Can Intermediate Prisons materially aid in solving the Difficulties of the Convict Question." The section was crowded during the reading of the paper, and the discussion on it was delayed in order that Lord Brougham might be enabled to take part in it. In the outset of his paper Captain Crofton proposed three questions for consideration—What are the difficulties of the convict question? Why have we not solved them? What shall we do to solve those difficulties? Taking the last first, he laid it down that the difficulties are to devise a course of treatment consistent with humanity which shall either mend the offender or tend to render him less noxious to the community, and which shall have at the same time the effect of deterring others from the commission of crime. From 1827 to 1836, 37,117 males and females were transported to the colonies; from 1837 to 1846, 27,258; from 1847 to 1856, 11,979; and in 1857, only 461. But the facility with which in the former periods the mother country got rid of its criminals led to gross carelessness, and eventually the colonies refused to receive them. We had, however, learned two lessons from transportation,—first, that employment was a most powerful agent in reformation; and, secondly, that, notwithstanding all the evils attendant on bad prison discipline, there was still a large impressible class of prisoners who were willing to work when employment was obtained, who gave satisfaction to their employers, and who ultimately became useful and industrious colonists. Why had we not solved the difficulties of the convict question? Simply because, though experience had clearly proved that there are two classes of prisoners—impressible and unimpressible—we had failed to avail ourselves of that knowledge, and had treated our criminals in masses up to the termination of their incarceration, and had discharged them to take their chance and work their will. When the colonies refused to receive convicts the experiment was then tried on us at home, with the same result and for a similar reason—the neglect to improve the impressible class. We

were ready to admit how difficult it was for a man when discharged from prison to obtain employment, but what had we done to enable him to procure it? Nothing, and it was not to be wondered at, then, that we had signally failed. It had been our practice to delude ourselves with negative statistics, and we had concluded that unless a prisoner was re-convicted he was reformed. This delusion had been our stumbling-block, and well nigh our ruin. The community objected to employ the criminal when discharged, on the intelligible ground that, although under strict surveillance and the utter absence of temptation his conduct had been good, there was no guarantee that it would not be otherwise in free life; and thus the character so obtained under such a prison discipline was of little or no value to the public. What, then, shall we do to solve those difficulties? We must treat our convicts individually, and not in the mass; we must qualify them to obtain employment, by so training them that they will gain the confidence of the public; we must apply such special training as will fit them for a free life and make them meet for employment; we must inform them of an honest world, of which they know little; and when discharged, we must not lose sight of them, but preserve a supervision which will tend to protect them and their employers. It is by enlisting the mind of the criminal in his own reformation that we may hope to combat the difficulty, but it will be necessary that in the early stages of his imprisonment his discipline shall be of such a character as will operate against the commission of crime. Captain Crofton then dwelt on the inestimable value of labour as a reformatory agent, and suggested that ample and useful employment could be found for our criminals in the construction of harbours of refuge and other works of a national character on the coasts. This should be done when they could be cheaply located on the works, and to prove that it could be effected, he mentioned that in Ireland they were enabled to accommodate three officers and 50 men in a moveable iron shed for £350. It had been urged that the association of prisoners was calculated to give rise to demoralization, but he maintained that that experience had been gained under different circumstances from those which now prevailed; and he justly observed, that if we cannot control our criminals in association after their long discipline, we cannot expect the community to have much confidence in their future well-doing. Payments of gratuities, according to the amount of work, would also tend to reformation; but we must above all things take care that the liberated criminal profitably uses his special training. From these considerations Captain Crofton deduced the following:—That labour was necessary to reformation; that by classification and special training convicts could be better prepared for employment; that by a system of registration after discharge we shall deter from crime and assist reformation; and

lastly, that by noting to the police the more noxious offenders we shall render their incarceration more certain and lengthened, and thus protect society from their vices. A course of prison discipline tending to produce these results was theoretically wise, and that it was also practically so was proved, he maintained, by the success of the system in Ireland. He said that he could give many instances of its success, and mentioned that he could produce letters, dated Lucknow and other places in India, from non-commissioned officers, themselves once prisoners, to their old associates, earnestly exhorting them to reformation. In conclusion, Captain Crofton expressed his gratitude to the noble president of the section for the assistance he had rendered to his system, and stated that he was quite ready to give every information as to its details to any gentleman who might desire it.

After the reading of this most able and important paper, a very lengthened and earnest discussion took place. Captain Crofton very urgently pressed the importance of immediately considering the question whether, under the act of 1857, the periods of sentence re-mitted through good conduct during detention, should, or should not, be conditional on good conduct subsequent to liberation. He further stated that at present this was an open question, and had no reference whatever to the scheme known as "The Ticket-of-leave system," which, practically, was considered in England to be a mere shortening of the sentence, without any efficient check when the man had gone forth from the prison.

And doubtless Captain Crofton was right, and still more strong in right, and in sound sense when he further urged that the real question now before the public was, whether criminals should be discharged at minimum periods of time, (made known to the judges), with or without the check of a conditional discharge.

In the course of the discussion, Captain Crofton very clearly showed the great necessity for having statistics of a more positive character than those upon which police and prison returns are generally founded. He contended, and we know that the feeling, plainly exhibited, of the section, was with him, that unless we possess statistics of a more positive character than those now used in England, of the conduct of discharged prisoners, we are only groping after truth in the dark, deluding ourselves with fancied reformations, because the discharged men are not known when re-convicted.

Captain Crofton dwelt at considerable length on this point, and was listened to with extreme interest, because he and all the informed portion of his hearers knew that here, in this little point, was the whole test of the success or failure of the Irish system, and of its superiority to, or bad equality in failure with, the English system, or as it is now more generally called, "mull."

Captain Crofton explained the dangerous absurdity, and the patent fallacy of our ordinary negative statistics. He showed that a more general communication with the police, and a more careful and accurate study of their statistics with reference to undetected offences, would show the folly of relying on negative statistics. He contended, as all contend who had really studied prison discipline and criminal statistics as a science, that the only test of all systems of prison discipline, the only means by which a war can be waged, profitably, against crime, is the POSITIVE INFORMATION of the conduct of the discharged prisoners; and this information can only be obtained by and through *conditional liberation*, and *periodical* registration. This fact, for it is happily at last a fact, Captain Crofton was able to prove from his own experience; and further, he was able to demonstrate the mode by which the plan could be any where carried out as successfully as in Ireland; carried out too, as a protection to the public; and which, whilst it fostered and strengthened the well conducted liberated convict, restrained and kept in salutary dread, the liberated convict who was not thoroughly reformed, or weaned from his old evil course of life.

We have heard some objections made to this system of supervision, here described and advocated, but we think them ill-founded, and we hope in time we shall see, as in France, that in the case of known offenders, a sentence of police surveillance, for greater or lesser periods, according to the offence or bad character of the criminal, shall be added to the sentence of imprisonment. Our honored friend, the Recorder of Birmingham, and Mr. Frederic Hill, would go further, add compel the known thief to shew that he had honest means of support, or could procure security for his good conduct, and failing in either of these, they would commit him to prison. Mr. Recorder Hill stated his views to the grand jury at Birmingham, so long ago as October, 1850, and his suggestions were approved by *The Edinburgh Review*, *The Liverpool Mercury*, *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Spectator*, and partially by *The Times*. The whole matter is thus shortly stated in *The Edinburgh Review*, in a paper from, we believe, the able pen of Mr. John Greg: "Mr. Hill's proposal merely amounts to this—that a certain amount of specified surveillance, after liberation, shall be a *portion of the punishment to which every convicted offender is sentenced*; or if you prefer so to express it, a condition of his release: that when once a man has been proved to belong to the *criminal population*, i. e., to that class which habitually preys upon the community, he shall forfeit that portion of his civil rights which consists in the assumption of his innocence; that whereas in the case of untainted citizens, the *onus probandi* lies upon their accusers, in the case of liberated convicts the onus should lie with the defendant. In principle we see no objection to Mr. Hill's

suggestions. The plea of the liberty of the subject has no force here. When once a man has made himself, by crime, amenable to the laws of his country, he may justly be deprived of his liberty, to any degree, and for any period which the law deems fit and necessary. Society, which he has menaced and outraged, is obviously just as competent to condemn him to imprisonment for a given term, and to surveillance afterwards, as to imprisonment for a longer term, followed by no surveillance; to a total deprivation of his liberty for a time, (that is) and to a partial curtailment of it subsequently, as to a total deprivation of it for a year or a life. The convicted criminal has forfeited his social position; henceforth he is entitled only to that amount of freedom, and to freedom on those terms which offended society may please to dictate."

In continuation, Captain Crofton dwelt on the great importance of special and preparatory training in the Intermediate Prisons, prior to the discharge of convicts, and that the favorable results of such training would be:—

1.—That a very large number bent on pursuing a course of industry would not place themselves amidst former associates, but would at once go to countries where their temptations would be lessened, their labour required, and their antecedents unknown.

2.—That others would, confident in their good resolutions, labour in their own country, (although not necessarily in their own locality) and evince the value of their training by good conduct under discreet supervision.

Captain Crofton argued that a prison system, very strict and deterring in its earlier stages, and only permitting the criminal to advance in each through well measured industry and conduct, noted accurately in marks, and finally concluding with the Intermediate stage and its appliances, and conditional liberation, was worthy of the adoption of an enlightened nation, and stated the day was at hand when this doctrine would universally prevail.

Several gentlemen took part in this discussion. Our friend, Mr. Baker, of Hardwicke Court, confirmed very strongly Captain Crofton's opinion. Mr. Baker based his statements on an intimate knowledge of the English police, and was satisfied that police supervision in England would be discreetly exercised. Mr. Baker adduced many instances within his own knowledge, in support of this opinion.

Mr. Charles Ratcliff, of Birmingham, stated in behalf of the Birmingham Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, with which he was connected, that it would materially increase their beneficial influence if prisoners specially trained were sent to them with the gratuities they had earned, merely requiring direction and patronage in their future course.

It appeared to be quite the feeling of the meeting that on our colonies refusing to receive our Convicts, new and exceptional circumstances had arisen calling for an alteration in the manner of training and preparing them for liberation.

The following most important resolutions were passed unanimously—

“That it is the unanimous feeling of the Section that the attention of the Legislature be urgently invoked to the following subject:—

“The expediency of so prolonging the sentences passed in serious cases of crime, as to admit of considerable periods of fixed confinement, followed by a proportionate period of probationary detention, part of which should be open to remission in consequence of good behaviour, under the liability of such remission being revoked in consequence of bad behaviour while the prisoner was at large.”

That this resolution should be adopted cannot surprise any person who was present during the reading of, and the discussion upon, Captain Crofton's paper. The President of the Section, the Earl of Carlisle, had watched the system advocated by him from its commencement. As Viceroy he had every opportunity of judging of the whole working of the scheme of Reformation, and could contrast it with that wretched plan of prison management which prevailed when he was Chief Secretary. He had been a constant, and careful, and discriminating visitor of the prisons under Captain Crofton's control; and in his inaugural address, as President, he bore testimony to the success of the system. But there were as able men in the Section, and men with far more practical knowledge of the working of the various systems of Prison discipline than Lord Carlisle; men such as the Rev. Sydney Turner, the Rev. Mr. Carter, Mr. Baker, the Rev. Mr. Fish, Mr. Charles Pearson, Mr. Merry, who could have detected an error, or a fallacy, or a false conclusion, or fancy statistics founded on imaginary figures; and when we find such men not only acquiescing but joining earnestly and heartily, in adopting such a resolution as that which we have just now inserted, we may feel satisfied that the system advocated by Captain Crofton, and so zealously and carefully carried out by him, and by his colleagues in Ireland, is founded in sound sense, and is supported and proved by statistics, plain, honest, and incontrovertible.

Such being the case, we are happy to find that the Irish government have decided on the adoption of the principles embodied in the above quoted resolution, as is proved by the following notice, just issued to the different Convict Prisons in Ireland:—

NOTICE.

1. The Act of Parliament passed in June, 1857, provides that sentences of Penal Servitude are to be of the same duration as sentences of Transportation previously awarded, instead of the sentences of shorter extent under the Act of 1853—thus, a sentence of 4 years *Penal Servitude* under the Act of 1853, stands in place of a sentence of 7 years' *Transportation*; whereas for the same offence under the recent Act of 1857, the sentence awarded is liable to be one of 7 years' *Penal Servitude*.

In the case of the shorter sentences under the Act of 1853, the whole has to be spent in Imprisonment, a certain proportion, in the case of well-conducted Prisoners, being allowed to be passed in Intermediate Prisons, but in the case of sentences under the recent Act, the terms being longer, a portion is allowed to be remitted on License towards the end of the sentence, if the conduct of the Prisoner shall have been deserving of this indulgence.

The following scale shows the earliest periods at which Prisoners convicted under the recent Act may qualify themselves by *unexceptionable conduct* for admission to the privileges of the Intermediate Prisons :—

Sentences.	Shortest periods of Imprisonments.				Periods of Remission on License.
	In ordinary Prisons.		Shortest Period of detention in Intermediate Prisons.		
3 Years.	Yrs. 2	Mths. 2	Yrs. 0	Mths. 4	The periods remitted on License will be proportionate to the length of sentences, and will depend upon the fitness of each Convict for release, after a careful consideration has been given to his case by the Government.
4 "	2	10	0	5	
5 "	3	6	0	6	
6 "	3	9	0	9	
7 "	4	4	1	3	
8 "	4	8	1	4	
10 "	6	0	1	6	
12 "	7	3	1	9	
15 "	8	0	2	0	
	10	0			

2. The above earliest possible periods of removal to Intermediate Prisons, apply only to those of the most unexceptionable character, and no remission of the full sentence will take place unless the Prisoner has qualified himself by carefully measured good conduct for passing the periods in the Intermediate Prisons prescribed by the Rules, and any delay in this qualification will have the effect of postponing his admission into the Intermediate Prisons, and thereby deferring to the same extent the remission of a portion of his sentence.

3. Convicts under sentence for "Life" will not be eligible for consideration for remission under 12 years; in the event of their misconducting themselves they will not be eligible at so early a period, and may be retained even for "Life."

4. According to the requirements of the Colony of Western Australia, a certain number of Convicts may be sent from this country from time to time; the selection will be made from the well conducted at about half the period of their sentence. Convicts under "Life Sentences" will not be eligible for removal until 8 years from the date of their conviction.

5. It will be quite evident to the Convicts that their future position depends upon their own exertions, and that the importance of the Classification in force in the Prisons and of the marks regulating it, has been much increased by these rules.

6. It will be necessary, therefore, that each Convict should make himself thoroughly acquainted both with these Rules and the Classification which is to govern them as quickly as possible, for which every facility will be afforded him. He will thus learn the importance of preserving a good character in Mountjoy Prison as well as on the Public Works.

7. There may be exceptional cases and crimes of such a heinous description as to preclude offenders from being treated in the ordinary manner; these will be dealt with specially by the Government.

By Order,

WALTER CROFTON,	<i>Chairman.</i>
JOHN LENTAIGNE,	} <i>Directors.</i>
J. S. WHITTY,	

It will be observed that in the ordinary prisons convicts have the opportunity of working themselves, by a system of *marks*, into the Intermediate Prison, in which are to be applied the final and more natural tests of his fitness for conditional liberty.

The system of Registration does not confine the liberated convict to the United Kingdom; but if he remains amongst his companions, where his temptations will be great, he must register himself until the maximum period named by the Judge shall have expired.

We may congratulate ourselves, as far as Ireland is concerned, on this most important matter having been at last finally, and so satisfactorily, settled.

We now have a system equal to the requirements of the country ; sound in theory, and proved by hard, stern experience to be so in practice ; a system which has enabled the Recorder of Birmingham to declare, in his paper on Irish Convict Prisons, that " the vast majority of all who enter our prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world, after no unreasonable term of probation, honest men and useful citizens ;" a system which has found imitators in continental Europe, and which has excited the admiration of the great writers upon Prison Discipline in France, in Prussia, in Sardinia, in Germany, and in Italy. Well and truly did Lord John Russell observe, in his inaugural address at Liverpool, referring to the Irish system of convict management,—

" With less care and intelligence it may be admitted the system would not have succeeded ; but the same thing is true of the reformed administration of the Poor-laws, and indeed of every department of Government which is well conducted. We may surely presume that the country will always furnish men of ability and energy competent to such a task ; it must be left to our responsible rulers to make their ability and energy a title for employment."

We quite concur in this observation, which almost bears in it a note of warning. It would, indeed, be an evil day if principles so sound as to have attracted the attention of many eminent continental writers, and of several European states, and which have, perhaps, met with more public approval than any social measure yet introduced, should ever prove unproductive of results through the supineness or want of intelligence of any future administrators of the system. The machinery is perfect, but it is fine, and must be kept in working order.

The Chinese say that we may measure a great man by his detractors, and a great system by its imitators, as we measure the height of a tower by the length of its shadow. Latterly, we have arrived at the conclusion, that you may estimate the success of any system by the number or position of those who attempt to claim the merit of its origin for themselves, after somebody else shall have made the system one to which men informed upon the subject in its various bearings, give approval, support, and earnest advocacy. " Never steal," says the old lady to the little thief-pupil, in *Paul Clifford*, " when any body sees you ;" all very right, says the supporter of an old system, who is endeavouring to wriggle himself into the adoption of a new system which he had maligned, misrepresented and poo-pood, until success, and those terrible enemies of incapacity, or laziness, or red-tape, PUBLIC OPINION, and the PRESS, had driven him into the consideration of the new scheme—perhaps no body will see me, perhaps no body will detect me ; of course, the system is good, excellent, I thought of it—and tried it, long ago, but circum-

stances made it impossible of developement, but I thought of it long ago, God bless my soul, I'm so glad to find that my old plans are being carried out so admirably.

This is no fancy sketch. It is precisely what is being done this moment in England, in what is called "The Jebb and Crofton Controversy."

Whilst Colonel Jebb could, or rather dared, to deny or ignore the success of the Irish system of Convict Management, he did deny and did ignore it. But public opinion was becoming strong, strong against the ticket-of-leave system as carried out in England, equally strong in favor of that carried out in Ireland; any, who wish to judge accurately, of the importance attached to the Irish system, need but refer to the number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1858, and they will there find the opinions of the Press of all shades of politics, English and Irish collected, and all declaring unanimously, that the English system of convict management, judged by the success of that adopted in Ireland, was a blunder, as disgraceful to the Nation, as it was damning to the capacity of Colonel Jebb.

What Colonel Jebb himself, in a grave public document, (his last Annual Report) has thought proper to do, most of our readers know. It was neither more nor less than an attempt, by mis-stating and mis-quotation, to deprive Captain Crofton and his zealous colleagues, of that reputation which they have so hardly earned. Captain Crofton's reply to this disingenuous attempt of Colonel Jebb's, is too well known to require comment.

Lately, however, that very respectable Magazine, *Meliora*, in its number for January, 1859, has placed before its readers a paper on the "Jebb and Crofton Controversy," so false in facts and conclusions, that we think it right here to refer to, and set right, some of its most glaring errors.

We are informed at page 311, that when transportation was abolished, the whole system of Prison Discipline required to be remodelled. But it was, this we are not told, Colonel Jebb who had, by his abuse of the system, by the hoards of ruffians whom he had sent out as convicts, driven the colonists to rise in desperation against such invasions of demons. What Colonel Jebb did, to abolish transportation by mismanagement, we learn from the return printed in the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Transportation, in 1856.

From this return, showing certain particulars in relation to prisoners upon the Western Australian Convict Establishment, who, by the nature of their crimes, or by reason of their incorrigible character, were considered by the Superintendent, and are usually regarded at the Home Imperial Prisons, as *ineligible for association with others*,

we gather the following particulars. The total number in the return is 53, and of this total, 14 were for unnatural offences, for which the punishment is death.

Of the 53, there were—

Transported for life	...	22
“ for 22 years	..	1
“ for 21 years	...	2
“ for 20 years	...	2
“ for 15 years	...	9
“ for 14 years	...	7

The other sentences were on men re-convicted in the Colony, for bad conduct, and varied from 18 months to 7 years, with hard labor and flogging.

It appears to us that no amount of red tape, that no length of existence amongst sealing-wax and Government stationery, could make any man so careless of all results as these figures prove some body to have been, in sending out those men, whose conduct was infamous to the world, bad as bad could be in the prison, and fully as incorrigible in the Colony.

We ought to have hung most of these 53 men—14 of them we could have hanged—there were others whose offences may be named, and we shall here insert some specimens:—

Name—George Hanks, *alias* “Ram,” *alias* Charles Rock; real name Whittaker. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary with violence; sentence, “life.” *Information as to past life*—Convicted of burglary in 1850; sentenced, 10 years’ transportation; attempted to escape from Oxford Castle, while waiting for trial; escaped from Dartmoor Government Prison, 1851; attempted to escape from Oxford Castle, 1852; attempted, from Portsmouth, 1854. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Three weeks bread and water; dark cells; 6 months in irons.

Name—William Deane. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary; after previous conviction of felony; also breach of prison rules, 22 years, (15,7). *Information as to past life*—March 1837, 6 months; February 1839, 14 days; June 1839, 2 months; June 1840, 7 years, at Knatsford; January 1850, 12 months; January 1851, 1 month; 2 April 1853, 7 years; character, “very bad;” embarked in cross-irons. *Conduct in West Australia*—Bread and water 7 days, cells; class suspended 3 months; admonished.

Name—Teddy Kenny, *Nature of Crime*—Burglary, 15 years. *Information as to past life*—Conspired with four others to attack the turnkey, when unlocking, to effect their escape; two of the five made a violent attack upon the officer on the 19th August; the officer received several bruises on the head, body, and throat; they

threw him down, rifled his pockets, took the keys from him, and threatened to murder him; kept in close confinement from the 19th to the 30th. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Bread and water 7 days, cells; class suspended 3 months.

Name—William M'Farlane, *alias* Jamieson, Brennan, Smith. *Nature of Crime*—Theft, by housebreaking, prison breach, and assault on an officer; 14 years. *Information as to past life*—Has been a very bad prisoner; not to be trusted; two years forfeited when removed from public works; was transported about 14 years ago; is a dangerous character; broke out of Greenock prison before trial. The governor of Paisley prison states, "This man is the most dangerous character ever I had under my charge; it would be well that officers and others who come into contact with him be upon their guard." Glasgow, most dangerous. Perth, incorrigible. Hulks, bad. Portsmouth, very bad. Millbank, bad. Recommended to be sent to Norfolk Island. *No Record of conduct in the Colony.*

Name—Michael Fleming, *alias* Jones. *Nature of crime*—Stealing from the Person; 14 years. *Information as to past life*—A very bad-tempered and violent prisoner, and likely to give bad advice to other prisoners. July, 1843, 7 years; March, 1851, 18 months, highway robbery. *Conduct in Western Australia.* Bread and water 7 days, cells. Class suspended 8 months. Bread and water 2 days, cells. Class suspended 1 month. Tobacco stopped. Class suspended 3 months.

Name—James Cannon; this is the sweep who was so notorious about five years ago for assaulting the police. *Nature of Crime*—Assault with intent to murder; life. *Information as to past life*—Often for assaults upon the police; not to be trusted. No record of conduct in Western Australia.

With these facts before him and they are *not the worst cases*, the reader can understand the condition to which Western Australia would be reduced if this system of Transportation were continued. Let him calculate, if he can, how long the Colonists would endure this outrage on all justice, this sweeping away from our shore, where we could manage them cheaply and securely, if we could not reform them, those criminals whose offences made hanging on the highest gibbet in the universe too mild and too undegrading a punishment; we could have kept them safe and at a cheap rate here; we sent them to a Colony where we cannot hold them cheaply, and where we liberate them to the injury of the Colonists.

Why were they sent? Let Colonel Jebb answer. We quote his evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, on Transportation, 1856:—

"1182. Are you aware that some of the men who have been sent lately to western Australia had committed such flagrant offences, and appeared to be persons of such desperate character, that the authorities in the colony had been afraid to assign them to any one, or to turn them loose at all; and that they have felt it necessary to keep them in absolute confinement?

I am quite aware that some have been sent of that character lately.

1183. *Chairman.*] Are you aware that, from the schedules that have been laid before this Committee, it appears that some very atrocious criminals have been recently transported?

I have not seen those schedules.

1184. It appears by the returns that the perpetrators of some most atrocious crimes have been selected to be sent to Western Australia: here is one man who had been guilty of rape upon his own daughter, and others with burglary with violence, and unnatural crime?

I stated that the class of prisoners sent to Western Australia differs from those sent in the first instance, but it arises chiefly from the much smaller number that are sentenced. It is generally understood that every man who is under sentence of transportation should be embarked if there is a place to which he can be transported, otherwise one sentence would be passed with the avowed intention of carrying out another.

1185. It has been represented that in the first year you went upon the plan of selecting those whose conduct in prison gave you hopes of amendment?

Yes; we had a very large number to select from.

1186. Now, as I understand, you have abandoned that principle?

It is the duty of those who are administering the convict prisons to send away every man who is sentenced to transportation, if his health will permit it.

1187. Then are the Committee to understand, that the same option or power of selection which you formerly possessed is no longer in your hands?

Since the passing of this Act, and the commutation of all sentences of seven and ten years, the number disposable for Western Australia is very limited.

1188. You conceive this last Act to have deprived you of all choice, and that you have now no choice but to send away to Western Australia all such convicts whose health does not incapacitate them for the voyage?

That is the understanding I have at the present moment; the number that are sentenced to transportation being now reduced to about 300 in a year, when an embarkation takes place the whole of them might be sent.

1189, *Earl De Lararr.*] I understand you to say, that you have no discretion as to the selection of Convicts, but that the must all be sent?

No discretion whatever; I receive an order to embark 200 or 300 men, and if those 200 or 300 are eligible, it is my duty to embark them all.

1190. Is not that a manifest violation of the understanding which was first come to with the colony of Western Australia?

I have always felt that ; but until the present moment, when discussion has arisen upon it, I have received no instructions to keep back men who were guilty of any particular classes of crime.

1191. You are of course not surprised to find that there have been many very serious complaints urged by the colonists on account of the violation of that understanding?

I think it is very likely ; it serves to show one of the objections to transportation, and the endeavour to carry out a system where the interests of the mother country are so manifestly different from those of the colony. The mother country wishes to get rid of its worst criminals, and to make punishment formidable : the colony wishes to receive the best, and to make them comfortable and happy. I look upon it that transportation, regarded in that point of view, cannot be safely relied upon as a deterring punishment.

The following passage from Captain Henderson's (the Superintendent in Western Australia), evidence is appropriate now, as a rider to Colonel Jebb's :—

1009. I understand your opinion to be also that, if the former system of selected convicts was again adopted, Western Australia might advantageously receive, and usefully employ, even the whole number of convicts that we should desire to send out?

I think so, judging from the number that are now sentenced to transportation.

1010. Viscount *Dungannon*.] It is found that the convicts, whose crimes in this country were of a very enormous character, relapse again into crime in the colony, and are again brought up charged with crimes there?

Those men, in the return before the Committee, are all in prison now : those are not ticket-of-leave holders. In fact, I felt that they were unfit to be turned loose on the community : there is no doubt that there is a class of men who must be kept locked up.

1011. Then are they kept entirely in confinement to work in gangs?

No, they work just the same as the others ; but they belong to a class that I am certain, when they are turned adrift on the community, will commit the same crimes and come back again. They belong to a class of men that ought to be treated as lunatics, and kept locked up ; that is the only way to keep them.

Of course the Colonist would not take such men as these, and accordingly the question at once was started—what are we to do with our Convicts? The writer in *Meliora*, referring to these difficulties, and to Colonel Jebb, states :—

“What could be done? It was manifestly unjust and cruel to inflict on any man a punishment more severe than that to which he had been sentenced ; and to keep a man, condemned to seven, or ten, or twenty years' transportation, in prison in this country for the same period, would have been a far severer punishment, even had there

been sufficient prison accommodation, and that, too, inflicted without the intervention of judge or jury. Fortunately for the country, when the difficulty occurred, our convict system was presided over by one peculiarly fitted to meet and overcome it. Colonel Jebb, the chairman of the General Board of Directors of Convict Prisons, had for many years devoted his whole energies to the cause of prison discipline; and no man, since the days of John Howard, has done so much for its improvement, to the advantage alike of criminals and of society. In his labours he was cordially supported by the other members of the Board, and still more efficiently by the governors and chaplains of the various convict and other large prisons in Britain. He has been the founder of a new school of prison discipline, in which he has trained many who are now carrying out his principles, more or less perfectly, in various important prisons. *The Irish Directors, Captain Crofton, Captain Whitty, Captain Knight, all studied under him, and acquired his system, which they carried over to Ireland with excellent effect, so far as they adhered strictly to the principles of their model.*"

The portion of this extract which we have italicised, is as beautiful a specimen of that art on which *Mr. Puff* prided himself as we have met for a long time; but the fun of it is, that it is all wrong. Captain Crofton never held office under Colonel Jebb, was never in the Convict department until he came to Ireland as chairman of the Board of Directors. Captain Knight retired from the government service in 1856; Captain Whitty, who succeeded Captain Knight, was subordinate in rank to Colonel Jebb whilst serving in England; but that Captain Whitty owes anything to Colonel Jebb, sounds to those who knew men and facts, very like a statement that Lord Clyde is deeply indebted to the system and plans of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief. There is an omission in the passage quoted, of the name of Mr. John Lentaigue, who has been a Director since the formation of the Board, and to whom the greater portion of the success of the Irish system in the reformation of Female Convicts is due.

The writer in *Meliora* thus continues:—

"Colonel Jebb's new plan was that of 'release on order of license,' which was sanctioned by law in August 1853, by 16 and 17 Vict. cap 99, and the first prisoners were released under it in October of the same year. It is impossible to ascertain how the name 'ticket-of-leave' originated; it does not occur in the statute, but it was speedily in every one's mouth, and to judge from the temporary literature of the day, the popular idea of it was, a 'ticket-of-leave to commit crimes.' In deciding on the demerits of this system, the public overlooked everything beyond the fact, that under it convicts were set at liberty. It was forgotten that these 'ticket-of-leave men' formed only a very small per centage of the criminals constantly at large, and living by their crimes. These amount, in Britain, to about

150,000; the number of licenses annually granted while the system was in operation was about 3000, or two per cent. on the whole number. It was also taken for granted, that these men were the worst and most desperate characters, all of them bloodthirsty ruffians, ready to perpetrate any atrocity. The very reverse was the case. Most of those thus liberated were rather past the prime of life, and had been greatly subdued by their time in prison, so that, in very many cases, their motives to crime, and their taste for it, had greatly abated if not altogether disappeared."

Now here we have it plainly stated, that the Ticket-of-Leave system was the production of the "heaven-born" colonel. We are told that in 1856-57, the total number of licensed men detected in crime was only 18 per cent, or, out of 7335 licensed, 1319 forfeited their licenses. But how many licensed men were NOT detected. If only 18 per cent relapsed in 1856-57, why was England convulsed with fear, why did the TIMES thunder, and the nursery-maids substitute Ticket-of-Leave men for "old Bogy," in quieting naughty children, Plainly because, although Colonel Jebb caught 18 of his relapsed Ticket-holders, the more fortunate of their fellows were running through England, robbing, or murdering, or garrotting. Eighteen, only 18 relapses, whilst Mettray cannot reform 90 per cent, with all its appliances: 18 per cent! only 18 per cent! and this from the class to which the Convicts already particularised belonged; from a class, be it always remembered, who received a Ticket-of-Leave, not as the reward of good-conduct, of reformed life, tested in its soundness and depth, but merely as a document, shewing that the holder had spent a certain portion of time in prison, and was, on that account, turned out upon the world. As Sir George Grey well expressed it—"There is an erroneous impression that a Ticket-of-Leave is a certificate of good character, and that those men only obtain it who can prove that they are reformed. There was never a more fallacious idea. It is very desirable that the illusion should be dispelled, that the holder of a Ticket-of-Leave is ascertained to be less likely to relapse into crime than any other discharged criminal."* Of course it was no proof of character, and yet only 18 per cent relapsed; and this wonderful result of catching 18, was brought about in the following manner:—The Ticket-of-Leave is made out; the man is accompanied to the railway station by the officer; he is sent back to the very place in which his crime was committed; his return is not notified to the local police. He arrives at the end of his journey; he may be well inclined; but work is hard to be procured; still he continues honest; he may even obtain employment at once; but then he may lose it if his master discovers that he is a Ticket-of-Leave man; and having no Patronage So-

* See this whole topic most elaborately treated in Mr. Recorder Hill's "Repression of Crime," p. 655.

ciety to aid him, he falls back amongst his old companions. But he may not have been well inclined. The police authorities send him back to his original haunts, and leave him to himself. They know that he is without honest means of support; they see him with the worst class of rogues; two police officers declared, before the Committee of the House of Commons, of 1856, that they would not consider themselves called upon to arrest any Ticket-of-Leave man, unless he had committed a new offence, even though he had forfeited his license by open breaches of every condition endorsed upon it.

For example, Police Sergeant Mark Loomer has been fourteen years in the Metropolitan Police. He knows all the thieves and Ticket-of-Leave men. He knows one man who has been back about four months on Ticket-of-Leave from either Bermuda or Gibraltar, and he has not less than twenty boys and girls, of ages between twelve and sixteen years, engaged under his able tuition in stealing, and one of the pupils was up for trial whilst the witness was being examined.

Now, it is very remarkable that Sergeant Loomer was on such good terms with this man that he had frequently seen his Ticket-of-Leave; he knew all about the twenty boys and girls; he knew that many Ticket-of-Leave men, fearing a re-conviction, do not themselves appear in the world of crime, but prefer to devote their scoundrel genius to the instruction of a future race of rogues. But Sergeant Mark Loomer is not to blame; Colonel Jebb, and the Home Office, and Sir Richard Mayne, K.C.B., are the persons who have permitted the Ticket-of-Leave men to break, with impunity, those conditions which make the License a protection to the public. Here we have the chief officer of the London Police declaring *that he thinks he never saw a Ticket-of-leave*, and that he did not know what conditions were endorsed upon it. This evidence of Sir Richard Mayne is so astounding, and shows so clearly why the Ticket-of-Leave system has proved unsatisfactory in England, we feel bound to insert it here:—

“3459. Mr. Ker Seymour.] I find these words endorsed on the ticket-of-leave, ‘The power of revoking or altering the license of a convict will most certainly be exercised in case of his misconduct. To produce a forfeiture of the license it is by no means necessary that the holder should be convicted of any new offence. If he associates with notoriously bad characters, leads an idle and dissolute life, or has no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, &c., it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be at once apprehended and re-committed to prison, under his original sentence.’ Is that latter part ever carried out?—I am not able to answer that question; that should be better known to the authorities at the Home Office; but as far as I know, my belief is that it is not carried out.

3460. Do you report persons answering to this description to the Home Secretary?—I have reported some.

3461. You do not make it your business to report all persons who answer to the endorsement upon the back of the ticket-of-leave to the Home Secretary?—No, I have not done so. *I do not think I ever saw a ticket-of-leave, and I never had, officially, an exact notion of what the words were.*

3462. If you have had no instructions upon the subject?—No.

3463. These being the terms on which these men are at large, is it not to be feared it would be a great check upon their misconduct if they knew that the conditions of the ticket-of-leave would be enforced?—I think it would.

3464. Mr. Mayne.] Would not that involve a great deal of surveillance on the part of the police, which it is most desirable to avoid?—That is a difficulty of another kind; it would.

3465. Mr. Ker Seymour.] Supposing it is better not to enforce the conditions, would it not be better to erase it from the back of the ticket-of-leave?—*I did not know that that endorsement was on the ticket-of-leave.*

Here we have the whole secret of the so-called failure of the system—the system never tried, never tested, because its principle was systematically ignored by the Home Office, and ignorantly neglected or despised by the police authorities. Not alone in England has the system been thus abused, but it has been equally mismanaged, or rather not managed at all, in Scotland. Every precaution and security were ensured by the conditions in the endorsement, and through the non-observance of these very conditions the system has fallen into disrepute: and obloquy and fear are excited by even the name of a Ticket-of-Leave.

Thus it was that only 15 Ticket-of-Leave men were caught and returned as reformed, and thus we have the triumph of Colonel Jebb and the victory of negative statistics, over facts, common sense, and common honesty of purpose.

Whilst the people of England were being frightened, while residences were going up, and sub-urban residences going down, through the agency of Colonel Jebb and his Ticket-of-Leave men, the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland were founding these Intermediate prisons which have made their system as celebrated as it is admirable. Here it is that the writer in *Melrose* chiefly distinguishes himself. Having claimed for the Colonel the honor of being the man who has done more for prison discipline than any man since the days of Howard, having made him the teacher of Captains Crofton, Whitty, and Knight, and the framer of the Ticket-of-Leave system, (it reminds me of Bayle, — the father of Chemistry and uncle of the Earl of Cork), he now claims for him a new title to the nation's gratitude in the following swelling passage:—"A very important part of the

system remains to be noticed, viz., 'intermediate prisons,' and to Colonel Jebb we believe we are mainly, if not wholly, indebted for them. They sprang up as the natural, almost the necessary, result of his improved system of treating the inmates of convict prisons. All who had bestowed attention on the subject knew that, however carefully he might be trained, every prisoner was exposed to extreme danger after liberation."

What sprang up? what was there in Colonel Jebb's failures? Surely his, so called Intermediate Stages were no more like the Irish Intermediate establishment than Portland is like Spike-island. Colonel Jebb kept his man in prison, within the walls, to the last; the chaplain and the school-master had their full innings at him; they talked him into a hot house morality, but when he came out who knew his history? such a system as this it was that gave *Uria Heep* and *Never too late to Mend* to the world; and furnished *Punch* with those sad and bitter *Lays of the Convict*, with which the public were amused in 1856. Even whilst Colonel Jebb was making his experiment, he experienced a failure, for the Colonel, like another famous guardian of thieves, honest Dogberry, "hath had losses," as we are told in *Meliora* :—

"One experiment tried at Portland, as a further step in preparation, signally failed, as might, indeed, have been anticipated—viz., associating a large number in one dormitory during night. It was offered as a reward to the best-conducted men; and the convincing proof of its failure is found in the fact, that the best men soon petitioned to be permitted again to occupy their solitary night cells, and thus escape the contamination to which they were exposed."

This is rather a bad specimen of the results of Colonel Jebb's system, almost as bad as that recorded in the *Southern Times*, of November 27, a Weymouth paper :—

"Return of Convicts to Portland Prison.—About 80 of the convicts who were sent from Portland a few weeks ago in consequence of the part they took in the *emeute*, having undergone a few weeks' solitary confinement in Millbank Penitentiary and Pentonville Model Prison, were returned on Wednesday to their former quarters. When they arrived at the Waterloo station, and found that they were to be taken back to Portland, some of them expressed, in very forcible language, their determination not to go, and it was with great difficulty, and after considerable delay, that they were got into the Railway carriages, having first been divided into two parties. A telegraphic message was despatched to the prison at Portland, informing the Governor, Captain Clay, of the resistance made by the convicts, and he sent off to H. M. S. 'Blenheim,' lying in the Portland harbour, for force, in case of any serious difficulty occurring in conducting the convicts from the terminus to Weymouth. The first detachment of convicts arrived in the afternoon, tolerably quiet, and under a comparatively small escort. A strong guard, however, had to be provided in Lon-

don to accompany the second gang, numbering 48 convicts, and on their way from Weymouth to Portland they were met by 60 marines and a body of the sailors of the 'Blenheim,' dragging along one of the ship's guns. Under this escort, they were marched through Portland, shouting, yelling, and swearing with great energy. From the expressions they used, it would appear that they estimated the horrors of solitary confinement in Millbank or Pentonville, as light in comparison with the prospects of a return to Portland. These men, we believe, were not among the number who were flogged for insubordination; the only punishment they have had has been a few weeks' solitary imprisonment. It seems a very questionable policy to give such rebellious spirits a chance of raising another riot in the prison, though the excellent discipline maintained there, and the vigilance of the officials, will, no doubt, prevent anything so serious as the outbreak which recently occurred."

In dealing with the history of the Intermediate Prisons in Ireland the writer in *Mediora* is either ignorant or ingeniously disingenuous. Whilst quoting all Colonel Jebb's arguments against the Irish system, quoting them indeed in a style so like the Colonel's own, that we can almost suppose the Colonel the writer—Captain Crofton's complete answer to these objections is ignored. Mr. Recorder Hill's paper on Irish Convict Prisons is not even mentioned, and Captain Crofton's paper, to which we have above drawn attention, is not once referred to, and thus all notice of the discussion and resolutions of the Liverpool meeting is very opportunely shirked.

The readers of *Mediora* are informed, by a writer professing to have read the arguments of Colonel Jebb and Captain Crofton, that the men go out to work under the careful superintendence of the police and prison officers, as well as of their employer. This is certainly the most astounding piece of downright mis-statement we have come upon since the discovery that Colonel Jebb invented the Intermediate Prisons. Not a single man ever went to work under the care of the police. Not a single man was ever watched more closely by his employer than any other person in the same employment, and the sole check is in the zeal of Mr. Organ, and in the system, now fully appreciated by the men themselves, of self-registration with the police. Credit is given to Captain Crofton for his industry and discrimination in *individualizing* the men, but it is objected that by allowing some to sleep in associated rooms he returns to the system of dealing with them in masses—clearly he does, but after individualization, after he has probed their minds and dispositions, after he has separated those with characters like the marine and artillery guarded victims of Portland, if he has such, from the really well-intentioned convict: from the men who are, as Mr. Organ, the Lecturer, states, like those of their class of life out of prison. At this statement of Mr. Organ, that well conducted convicts are not in any respect

of mind, morals, passion or feeling different from those of the same class of life outside, the writer in *Meliora* expresses astonishment. Why, we know not, for Mr. Organ particularizes the *well-conducted*, that is those men in whom good dispositions have been fostered, or in whose hearts repentance has its healing, cleansing fountains : Mr. Organ can find such men, because the convict has been treated, from the day of entrance into a convict prison, as a reasonable, accountable man, never as a spiritless brute, or as an overgrown mindless baby. Thus it is that Captain Crofton has succeeded, and thus it is that he is able to show such results, not by negative, but very positive statistics, as these :—
Discharged from intermediate prisons since January, 1856 . 1,327

Of whom unconditionally	511
„ on license	816

— 1,327

Of the 511, only 5 have returned to convict prisons, or one per cent. Of the 816, only 30 have been re-committed, or not quite 4 per cent., and 15 more have lost their licenses from failure to report themselves, drunkenness, &c., &c.

Ah! but says the Colonel's friend in *Meliora*, the Lord Lieutenant used to attend at Smithfield and encourage the men by his approval, and he had in his hands the power to commute sentences, or he could pardon. No doubt this is quite true, but Lord Carlisle never pardoned or commuted the sentence of a single man. He listened to the Lectures, and he looked at the copy-books ; instead of a *Lord Burleigh* shake of the head, he had a quiet good-humored nod when retiring, and all the magic that belonged to a visit from Lord Carlisle was the "magic of kindness", and this could extend to Smithfield only.

Another point raised by the writer against the success of the Intermediate Prisons in Ireland, is, that employment is easily obtained for the convicts on liberation in Ireland, because "*the fact of his having been in prison, is not felt to be so damaging to his character in the one country as in the other.*" This is too monstrous a misstatement to be permitted to pass unanswered. This whole country is stigmatized, to the readers of *Meliora*, as caring less for the loss of character than England. This statement was made and urged against the success of the Irish system previous to the Liverpool Meeting, and at that meeting we, ourselves, asked Captain Crofton in the course of the discussion upon his paper—"Do you consider that it is easier to obtain employment for liberated convicts in Ireland than in England?" Captain Crofton's answer was "No." We asked, "Do you find that employers in Ireland are less unwilling to engage the services of a convicted criminal than in England?" The answer was, "They are just as unwilling." "Then," said Lord Brougham, who sat beside Lord Carlisle, the President of

the Section—"I suppose, Captain Crofton, we may say the Irish employers are not more enamoured of ticket-of-leave men than the English?" "Just so, my Lord," was the answer. This we think was conclusive; if it required confirmation, we could ourselves give many a record of days of hard work in endeavouring to secure employment for the men, until they had proved to the employers the excellence of the system carried out in the Irish Intermediate Prisons.

This charge against Ireland was first started by Colonel Jebb, in his Report of 1858, on the Irish system, and has been repeated by two anonymous partizans, in letters to newspapers and in pamphlets gratuitously scattered in every influential quarter in England and in the most influential quarters in continental Europe.

Next, it is objected, these men coming together must do wrong: the writer in *Meliora*, puts it thus:—"Many of them—the great majority—may be desirous to do well, but the presence of even two or four per cent. of evildoers endangers the whole; the oaths or filthy expressions used by one or two will pollute the minds of all present: they cannot escape, and why unnecessarily expose them? The associated room is a completely retrograde movement. An associated dormitory is an evil thing, even for men who have never been convicts, for men of more than average good character." This may be quite true of the Portland man, and was, we dare say, found to be true in that woeful failure of Colonel Jebb's, at Portland, when he tried what he called an intermediate stage, and in which the well-disposed men, found themselves contaminated by association with equally, as far as prison character went, well-conducted prisoners; but surely Irish successes are not to be judged by English failures. Let it be shown that Captain Crofton's statements as to the conduct of the man, the individualized man, and there are no others, in association, is of that character indicated in *Meliora*, and we shall say Captain Crofton is as incapable as Colonel Jebb; but, until this is done, we shall contend that the person who re-writes Colonel Jebb's report in *Meliora* is writing simple, unadulterated nonsense, or repeating statements proved to be as groundless as they are absurd.

Most of our readers are aware that the men in Smithfield are sent out, in turn, as messengers; that they are allowed to buy, with a portion of their prison earnings, such additions or luxuries, as cockles, tobacco, a salt herring, or a moral pocket-handkerchief. The man who is on out duty for the week, buys these things for the men who work inside; he has their pennies, and he has his own, yet he does not cheat *them*, he does not break the rule against entering a public-house, he does not buy whiskey for himself or for his companions; thus he learns to resist all the temptations which it is possi-

ble to place before him, and precisely such temptations as he should be able to meet, fight against, and conquer, were he a free man. Yet the writer in *Meliora*, objects thus:—

“One objection to the whole plan is, that it is evidently intended to act by exposing the men *first to small temptations*; but the greatest knaves are the very men who would most successfully pass through such an ordeal. Many of them have great self-control when it suits their purpose, and would despise themselves if they yielded to petty temptations.”

What on earth does the man want? Surely Captain Crofton is not to make his Prison Governors so many *Lockets*; surely *Polly* and *Lucy*, and *Jenny Diver*, and *Mrs. Coaxer* are not to be introduced into the Intermediate Prison in order to test the reformation of the *Macheaths* and *Filchs* of our day. Unless this is intended we do not see how larger temptations than Captain Crofton's so called “*First, or Small Temptations*” can be reasonably looked for or suggested.

We have treated this question more as the “Jebb and Crofton controversy,” more as a dispute between two officials, than as a great public topic, full of interest and of importance to the Nation. But, after all, this personal character of a national question is that peculiar phase which frequently, in these kingdoms, gives vitality and vigor to a good cause, and insures success to a sound system. Thus it was with Watt, thus with George Stephenson, thus with Rowland Hill, thus with every man who has tried to serve his country through new ideas, new systems, or new combinations of existing things,—and so it is now with Captain Crofton, whose whole system resolves itself into these six following points:—First, that the action of government in the prevention and punishment of crime is *paternal*; second, that the object of punishment is reformatory and not vengeful; third, that the law of reformation, in the State as in the family, is the law of kindness; fourth, that as criminals differ in age and experience as criminals, they should be treated accordingly; fifth, that prisons and gaols are not, in their essence, Reformatory Institutions, and only become so by means of circumstances not necessarily nor ordinarily acting—the prison being a battle-field between Vice and Virtue, with the odds of position and numbers on the side of Vice; and consequently and finally, that since prisons ordinarily can only exert a feeble moral influence on their inmates, and fail as Reformatory Institutions, on the whole, we ought to search for a new and different agency, and if we find one, put it in use. We have found an agency, Hope, which we can use, if we will, effectively.

ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS

INTERN CLASS OF WORKHOUSE ORPHANS.

Many of the Patrons of St. Joseph's Industrial School, are fully aware of the fact, that within the last few months seven orphans or deserted children have been taken from the children's ward of the North Dublin Union, and placed in the intern class of St. Joseph's; they are also aware of the circumstances and objects which have induced the founder and managers to take this step.


However, as a misconception seems to exist in some quarters, with regard to the exact amount of responsibility and risk incurred by this withdrawal of children from the Union, it is well to state here clearly and emphatically, that no assistance whatever has been given by the Board of Guardians towards the maintenance of these children. The Guardians merely *permitted* their withdrawal. The whole cost of their support, instruction, and clothing, is borne by the subscribers, and the managers of the Institution, which is for the present the refuge and home of these friendless children.

Some, who have thought deeply on the question of the duty which society is bound to discharge towards unprotected and destitute children, are of opinion, that the poor-rates should be charged with their support in Industrial Schools, or institutions in which self-dependance is one of the first lessons inculcated, and in which the "family principle," is not necessarily or systematically ignored.

This is not the ground on which to enter upon controversies, in the course of which unrighteous custom must incur heavy censure, and strong prejudices meet with rough treatment. But to wait for wholesale reforms in such matters, would suppose very "weary waiting," and to decline all personal trouble in resisting evil, until such a time as enlightened opinion should carry the question by acclamation, would deprive all true workers of their real strength and merit.

It is sufficient here, cursorily as possible, to indicate the motives which have led the founder and managers of St. Joseph's to adopt those Workhouse Orphans, and to shew what the result of industrially training such subjects is likely to be.

Much experience of workhouse rearing as shown in the conduct and fate of those who have been subjected to it, and a rather intimate acquaintance with the real history of girls who are now expiating



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them—and above all they are jealously separated from contact with adult paupers. It was therefore resolved that to this foundation should be added the superstructure without which all the rest can be no more than buried treasure—vain and useless. It was resolved to take out some of these children, and by giving them a thoroughly industrial education, prepare them according to sound common sense principles to take their place among honest respectable bread-winners.

After some visits to the Union a number of girls were selected as likely to be eligible cases; a request was made that they should be put through a course of probation: materials were supplied, and the mistress undertook to teach them the common sort of sewing as a preparation for shirt making. No opposition was offered by any of the authorities, and much kindly assistance was given by the officers in charge of the children. Of those selected in the first instance some few after a while dropped off disheartened, being unused to active exertion for any definite purpose: and some of those invited declined to enter the class, having a sort of undefined dread of leaving the house—the stories they had heard of what befel girls who had gone to service and met with bad treatment, and come back to the union to be “dressed in woman’s clothes, and sent to the woman’s ward,” were not likely to give them courage to face the world outside. Many however persevered; and to these the prize was given.

Finally seven girls were brought out as a sort of first instalment. The guardians gave consent, and the pauper orphans are now Industrials of St. Joseph’s.

A few paragraphs will save lengthened details. The children soon after their removal to the school, were called separately before the managers to give an account of themselves. The answers were noted at the moment, and the following are the facts of each child’s history greatly curtailed.

No. 1.—Age between fourteen and fifteen; has been *nine* years in the Workhouse; is an orphan. Heard that her mother died long ago, and that her father also died soon after he came to the Union, with his two children. Does not remember to have ever seen her father. Thinks she has two sisters well off in Liverpool: one of them married; cannot say whether they are step-sisters. Long ago one of them took over herself and little sister to Liverpool, kept them with her a while and was kind to them; but finally sent them back saying they were *idiots*; gave a note to eldest child; does not know who it was for; tore it up on the way, thinking it was no matter, and threw the pieces into the sea. When landed on the quay did not know where to go, and wandered about the streets looking for the Union all night. Early in the morning, met by chance a woman who had seen them with the sister, and were brought by her to the Union. No one has ever come to enquire for them since. The little sister is still in the Union. Has no acquaintance whatsoever outside.

No. 2.—Age between fourteen and fifteen. Has been *fourteen* years in the Workhouse; is an orphan. Knows nothing of her father and mother; never heard how she came to the Union. Has no acquaintance any where.

No. 3.—Age about sixteen; has been *fourteen* years in the Work

house ; is motherless and may be alive ; heard that aunt in Dublin, but cannot by her godmother who kept a week got sore eyes, and is nothing of these relatives !

No. 4.—Age sixteen. . . motherless ; cannot tell where to the Union by her mother remember her. Thinks of nothing about them. On the Union, and said she was far after the girl ; heard no more is not acquainted with any

No 5.—Age sixteen ; has house ; is an orphan ; lost died in the house, about a year ; he was a compositor . declining health £1. 10s. finding his case hopeless went there, and to be near them in the Union, one boy ran away with some friends in Dublin, and that woman's mother is in Dublin, but none of them

No 6.—Age sixteen ; has orphan ; her father, a soldier a year after went to the Union got the boys into the Hibernia to the door for the purpose in order not to be separated into the Union, where, after years, she died. This girl's aunt, who kept her with her dying soon after, the child's brothers are in situation, she lives in Dorset-street near the Union. These children factors by trade, but nothing years.

No. 7.—Age twenty-two is an orphan. Both parents by her grandmother who is in England, who writes to her lame : never left the children infirmity, but received no more relatives or friends in Ireland.

These girls were not selected as quite extraordinary examples. They were taken, almost at birth. They can all read and

are thoroughly instructed in catechism and Christian doctrine. But as the greater number of them had never been in an ordinary dwelling house, their awkwardness on first entering one, was both provoking and ludicrous. The use of knives and forks was unknown to them; the hall mat seldom failed to trip them up; they had not presence of mind enough to carry a can of water, and it required practice and experience to enable them to get up and down stairs without falling; as for their proficiency in needlework, it is enough to state that the first week they were put to ordinary shirt making, the united earnings of five of the class, amounted to *nine pence*.

At present the intern class of St. Joseph's consists of these seven orphans, one girl selected from the extern class, and a matron. The latter is a respectable middle aged woman, worthy of trust, full of the hard experience of a struggling life, and not in station much above the position the children must hereafter occupy. They learn much from her which a more lady-like person could not so well give; her homely cordial conversation, and her example of untiring industry, are invaluable as aids to education; she is a soldier's widow, saw a good deal of life in various quarters of the world, and of late years supported herself and an invalid step-daughter by dress making. She is at once overseer of the work department of the general Industrial School, cutter out, and instructor in every branch of household work. As it was found that she could not remain in the Institution at night on account of the said sick child, one of the extern class was appointed to fill her place at that time; the latter is an excellent worker, and in conduct the best example the children could have. Her family live in the neighbourhood, but for the present she remains altogether in the Institution.

The intern class work during the day with the general Industrial School, which continues to be carried on as usual, except that plain work has been substituted for crochet. In the morning hours the interns clean down the house, scour, polish grates, and otherwise qualify for household service; one of them, appointed in turn, remains in the kitchen, and is in fact the cook of the establishment. Two of the externs who are very destitute get dinner daily, making in all eleven at that meal. In the evening after supper the children sit in the kitchen, and under the cheerful influence of candle and fire-light, continue the work of the day, or knit stockings for themselves until it is time for general prayer and bed; passers by often hear them singing their hymns and school songs in chorus.

During the week they are often sent on various errands for the sake of exercise, and on Sunday they generally get a country walk. On that day also, after hearing mass and sermon in one of the city churches, they return to dinner, and finish the day by remaining from three to six o'clock at the Sunday School of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent De Paul; a great many of the extern class also attend this admirable school. Those, therefore, who are too busily engaged at work during the week to give much time to book learning, have their knowledge of reading and writing kept up in this manner; while those who might be led into mischief by the idle and vicious companionship of the streets on Sunday afternoons, are safe with the good sisters;

who, true to their charitable vocation, not only instruct, but also interest and amuse the children, allowing them to remain after school hours, teaching them small games of various kinds, and giving them books to read. During the summer the children often talked of their play in the garden, and the nice stories they read in "the nun's summer house."

This is something like carrying into practice the doctrine of the communion of labour, one charitable institution thus coming to the aid of another. There is one more instance of the application of the same principle, by which St. Joseph's profits largely. The superiors of the missionary college of All Hallows, have directed that a portion of the broken bread and meat, which is distributed to the poor, shall be sent to the managers of St. Joseph's. This food is prepared with care, and so good nourishment is provided at a time, when a longer course of Workhouse diet would be likely permanently to injure the already ill-grown children. Thanks to this assistance, the appearance of the children is much improved; they have grown stout in person, and are fast losing the "poor-house look," by which visitors so easily distinguished them from the other class. Whether they shall ever reach in height the average proportion of Irish girls is another question.

So much being said of the past and present of the Orphans, a word will suffice in reference to their future prospects. The object being to make them good plain workers and good common household servants, no doubt whatever is felt that they shall be easily disposed of when that point is reached. Many applications are made at the School for girls to mind children, or help in kitchens. An honest girl in either capacity is invaluable, and when any kind of training is added to that, the candidate is sure of promotion. In last year's report of St. Joseph's it was stated that twelve girls belonging to the School had been placed in respectable situations in various capacities. Since that time eight others have been similarly provided for. Of these *twenty*, not one is missing: they have all been heard of within a very short time, and no instance of bad conduct has been reported of any one of them. There are now in the School two of those girls who are out of place for the moment. They are availing themselves of the opportunity of learning plain work. They have come back to the old shelter of the School quite naturally, feeling sure that they have a good chance of being provided for as children of St. Joseph's. Among the benefactors of the Institution, there is one to whom special gratitude is due. This lady has taken at different times no less than five girls from the School—has kept them in her house—trained them as servants under her own eye—and given them what was worth gold to them—the means of earning henceforth an honest comfortable livelihood.

With such aids as these the managers of St. Joseph's are justified in feeling no painful anxiety about the settlement of their children. In some cases, for all may not be fit for household service, it is contemplated to lodge out the girls with the parents of some who attend the extern class—giving them work as usual in the School, but obliging them to support themselves, and by hard experience compelling them to learn the value of every halfpenny they earn. Some time must elapse before this can be done, for until a girl is able to earn 4s.

a-week she cannot be expected to live independent of the Institution.

To set out with the expectation that this Institution could ever become self-supporting would be utopian indeed. It is no factory; factory hours are not kept, neither are factory principles admitted as a rule of conduct. Poorhouse diet would in no case be acknowledged as sufficient for the support of growing girls. When the girls advance so far as to be able to pay their own personal expenses in the Institution, that gratifying fact will only be the signal for sending them out on their own account, and getting others still untrained to fill their place.

If £100 a-year were subscribed for the support of this Institution, there is every reason to hope that under kind Providence the work would be carried on gloriously. As it is, the managers are absolutely without resources; and their efforts are foiled, not only by want of funds, but by sheer anxiety of mind which necessitates painful attention to minute details at a moment when every thought should be given to carrying out larger views. The same noble-hearted friends whose generous encouragement led to the establishment of the Institution three years since, have never ceased to give sympathy and aid. The public have as yet given no help. It certainly cannot be said that the public are either uncharitable or careless. But until lately the existence of the Institution was not generally known, and that accounts fully for the want of patronage. If private means were at the disposal of the managers they would be only too glad to struggle on in obscurity, and work out in silence the principles which they know to be true. Now they are constrained to ask for help—and they feel confident they will obtain it.

Let hope be placed where hope is. Surely there is a message and a promise for the forlorn Workhouse Orphans, just as there was for the down-trodden children of Israel long ago:—

"I AM the Lord who will bring you out from the work-prison of the Egyptians."—EXODUS, vi. 6.

